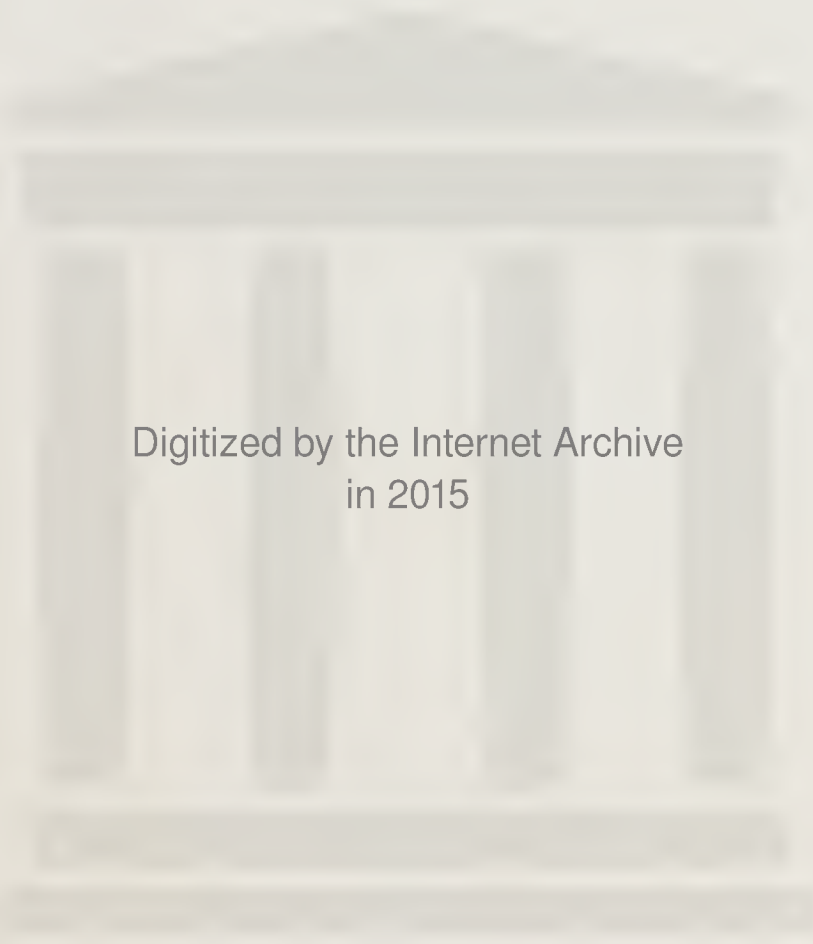


UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

Contents

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA
VOLUME XXXVIII, 1960

13361

The CHRONICLES *of* OKLAHOMA

Spring, 1960



Oklahoma Cowboy and Indian

Volume XXXVIII

Number 1

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 26, 1893)

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS

GEORGE H. SHIRK, President
EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, President Emeritus
DR. CHARLES EVANS, Secretary Emeritus
H. MILT PHILLIPS, 1st Vice President
BAXTER TAYLOR, 2nd Vice President
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Treasurer
ELMER L. FRAKER, Administrative Secretary
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

DIRECTORS

GOVERNOR J. HOWARD EDMONDSON, Ex-Officio

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1961

MISS GENEVIEVE SEGER, Geary	EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, Edmond
H. MILT PHILLIPS, Seminole	GEORGE H. SHIRK, Oklahoma City
J. G. CLIFT, Duncan	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1962

JOE W. CURTIS, Pauls Valley	R. G. MILLER, Oklahoma City
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Kingfisher	THOMAS J. HARRISON, Pryor
MRS. ANNA B. KORN, Oklahoma City	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1963

EXALL ENGLISH, Lawton	JAMES D. MORRISON, Durant
L. WAYNE JOHNSON, Stillwater	OREL BUSBY, Ada
KELLY BROWN, Muskogee	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1964

JOE W. MCBRIDE, Oklahoma City	E. E. DALE, Norman
HENRY B. BASS, Enid	R. M. MOUNTCASTLE, Muskogee
BERLIN B. CHAPMAN, Stillwater	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1965

FISHER MULBROW, Norman	BAXTER TAYLOR, Oklahoma City
ROBERT A. HEFNER, Oklahoma City	N. B. JOHNSON, Oklahoma City
J. LLOYD JONES, Tulsa	

CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are three dollars; life membership, fifty dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

Second class mail privileges authorized at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

GEORGE H. SHIRK

H. MILT PHILLIPS

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

R. G. MILLER

ELMER L. FRAKER

Spring, 1960

Volume XXXVIII

Number 1

CONTENTS

Will Rogers: Good Neighbor	2
By I. E. Cadenhead, Jr.	
Maria Tallchief in History	8
By Frank F. Finney, Sr.	
Joe Kagey: Indian Educator	12
By A. M. Gibson	
Memoirs of a Pioneer Teacher	20
By Harriet Patrick Gilstrap	
The Very Reverend Urban de Hasque	35
By Velma Nieberding	
Fred Wenner: Reporter	43
By Mary E. Newbern	
Big Jake's Crossing	50
By Bess Rogers	
We came to Live in the Oklahoma Territory	55
By Fannie L. Eisele	
Music in Oklahoma by Billy McGinty's Cowboy Band	66
By Leslie A. Merrill	
The Daugherty Ranch, Creek Nation	75
By Ella M. Robinson	
Note on Abolitionism in the Choctaw Nation	78
By James D. Morrison	
Negotiations for the Removal of the Choctaw	85
By Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr.	
Notes and Documents	101
INDEX TO THE CHRONICLES, 1959. STORIES RELATING TO OKLAHOMA TERRITORIAL COURTS AND LAW. PROGRAM: OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL MARKER AT THE LINE, 1889 AND 1893.	
Book Review	110
Necrology	112
EVA ZERLINE LEWERS—BY AILEEN LANGSTON	
LOU IRION CLARKE—BY FLORENCE DRAKE	
Minutes	115

Cover: This reproduction in colors is that of a painting by Earnest Spybuck, one of the first, noted Indian Artists in America. The "Oklahoma Indian and Cowboy" painting was done by Spybuck from a scene familiar to him at celebrations of cowboys and Indians in the days of the Indian Territory. This painting was presented recently to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mrs. Harriet Patrick Gilstrap, whose Memoirs and a brief biography of Artist Spybuck appear in this number of *The Chronicles*.

WILL ROGERS: GOOD NEIGHBOR

I. E. Cadenhead, Jr.*

In his column of January 23, 1934, Will Rogers expressed his admiration for Secretary of State Cordell Hull and commented, "If this administration never did another thing, the new deal toward all our neighbors to the South has gained many friends for us."¹ Will added, however, that we should "Give the Phillipines their freedom, and take that godfather-clause out of our Cuban treaty and first thing you know we would be called 'Brother' and not 'Big Brother'."

While it is true that Will's objections to American intervention in Latin America were a logical part of the isolationism he expressed during his public career, there was something more involved than just the desire to keep the United States at home. Will was sincerely interested in the welfare of the peoples to the South and he was not at all certain that American policy was directed toward the welfare of someone other than ourselves. He demonstrated his own concern most dramatically in August, 1931, when he made a flying trip to Managua, Nicaragua, to cheer up the victims of a major earthquake and to call attention to the need for aid for that nation.² As an entertainer, author of a daily and weekly newspaper article, speaker, and often-quoted public figure, Will Rogers had many opportunities to express his interest in and concern for Latin America. A special sore spot with Will was American interference in Mexico, Cuba and Central America although he would surely have expanded this had the occasion demanded.³

At times Will's remarks were intended strictly for humorous effect as was the case in his early days with the Ziegfeld Follies. During the time that the famous revolutionary and bandit, Pancho Villa, was being chased in northern Mexico by American troops Will told an audience at the Follies. "I see where they have captured Villa. Yes, they got him in the morning Editions and the Afternoon ones let him get away."⁴ The presence of President Woodrow Wilson in the audience made this remark especially timely and the President's good-natured

* The author, I. E. Cadenhead, Jr., is an associate professor of history at the University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.—Ed.

¹ Will's daily and Sunday articles appeared in a number of newspapers throughout the country distributed by the McNaught Syndicate. Unless otherwise indicated those used in this article were taken from the *Tulsa World*, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

² August 9, 1931.

³ Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers* (New York, 1941), 287.

⁴ Donald Day, ed., *The Autobiography of Will Rogers* (Boston, 1949), 42.

reception of it reinforced Will's belief that really important people had no objections to his ribbings. Since Will frequently used his better remarks over again, it is not surprising to find him explaining a few years later in his column that "Villa was really the reason for William Randolph Hearst having an afternoon as well as a morning paper in each of the large cities. His morning editions used to always capture Villa every day, so he had to take on an afternoon paper to let him escape again in, so the morning one could get him again the next day."⁵

More often, though, Will's attitude toward Latin America was summed up in the remark he made after attending some of the meetings of the Pan American Conference in Havana, Cuba, in 1928, "It sho' takes quite a Sense of Humor for these Latin American people to understand us shaking hands with one hand and shooting at 'em with the other."⁶

Will's interest in Latin America began very early in his life. At the age of twenty-two, Will and a close friend, Dick Paris, left the Rogers' ranch in Oklahoma on the first of what would become many trips abroad for the lariat-spinning humorist. After a long, and seemingly endless, voyage by way of New Orleans and London, the seasick cowboy arrived in Argentina in May, 1902.⁷ Though the land and cattle business of this South American country were not what Will had expected, he worked his way through a part of the country before finally heading for South Africa and the beginning of his theatrical career with a wild west show.⁸ This brief acquaintance with Argentina was enough to implant in Will a regard for the abilities and sensibilities of Latin Americans. While the Oklahoma cowboy's earliest remarks on Argentina had to do with the gauchos' surprising ability with the bolo, he was later to touch on far more serious matters affecting that nation. There were very few occasions when Will singled out Argentina as a mistreated neighbor but he did urge that American trade with Argentina be increased and that tariff barriers to such trade be removed during the 1920's.⁹ On another occasion he expressed the same sentiment, but in a more telling and humorous fashion. He wrote, "Argentina exports wheat, meat, and gigolos, and the United States puts a tariff on the wrong two."¹⁰

During a large part of Will's career the United States was involved directly or indirectly in the affairs of Nicaragua and this offered another opportunity for humorous attacks upon American policy. Will not only expressed cynicism concerning

⁵ August 5, 1923.

⁶ January 16, 1928.

⁷ December 9, 1928.

⁸ Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, pp. 64-66.

⁹ December 9, 1928.

¹⁰ *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, Iowa, August 17, 1935.

the official justification for American troops being present in Nicaragua but doubt as to the result of military action. He said in 1927, "War in Nicaragua is holding out pretty good. Our original statement 'that it was only a few Rebels that were dissatisfied' has kinder been disproved. The Rebels must have had a majority when they started out or else we couldnt have killed as many as we have."¹¹ Will continued to criticize our presence there and when it was announced that our troops would stay in Nicaragua until after a presidential election was held, Will remarked, "We are the only Nation on Earth that ever began supervising anything a full *YEAR* before it was due to come off."¹²

Mexico was the Latin American nation that Will came to know best. Even before he visited the nation across the Rio Grande Will was aroused by the attitude of many Americans toward Mexico. As he expressed it, "Mexico has got her problems and we are most of 'Em."¹³ In the summer of 1925 Will used Mexico as an example of what he felt was unnecessary and undesirable "dollar diplomacy". Will pointed out that "America has a great habit of always talking about protecting American interests in some foreign Country. *PROTECT 'EM HERE AT HOME!* There is more American Interests right here than anywhere. If an American goes to Mexico and his Horse dies, we send them a Note wanting American Interests preserved and the horse paid for." Will felt further that since we did not guarantee investments at home, we had no reason to make Mexico guarantee them. For that matter Will felt that there was no particular need for American investment in Mexico. He said, "Our Papers are always harping on US developing Mexico. Suppose Mexico don't want developing. Maybe they want it kept as it was years ago."¹⁴

These feelings that the cowboy humorist expressed concerning Mexico were reinforced in December, 1927, when he visited Mexico as the guest of Ambassador Dwight Morrow. Will left no doubt that he was much impressed by the worth of Ambassador Morrow, and it is easy to suppose that his opinions regarding Mexico in some ways reflected views he heard the Ambassador express. Morrow was not his only source of information, however, because during his stay in Mexico "Don Guillermo Rodriguez" met many of the leading figures of the country and learned much from them. Will came into close contact with President Plutarco Elias Calles on board a presidential train touring northern Mexico, and this experience plus other observations caused Will to praise Calles highly. "Calles,"

¹¹ November 20, 1927.

¹² March 9, 1928. See also January 5, 1928.

¹³ November 6, 1927.

¹⁴ June 28, 1925.

Will was later to say, "is the strongest and most dominating character in either North or South America."¹⁵

Former president Alvaro Obregon also made a hit with his American visitor. Though Calles, a president, received most of the accolades, Will paid Obregon the supreme compliment of the humorist when he praised the Mexican's sense of humor. "He's the fellow that the Sculptress wanted to make a bust of after he had lost him arm," Will wrote, "and he said 'No, they were liable to take him for Venus De Milo'."¹⁶ Will also credited Obregon with the following remark on the unsuccessful assassination attempt that had led to a lengthy and expensive period of hospitalization: "I can't afford to be missed again; it's lots cheaper to get hit!"¹⁷

Though willing to see Mexico's side of most questions Will was not blind to the existence of problems. While assuring the American public that Calles and Obregon were not bandits, he admitted that religion was still a problem in Mexico. Both Mexican leaders, Will said, would like to settle the church strike then going on, but so far had been unable to. With a presidential election approaching in the United States, Will injected the thought that Al Smith as a Catholic could help in settling the church problem in Mexico.¹⁸ The ever-present problem of militarism in Mexico did not escape the humorist's attention either, and he made use of this frailty in Mexican politics in another of his articles. When politely chastised for being late for dinner while traveling aboard the presidential train, Will replied, "Well, I just want to tell the President that I'm sorry. I was up in the front cars with some of the Soldiers. I have only been in Mexico one week, but you tell him I've learned that It's better to stand in with the Army of Mexico than the President." Calles was very graciously given the last word though and was reported by Will to have replied, "You tell Mr. Rogers that that was very smart of him to find that out, but that I found it out years before he did—that's why I am President."¹⁹

Several months after his trip to Mexico Will reported a summary of his observations in the *The Saturday Evening Post* in a series of articles entitled "More Letters From a Self-Made Diplomat," a continuation of an earlier series addressed to President Calvin Coolidge based on a trip to Europe. By this time Will had had a chance to get his thoughts better organized

¹⁵ December 20, 1931.

¹⁶ Will Rogers, "More Letters From a Self-Made Diplomat," *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 19, 1928. Acknowledgement is made to the Curtis Publishing Company for permission to quote from this series.

¹⁷ July 19, 1928.

¹⁸ January 15, 1928.

¹⁹ *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 19, 1928.

and also, without the space limitations of his daily article, to spell out in more detail his opinions. He was still impressed with the apparent change in our dealings with Mexico under Morrow's direction because, as he put it, "Up to now our calling card to Mexico or Central America had been a gunboat or a bunch of violets delivered by the Marines. We could never understand why Mexico wasent just crazy about us; for we had always had their good-will, and oil and coffee and minerals, at heart." Not only had Mexico objected to this attitude by the United States but,—it was added:

They got impudent and passed laws about what they could do with their own lands and their own Natural Resources, and here they wasent asking us anything about 'em. Well, that was a fine come-off! What right did they have to pass a law telling us what we was to do with their resources in their country? An the funny part was the Rascals got away with it!

These actions in Mexico, Will observed, had led a lot of Americans to want to go in and take the country over. "Where did this Country down here, with no great chains of Commercial Clubs and Chambers of Commerce and Junior and Sophomore and Freshman Chambers of Commerce, and Rotarys and Kiwanis and Lions and Tigers Clubs and no golf pants, and no advertizing Radio programs—where did a nation like that come in to have Oil anyhow?" This was the way Will had the interventionists thinking. Someone, though, had been responsible for wiser action, Will now knew, though he was not quite ready to give President Coolidge credit for the change. Still he felt that he had to report a great improvement in relations between the two countries.²⁰

Will's interest in Mexico continued as the months passed and he still had the ability to find just as much that needed correcting at home as abroad. When Calles announced that he was stepping down from the leadership of Mexico, Will wrote, "Now wouldnt it be great if Mexico was to start electing her Presidents by the Ballot instead of by Bullet! And us try electing a few by Ballot instead of by Bullion!"²¹

There was still much to be hoped for with regard to Inter-American relations from Will's point of view. He attended the Pan-American Conference in January, 1928, and commented, "What a beautiful sight as the Texas steamed into this flag and crowd draped city on a beautiful Sunday afternoon. It made you proud and showed what a friend we could be to the world if we would only let them all alone and let them run their various countries the way they think best."²² His apprehensions concerning the future were pretty well summed up the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1928.

²¹ September 3, 1928.

²² January 16, 1928.

following day when he reported President Coolidge's speech to the conference. "He didn't say that we would do anything for these countries, but, on the other hand, he didn't say that we would do anything against them. So it was what you might call a conservative speech."²³

The advent of the Hull-Roosevelt "Good Neighbor policy" was a big step in the right direction to one of Will's isolationist train of thought in the early 1930's. He happily reported on May 31, 1934, that President Roosevelt was giving Cuba a new treaty with the "godfather" clause being taken out. The same day he was able to report that the Interior Department was taking over the job of "wet nursing Porto Rica" from the army, while the Phillipines were "rehearsing for peace." Will commented that it would not be long "till our army will all be visiting America at one time." "That's the dope," he said, "get em all home, add to their number, add to their training, then just sit tight with a geat feeling of security, and just read about foreign wars that's the best thing in the world to do with them."

Will's isolationism was to be put to a severe test in the months just preceding his death in August, 1935, but, like most Americans, he was far more concerned with events developing in Asia and Europe than he was with the fate of a good neighbor policy. Whether his mid-western brand of isolationism or his instinctive humanitarianism would have prevailed in the years that followed must remain a subject for pure conjecture.

²³ January 17, 1928.

MARIA TALLCHIEF, IN HISTORY: OKLAHOMA'S OWN BALLERINA

By Frank F. Finney, Sr.

Indian history is inseparably woven in the fabric of the State of Oklahoma and many of its citizens with Indian blood have contributed much to its distinction and repute. In naming a few of these who achieved fame and acclaim in different ways we think of Will Rogers, General Clarence Tinker and Jim Thorpe of former days and in the scene of today, Maria Tallchief, whose talents have brought her recognition as one of the all time great ballerinas.

Maria, like many other native Oklahomans, is removed only a few generations from her full blood ancestors who hunted buffalo on the Oklahoma plains and lived in skin covered lodges. The name of her family was acquired from her great-grandmother's brother, a leading man among the Osages, Tall Chief. After Tall Chief's sister's second husband died, he took her sons, Maria's grandfather, Alex, Sr., and two of Alex's half brothers, Eves and Henry to rear under the name of Tall Chief.

In those days the Osages gathered in villages and lived in lodges. Tall Chief and his band lived in a camp near the confluence of Gray Horse Creek with the Arkansas River. This village was in the southwestern part of the Osage reservation and the Indians had to travel about twenty five miles to the agency for their supplies. They became tired of this and asked the agent for a store to be established nearer to them.

One day in the 1884, three white men¹ called on Tall Chief at his camp where they knew was a good spring of water, looking for a location for their store. Tall Chief said to them, "This spring is claimed by all of the Osages. I will show you where you may build your store." Going with them several miles to a point up the stream the chief said, "Here is the place; no one claims it." There on the banks of Gray Horse Creek, they found near the riffles where the agency trail crossed the creek, another spring of living water running from the rocks. The store was built on level ground several hundred feet from the creek. This was Gray Horse Trading Post.

¹ James E. Finney, Thomas M. Finney, Charles Schiffbauer.



(Photo, 1892)

TALL CHIEF
Of the Osage, great-uncle of Maria Tallchief

The John Florer and L. A. Wismeyer stores² which were built at the Gray Horse Trading Post were the only ones in the western part of the reservation for a number of years supplying the Tall Chief band and other Indians with their goods. In 1902 the Santa Fe built its railroad through the reservation and Mr. Wismeyer founded the town of Fairfax on Salt creek at a location about three miles from Gray Horse on the railroad. He moved his store building in sections by teams to the new town where most of the inhabitants of Gray Horse moved. It was at Fairfax that Maria Tallchief and her younger sister Marjorie³ were born.

Their father, Alex Tallchief, Jr., who died last year was virtually a full blood Osage Indian of $\frac{7}{8}$ ths degree. From their grandmother the girls acquired their relationship with the prominent Bigheart family. James Bigheart, was a noted leader of the tribe and one time principal chief of the Osage Nation. The mother of the girls who resides at Fairfax is of Scottish-Irish descent.

Mrs. Milton Sabin who lives in Oklahoma City, fortunately for Maria's future career, was conducting dancing classes at Pawhuska, Hominy and at several schools on the reservation. Mrs. Sabin had received her training as a dancing teacher in Boston and it seems unusual that services of one of her capability in teaching the highly polished and difficult ballet could be found in the Indian country where she came and where the native form of dancing among the Indians and "square" dancing among the white people prevailed.

Mrs. Sabin says:

I began giving lessons to Maria when she was three and a half years of age. All Indians have a natural grace of motion which Maria and Marjorie possessed, but regardless how much talent any one has, it has to be developed properly and requires much work and practice by the pupil. No one else but myself gave any lessons to Maria before the Tallchief family left for California when she was nine years old to further the careers of the girls. Much credit must be given to their mother who saw that her daughters unremittingly applied themselves. Maria also had great musical ability. At four she could play as many as fifty pieces on the piano and it was a question even after they were in California whether she would make her career as a musician or a dancer. It was not until she was given an opportunity in Los Angeles to play the piano in the first half and dance in the second half in a try-out performance that it was decided that she should curtail her efforts in music and concentrate on the dance.

² The first trading business at Gray Horse was established by J. E. Finney and Chas. Schiffbauer. John N. Florer soon took over the business. L. A. Wismeyer a little later also established a licensed Indian trading business there. T. M. Finney was at that time conducting an Indian trading business at the Kaw agency.

³ Mrs. George Skibine, formerly Majorie Tallchief, 60 rue des Fontenelles Seures, France. She now dances with the Paris Opera Ballet.

While Maria devoted much time to the study of dancing under competent instructors, she also managed to attend and graduate from the Beverly Hills high school. After her debut at the age of seventeen in a Hollywood Bowl performance, she went to New York City where her extraordinary talent was recognized and she was engaged by the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Company. She appeared first in Canada and then in Paris where she was the first American to dance in the Opera. After five years of sensational success in Europe, Maria returned to the United States and caused critics to "gasp at the seeming impossibility of her techniques" displayed in the ballet. Since her early triumphs, she has continued to embellish her career as a foremost ballerina by performances with the New York City Ballet Company in America and by frequent appearances in Europe. She is now the wife of Henry D. Paschen, Jr., a construction executive of Chicago and the mother of a year old daughter, Elise. After a maternity leave she is again appearing with the New York City Company.

In the summer of 1953, Maria came for a brief visit to her home town of Fairfax in the land of her forefathers who frequently held their dances to the beat of the drums. These native Indian dances were a far cry from the lyrical flowing and beautiful ballet performed by Maria with music from some great orchestra, but all Indians loved to dance and it is not hard to believe that her heredity had some part in her own love and aptitude for the more elegant form of the art.

June 29, 1953, was designated by the Oklahoma State Senate as "Maria Tallchief Day" and the streets of Fairfax were bedecked with banners for a full day celebration. Friends and kin came from miles around and State and Osage Tribe officials were at hand to do her honor. The Governor made her an honorary Colonel on his staff and Principal Chief Paul Pitts of the Osages in a ceremony at the Tallchief theater placed on her a headdress and pronounced her an Osage Princess.

Applause from enthusiastic audiences attending her performances on her tours was gratefully received by Maria Tallchief but upon her own assertion, none of these ovations was as heart warming or gave her as much satisfaction as the welcome given her by the people of her own State of Oklahoma.⁴

The durability of the esteem and admiration held for Maria Tallchief was shown on her return to the state in February of the current year (1960) to fill an engagement with the Oklahoma City Symphony at the City Auditorium. During the

⁴The front cover of *Newsweek* for October 11, 1954, in color carried a fine close-up photo of Maria Tallchief, and a story under "The Dance—" "Talented Tall Chief: We find Our Own Ballerina."

evening preceeding the Sunday afternoon concert, Maria with some of her family attended a ceremony in which a bronze figure, nearly five feet in height, was unveiled at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Guy James. The statue, modeled by the sculptor, Keating Donahoe, portrays her in a graceful pose as the "Swan Queen" of the Swan Opera Ballet. A second bronze from the original model was given her from a civic group in the name of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, and this her friends throughout the state applaud as a pleasing and lasting tribute to the native girl who with the charm and perfection of her art has added luster to the name of Oklahoma.

JOE KAGEY: INDIAN EDUCATOR

By A. M. Gibson

The education of the American Indian has been a continuing concern throughout the history of Anglo-Indian relations. Both the United States Government and various missionary church groups have sought to hasten acculturation of the American Indian by establishing schools among the nations and tribes. Since Oklahoma has at least one-third of all the Indians in the United States, a high percentage of these schools has been situated in this state. At the turn of the century there were twenty-five schools for the Indian in operation in Oklahoma, operated as day as well as boarding schools, and supported by church groups and the government, at times jointly.¹

This would be the highwater mark for the number of schools in operation and the number of Indian families served. After 1910, the United States Government began to take over the complete operation of many of these schools. Thereupon, claiming the need for economy, the government has closed Indian schools here and there until only seven remain in operation in the state today. One of these extant schools is the Seneca Indian School at Wyandotte, Oklahoma.

Established in 1869 by the Society of Friends as a missionary venture among the Wyandottes, Senecas, and Shawnees, this institution is a monument to Quaker ingenuity, thrift, and dedication to high purpose.² In spite of ever-recurring hardships and what seemed to be insurmountable problems, the missionaries of this brotherhood persevered, and finally succeeded in carving a center of learning from the rock-bound hills and forests of Lost Creek Valley. Acclaimed by many early-day visitors as "The Marvel of the West," Seneca Indian School supplied a course of study based on the objective of educating the heart, head, and hand of Wyandotte, Seneca, and Shawnee youths. The successful record of its graduates in business, professions, the arts, skilled trades, and farming reflect well on the goal of the school's founders. As was the case with other Indian schools, the United States Government took over more and more of the operation of Seneca Indian School until by 1900, except for a few special gifts in books or clothing supplied by the Society of Friends, Seneca Indian School was

¹ A common relationship was for the government to pay the teacher's salaries, the church missionary group taking care of the other operating expenses. At times tribal funds were used to support these schools too.

² For a history of Seneca School before 1900, see A. M. Gibson, "Wyandotte Mission: the Early Years," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXVI (July, 1958), 137-154.



JOE KAGEY

entirely under the direction of the government. All too often, government operation of Indian schools has meant impersonal administration, sacrificial efficiency, and even disinterestedness.

Seneca Indian School presents an exception to this general rule, largely through the long administration of the Dean of modern Indian educators, the late Joe N. Kagey, a Virginian, who served the cause of Indian education in Oklahoma for nearly fifty years. Joe Kagey joined a massive migration into Oklahoma, a human movement that got under way during the land rush days, and came from the North and South, the East and West. By 1913, when Kagey left Virginia for the West, people were still coming in large numbers, largely because of the abundant opportunities the new state offered. Most of these people came to serve their own interests. A few, typified by Joe Kagey, came to serve others.

Born in Rockingham County, Virginia, in 1890, Kagey graduated from Bridgewater College in 1912. After a brief stint at teaching in local public schools, he journeyed West, making a stop at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. There he met a fellow Virginian, Cyrus Beery, who was in the East recruiting teachers for the Indian tribes of Oklahoma. Beery, with a lifetime of teaching in the Choctaw Nation, was too old to return, and during his conference with young Kagey, encouraged him to come to the Choctaw country. Enthused by Beery's reports of the opportunities in the new country, and carrying letters of recommendation from the venerable missionary, Kagey journeyed to Muskogee, Oklahoma, in those early days of statehood, still the Union Agency or administrative center for the Five Civilized Tribes.³

At Muskogee, Kagey received his first assignment in Indian education. Goodland School and Orphanage, in the old Choctaw Nation near Hugo, needed a teacher and counselor for boys. While Goodland was a Presbyterian Mission Board operation, the school was on a government contract by which the Indian Service paid the teachers' salaries.

Goodland School, rich in tradition and replete with big names in Choctaw Nation spiritual and intellectual history—Cyrus Kingsbury, Cyrus Byington, and Alfred Wright—was first established as an Indian mission in 1848 by Cyrus Kingsbury and the Presbyterian Board of Missions. Called "Yakui Ackukma" by the Choctaws, and meaning "Goodland" because of its numerous springs, abundant timber, and fertile soil in the area, Byington's mission was converted into a school and orphanage for Choctaw children in 1850 by Reverend and Mrs.

³ Much of the material used in this biography is based on notes made from interviews with the late Joe Kagey during the summer of 1958, and with Mrs. Joe Kagey in September, 1959.

Oliver Porter Stark. Goodland School was slightly over sixty years old when Joe Kagey came to the campus, and just as Stark and other Indian educators left a part of themselves at Goodland through devoted service and enthusiastic leadership, so did Kagey.

While Kagey's college training was in the field of Fine Arts—painting and music, he early showed very practical traits necessary for a frontier situation. His prompt attention to a run-down school farm increased food production, and did much to improve the diet of the children at Goodland. Winter storage of potatoes, yams, and other farm products, plus better preservation of meat, insured a balanced ration for each student the year round.

Quite soon after his arrival at Goodland, Kagey, displayed his interest in vocational education for Indian youth, an objective often discussed, but seldom applied in the Indian Service. Early experiments tried, and lessons learned at Goodland, he later applied with success at other Indian schools in Oklahoma. As a teacher at Goodland, Kagey imparted, besides the fundamentals of learning, some of his specialty—the Fine Arts, and developed among the Choctaw children a deeper sense of the beautiful. So effective was his teaching and oversight of student activities, and keen his interest shown in the welfare of Choctaw children at Goodland, that in a short while Kagey was promoted to the position of Assistant Principal.

While Kagey's first assignment at the Goodland School ended in 1917, his service there left an indelible print on the school offerings as well as its operation. His boundless energy showed up in the enthusiasm of faculty and students at the school, a richer curriculum, better food production on the school farms, and full harvest bins and larders for winter's use.

In 1917, Kagey was transferred to Jones Academy, also in the Choctaw Country, near Hartshorne. He brought with him his skill in organizing courses, stimulating student enthusiasm, and more efficient use of school shops and farms through vocational education. Kagey's program at Jones Academy for Choctaw boys hardly got off the ground when the United States entered World War I. Kagey entered the Armed Forces in 1917, and served for over a year with the Army. Upon his discharge Kagey returned to Jones Academy, where he served the cause of Indian education until 1927, and his service record shows that Kagey played a leading role in providing expansion of the physical plant with more adequate classroom and dormitory space, a more diversified curriculum, and extension of the school farm so as to assure a more stable food supply.

For many years the Indian Office allowed only twenty cents or less per day to feed each student enrolled. This token

allowance not only had to pay for flour, sugar, salt, cornmeal, and other staples, but also it was extended to cover the cost of transportation of staples from the supplier to the campus, as well as the expense of cooks and other kitchen help in preparing food so purchased. Kagey's plan of developing a program of food production on the school farms, coupled with the raising of poultry, hogs, and cattle, assured a better diet with milk, meat, and vegetables. Also, the students received valuable vocational training in farming, animal husbandry, and poultry care.

Following Kagey's return to Jones Academy from the service, besides active oversight of a shop and farm vocational program, he taught the eighth and ninth grades, and served as Principal. Shortly before his departure from Jones Academy, Kagey was raised to the position of academy Superintendent.

In 1927, Kagey returned to Goodland School. This institution had languished during his absence. Most of all, Goodland needed the enthusiasm, driving energy, and forceful leadership such as Kagey had supplied during his earlier stint at the school. The school records show an increased enrollment, more effective support of the school, and expansion of physical plant during the year of Joe Kagey's return.

With Goodland in a good state of recovery, Kagey left the Choctaw country in 1928 for an assignment at Seneca Indian School near Wyandotte, Oklahoma. Just previous to Joe Kagey's arrival at Seneca Indian School, the Indian Office had set a new policy for this institution. Until 1828, the school had largely been operated for the benefit of the Wyandot, Seneca, and Shawnee tribes, with a few Peoria, Quapaw, and Modoc children of the neighboring area included in the annual enrollment.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs adopted the policy at this time of forcing local Indian children to attend the public schools of Ottawa County, and took steps to close the Seneca Indian School. Mr. O. K. Chandler, a Cherokee Indian, and Superintendent of the Quapaw Agency, a jurisdiction which included the Seneca Indian School, worked diligently to keep the school open. His campaign to preserve historic Seneca Indian School included a request that the Bureau of Indian Affairs make an investigation to determine the future service the school could serve in Indian education.

Officials of the Indian Service carried out Chandler's recommendation, and following an investigation, it was decided to keep the school open, but change its policy of **admittance**: First, open it to children of all tribes in the United States; and Second, establish it as an "institutional case" type of

school (i.e., children admitted must be hardship cases, coming from broken homes, orphans, or related causes). This new enrollment policy produced marked changes in the makeup of the student body early in Kagey's administration of the Seneca Indian School. Whereas before it had consisted largely of Senecas, Shawnees, and Wyandots, with a few Quapaws, Peorias, and Modoes, the new policy produced a much more diversified group of learners as is indicated by a report for the year 1933:⁴ Cherokees 163; Senecas 28; Quapaws 5; Ottawas 3; Shawnees 28; Seneca-Shawnee 3; Cherokee-Delaware 2; Cayuga 2; Wyandot 3; Modoe 1, Shawnee-Delaware 3; Wyandot-Sioux 1; Creek 5; Peoria 3; Arapaho 3.

The entrance requirements of the new admittance policy for Seneca Indian School included that each applicant must be at least one-quarter Indian. In the year 1952, when there were 273 Indian children enrolled, with an age range for grades one through nine of six to twenty, the degree of Indian blood was:⁵ Full-blood, 75; Three-quarter, 73, One-half, 57; One-quarter, 68.

For the same period, to illustrate the diversity of tribes served, the institutional reports show:⁶ Cherokee, 173; Creek, 33; Creek-Seminole, 10; Seneca, 12; Chickasaw, 1; Sac-Fox, 1; Osage, 5; Cherokee-Osage, 5; Cherokee-Shawnee, 6; Otoe-Creek, 1; Otoe-Cherokee, 1; Choctaw, 4; Choctaw-Cherokee, 2; Choctaw-Chickashaw, 1.

Intervening reports reveal that the Seneca Indian School has also educated children of the various Sioux tribes, as well as Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Kiowa, Pawnee, and Comanche.

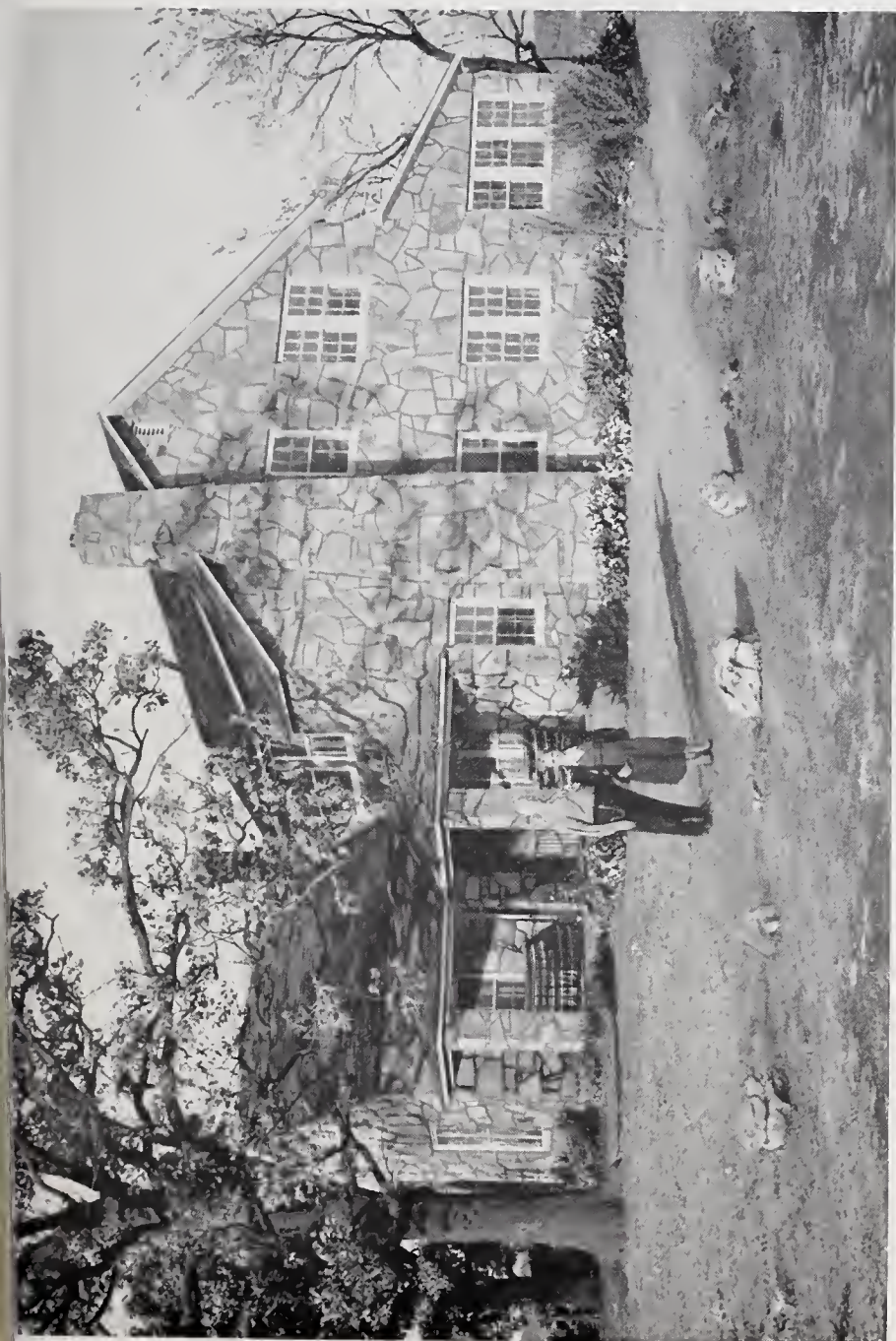
Joe Kagey served at the Seneca Indian School as Principal from 1928 until his retirement in 1956. Working at his side throughout this period, and equally dedicated to the cause of educating the youth of the Indian Nations was Mrs. Joe Kagey. Born near Tuskahoma, and for years a teacher at Tuskahoma, Sequoyah, and Jones Academy, Mrs. Kagey, the former Miss Aline Holman, and Mr. Kagey were married in 1921. Joining the faculty at Seneca Indian School in 1928, Mrs. Kagey taught music, dramas, and physical education.

Each year of the Kagey administration at Seneca Indian School saw some improvement in curriculum or expansion of the physical plant. Old structures, some of them dating from 1882, were remodeled and made serviceable again. A new

⁴ "Seneca Indian School," *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine*, II (March, 1933), 7.

⁵ Manuscript report of Attendance for the Year Beginning September 4, 1951, and Ending May 21, 1952. Kagey Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library.

⁶ *Ibid.*



Home of Mr. and Mrs. Joe Kagey, on the hill overlooking the Seneca Boarding School campus.

bakery and laundry were erected, and Indian Office inspectors rated these as the best to be found in the Indian Service. In the 1930's, a new dormitory for girls and a boys' dormitory, each constructed of brick, were completed. For safety, due to distance from larger towns, a volunteer fire department was organized on the campus, and a new fire truck purchased. Gradually mechanics, carpentry, and farm equipment shops were built, "most of the manpower provided by the 267 students enrolled."⁷

Under Kagey's directorship, the school budget was nearly doubled in less than twenty years, ranging up to a high of \$125,000 in 1949.⁸ This enabled him to increase the staff, diversify the academic and vocational offerings, and develop a remarkable student activity program. It is significant that Kagey was friendly to new ideas in education, and was not hesitant in adopting the latest advancements in teaching and administration, if such changes increased the effectiveness of Seneca Indian School as a center of learning and training.

The school staff, which included a fireman, farmer, dairyman, girls' advisor, matrons and dorm attendants, was increased from eighteen to twenty-seven. The instructional program was improved by an increase in the faculty. When Kagey arrived on the campus, the Seneca Indian School teaching staff consisted of six. Within two years, Kagey's faculty numbered ten.

The curriculum at the Seneca Indian School was coordinated with course offerings prescribed by the State Department of Education and local public schools, and the faculty met regular State certification requirements. All nine grades at Seneca Indian School received accreditation by the State Department of Education and North Central Association during Kagey's administration. A library had been started before 1928. It underwent considerable change following Kagey's appointment, in that he started a program of regular growth whereby at least 200 books were added each year.

Principal Kagey organized the school schedule on a three-quarter day system whereby the students attended academic classes one day, then for the next half-day participated in vocational exercises. The boys worked in the school carpentry and machine shops, and were instructed in animal husbandry, modern farm management, and maintenance. Girls were taught cooking, sewing, home management, and grooming.

Besides regular study hall each evening, the students participated in literary and debating societies. Wits were sharpened by periodic contests in spelling and ciphering bees.

⁷ *Miami Daily News Record*, November 13, 1949.

⁸ *Ibid.*

A rhythm band was organized for the primary grades, a harmonica band for the upper grades, and a music appreciation class was held for all. These and similar programs were installed by Kagey to make the learning process more provocative. With all these inducements toward learning supplied by the Kagey administration, the rate of continued study for graduates of Seneca Indian School was good. Many subsequently enrolled at Chilocco, Haskell, and Carlyle, as well as the public high schools and colleges.

Besides a first rate academic program, Seneca Indian School also developed an extensive extra-curricular series too. Active Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops were organized at the school in 1929. Two years later, a student council was initiated on the campus, charged with the responsibility of supervising student affairs.

In as much as many of the students at Seneca Indian School returned to a farming environment, Kagey undertook an extensive 4-H program for the school. With the deep interest and encouragement of Mr. H. A. Andrews, long time Superintendent of the Quapaw Agency at Miami, a dairy herd of forty purebred Holsteins was purchased, along with a new dairy barn and milking machine. Valuable training was provided the student body in animal husbandry, and too, the herd supplied enough milk for a quart per day per pupil, as well as the cooking needs in the school cafeteria. A number of calves were fattened each year and slaughtered for beef. Herds of registered Hampshire hogs, flocks of leghorn chickens, and white Holland turkeys were developed too, furnishing meat, eggs, and valuable experience for the student body.⁹

It became traditional during the Kagey administration for Seneca School students to place high and win prizes at the Ottawa County Fair, and Chilocco Achievement Day contests in home economics, animal and poultry divisions, and farm machinery maintenance and operation.

In athletic competition, Seneca School students excelled too. For many years, the Seneca boxing team ranked with the State's best, placing high or winning most local and regional tournaments. The school was involved in an interscholastic athletic program too, which included football, basketball, baseball, tennis, and track. Seneca School teams played senior high schools and held their own although the institution was rated as a junior high with its nine grades. The highlight of the athletic year was the Athletic Field Meet, held on the campus each year, and included all sorts of sports competition.

⁹ "Seneca Indian School," *loc. cit.*, 23-24.

Seneca Indian School has a deep spiritual tradition. The institution's religious ties were not neglected during Kagey's administration. Through the years, the children continued to attend religious services at the Quaker Mission in Wyandotte on Sunday morning. Also, the resident pastor from Wyandotte came onto the campus each Wednesday and Sunday evening to conduct special services for the student body in the school gym.

Involved in such an extensive program of administration, Joe Kagey had little time to indulge his special gifts of painting and music in a formal way through teaching. His deep sense of the beautiful was not completely neglected, however, for with Mrs. Kagey, herself keenly aesthetic, he planned and constructed a spacious, native-stone home on a hill overlooking the school campus. Into its large rooms the Kageys placed, in a most tasteful fashion, antiques they had spent a lifetime in collecting. Elegant china and mahogany sideboards transport one into the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Kageys retired from the Indian Service in late 1956. Mr. Kagey was awarded the Department of the Interior Meritorious Service Award; Mrs. Kagey the Commandable Service Award.¹⁰ Less than three years later, on March 16, 1959, Joe Kagey passed away. The product of his nearly fifty years of service on behalf of the American Indian is epitomized in the funeral oration of Dr. Harry Curtis:¹¹

"Joe Kagey was revered by hundreds of Indians for the paternal interest he took in their affairs while they were students at Seneca School . . . and after they left the school. Many, who entered the school as orphans, came to regard the principal as their foster father."

¹⁰ *Seneca News Dispatch*, May 16, 1957.

¹¹ Manuscript of the Joe Kagey Funeral Oration by Dr. Harry Curtis, Miami, Oklahoma, March 19, 1959. Kagey Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library.

MEMOIRS OF A PIONEER TEACHER

By Harriet Patrick Gilstrap

FOREWORD

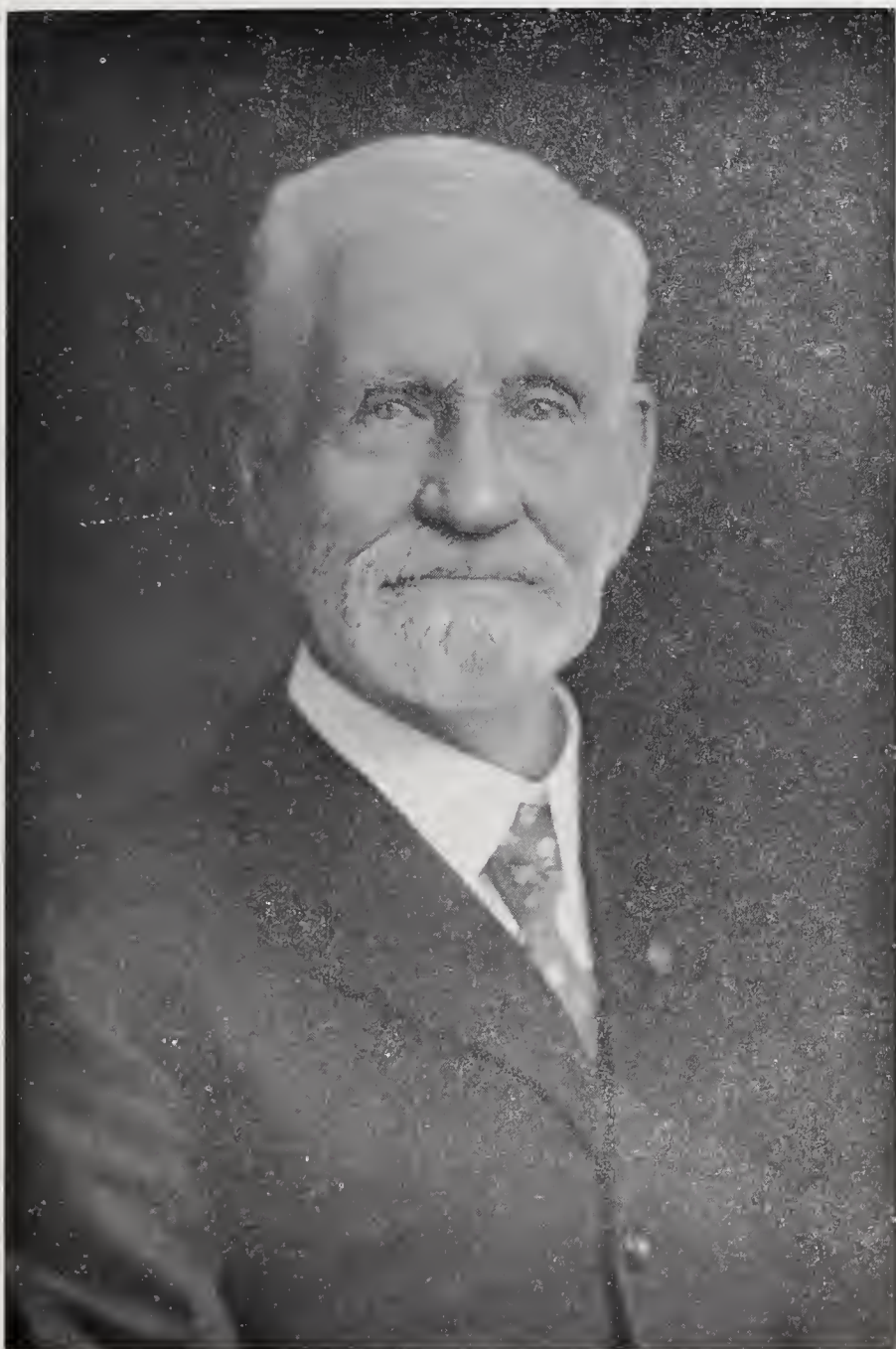
These memoirs are contributed to The Chronicles by Harriet Patrick Gilstrap who at the age of ninety years speaks in a special note of her pleasure in recalling her life in Oklahoma territorial days. She is the daughter of the late Samuel Lee Patriek who was appointed U. S. Indian Agent by President Benjamin Harrison in 1889, to serve at the old Sae and Fox Agency in what is now Lincoln County. She was a teacher in the Indian schools for a number of years, and made the run on horseback for a homestead claim when the Sae and Fox country was opened to white settlement in 1891. Mrs. Gilstrap has written her Memoirs at the request of her friends in Delta Kappa Gamma, National Society of Women Teachers, in which members of a committee (among them Mrs. Lavinia P. Dennis who specially sponsored the writing) have promoted the history of pioneer teachers in this country. Appreciation and thanks are expressed by Mrs. Gilstrap for the help in taking dictation and typing the first draft of her manuscript given by Mrs. Alma Wallace who served many years in the office of her husband, the late Major Harry Gilstrap of Oklahoma City.

—The Editor

THE MEMOIRS

I was born February 1, 1870, on a farm near Centropolis in Franklin County, Kansas. We moved to Ottawa when I was three years old. When we moved to town, my brother and I were left with a neighbor over night. When he and I were taken to our new home, the weather was cold and we were covered with buffalo robes during the drive. I do not remember much about the house except that it was on the west side of town. One time I ran away to visit a little girl. I graduated from high school in 1888, and attended Ottawa Baptist University for a year. In April, 1888, the Oklahoma country was opened for settlement, and Father and Mother moved down here in June. I was sent to Illinois to stay with my three maiden aunts, Father's sisters.

In September, my parents came for me, and we came to Oklahoma City. We stopped at a hotel where the board walls of the bed-room had such large cracks that we had to put out the lights before we could prepare for bed. It took three or four days in Oklahoma City to buy supplies for the Agency which was located east about seventy-five miles on the Sae and Fox Indian Reservation. My brother who had been working in a bank in Ottawa, Kansas, came in one night very proudly wearing cow-boy boots and carrying a gun. I jumped up in surprise and more than half in fear, screaming, "You are not my brother! You are not my brother!"



SAMUEL LEE PATRICK
1833-1923

We left Oklahoma City about four o'clock one afternoon and drove east on the way to the Agency, Mr. and Mrs. Graff and Birdie, their fourteen year old daughter, accompanying us: At "Choctaw City," we stayed with a man and his wife who were building a house yet unfinished with a part of the floor laid in only two rooms. The next day we drove all day in the rain and reached Wellston. The men slept on the counters in the store owned by Mr. De Weese, and the women stayed in the house, sleeping three in a bed. The baby cried all night for custard pie and milk. The next day we reached the Agency late in the afternoon.¹ For three months, I saw no other white girl except Birdie Graff.

I soon went to work in the post office located in the store owned by Chief Keokuk of the Sac and Fox tribe. I handed out and dispatched the mail as it arrived from Sapulpa one day and returned the next, weather permitting. One day a bunch of bandits, known as the Dalton Brothers, came in from the Turkey Track Ranch. They were nice and polite, and I enjoyed matching pennies with them.

After a time, I went to teach in the Shawnee School that had been in operation for many years as a government boarding school.² There was one building, the school room, dining room,

¹ The site of the old Sac and Fox Agency is about five miles south of Stroud, Oklahoma. The Agency comprised 1,500,000 acres in four reservations, on which five tribes were located: Sac and Fox, Iowa, Kickapoo, Shawnee and Potawatomi (Report signed by Samuel L. Patrick in Oklahoma, Sept. 9, 1890).

Samuel Lee Patrick was born in Massachusetts, August 10, 1833. He died at the age of ninety in Washington, D. C., and was buried at Chandler, Oklahoma. When he was four years old, he went with his parents to Ogle County, Illinois. He attended school at Mt. Morris, Illinois and at Beloit Seminary at Beloit, Wisconsin. He sailed from New York for San Francisco in 1852, and remained in California four years, gold mining. He enlisted in the 34th Illinois Infantry at the outbreak of the Civil War, and advanced to the rank of captain and was discharged in 1864 because of gun shot wounds. He fought in the Battle of Lookout Mountain and other noted battles. He was shot in the throat at the Battle of Shiloh, and lay all night in the water, his boots filled with water and blood. He was very ill, his weight fell to ninety pounds, and an abscess formed on his back before he was sent home. After the war, he went into the merchantile business in Illinois, and married Mary Farron at Elgin, in 1867. The young couple moved within a year to a farm in Kansas, and then later settled at Ottawa where he afterward served twelve years as Clerk of the District Court, before he was appointed as the Sac and Fox Agent in the Indian Territory. At different times, he had lived on the old Sac and Fox Reservation in Illinois and, also, on the Sac and Fox Reservation in Kansas. Some of the battles in the war against Chief Black Hawk of the Sac and Fox in the 1830's were fought on land that was included on his brother's farm in Illinois.

² The site of the Shawnee Boarding School (first buildings erected 1876) is now the location of the Shawnee Agency and Indian Sanitorium on State Highway 18, south of the North Canadian River between Shawnee and Tecumseh, Pottawatomie County. Mention of early days at the old Shawnee School is made by Thomas Wildeat Alford in *Civilization* as told to Florence Drake (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1936), p. 131.

kitchen, living room and guest bedroom downstairs. There was a sewing room and bedrooms on the second floor. Books were furnished by the Government. Some of the pupils were anxious to learn, others were very indifferent.

My stay at the Shawnee School was made horrible by my constant fight with bedbugs. They had really taken over! They were in curtains, door facings, everywhere. Every morning I got up and threw my mattress out of the window onto the roof. The matron was quite indifferent about the pests, and said that nothing could be done about them. I finally got rid of them in my room by papering the walls and painting the wood work. But it was all at the price of constant vigilance. Another trouble was the drinking water. I had always drunk a lot of water but here the water was hauled in barrels, and the very sight of it sickened me. I was the only teacher for all the grades, with a salary of \$50.00 a month, paid quarterly, a very good salary in those days. I taught at the Shawnee School in 1890, and 1891, returning to the Agency a wiser young woman—much wiser.

Father erected new buildings at the Agency, including a girls' dormitory and a laundry for the Sac and Fox Boarding School. The original building was of brick and housed both boys and girls. A builder employed in the States came and erected the new building with three school rooms on the first floor and a large recreation room on the second floor where we had our entertainments. Young people would come down from Chandler, and then after a big dinner at the Agency would dance in the recreation room.

Jim Thorpe went to school to me, an incorrigible youngster.³

He had a twin brother whose name was Charley, a sweet gentle little boy. After I went back to teach at the Sac and Fox Agency, there was an epidemic of typhoid fever. The superintendent was very ill. Many of the pupils were ill, too, and I took care of them, giving them medicine every hour but by the time that I had made the rounds, it was time to begin again. Charlie Thorpe had also contracted pneumonia. I took care of him at night with the other children. Mr. and Mrs. Thorpe came one night to relieve me, and I tried to get a little rest. At 5:00 a.m., word came that Charley was worse. I went to him and took him in my arms, put his little feet in mustard water, and sent for the doctor. But the poor little fellow just lay back and died. That was in 1897.

³ Jim Thorpe became famous in history as the World's greatest athlete, winner of the Olympic Games in Sweden in 1912. For a brief sketch of Jim Thorpe see *Appendix* at the end of this article.



MRS. HARRY GILSTRAP

When she was Miss Harriet Patrick, age twenty-three years, a teacher in the Sac and Fox Boarding School.

One boy who came to the Shawnee School was Ernest Spybuck.⁴ He refused to learn but would sit all day long and draw or paint. Some years ago, I visited him in Shawnee and he gave me a painting of two horses, a white man standing by one and an Indian sitting in the saddle on the other. I thought the painting so good that I have presented it to the Historical Society as another mute testimony to the innate ability that resides in man regardless of race and education.

The children were all well dressed at the schools where I taught. The girls wore navy blouses in winter and cotton dresses in summer. The boys wore uniforms. The girls worked in the sewing rooms where all of their clothes were made. Some children attended school for only half a day, and worked on the farm or in the sewing room or in the laundry, the other half.

I rode horseback in those days. There were roads to Shawnee and Sapulpa but no other roads. Father bought us a riding horse in Oklahoma City, and we called him "Wallace." There were five Indian tribes under the jurisdiction of this Agency—Sac and Fox, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Iowa and Kickapoo. We saw many of the Indian men naked except for a breechelout. Father gave the Indians English names; first came the names of the presidents, then the vice-presidents, then prominent people of the day. I rode out from the Agency to the Indian dances. The Indian men rode horseback, and the women rode behind the men. They generally all wore feathers, not beautiful plumes, but eagle feathers. Later after the opening of the country to white settlement, the young people in the community had dances of their own, mostly square dances with fiddlers. This was all strange to me for I had gone to dancing school in the North and knew the polkas and waltzes.

Father and Mother went to Oklahoma City about every two weeks, and always stayed at the "Grand Hotel" located where the Oklahoma Club is now. Payments to the Indians were made at the Agency twice a year. A company or troop of Cavalry would come to Oklahoma City from Fort Reno to serve as a guard in bringing the money over to the Agency. One time on the way home, Father and Mother stopped at Choctaw City for the night, and for safe keeping, Father hid a packet of several thousand dollars in the mattress. Ten miles on the way to the Agency in the morning, Father suddenly thought to ask Mother if she had the money. She had forgotten it, too, so it was an anxious ride back to Mrs. Shotwell's where they had spent the night. She, luckily, had found it soon after their departure and

⁴ Earnest Spybuck was recognized later in the field of art, one of the first American Indians known for his beautiful paintings of Indian life. For a brief sketch of Earnest Spybuck see *Appendix* at the end of this article.

had hidden it in a flour barrel. Needless to say, Mrs. Shotwell was well rewarded for her care.

There was always a great deal of company at the Sae and Fox Agency. Folks came down from Ottawa, Kansas, to hunt in this part of the Territory where there was plenty of wild turkey, deer and quail. Mother always had a lot of entertaining to do, and had difficulty in training Indian girls as help, especially in table service. I remember one time when Vice President Morton⁵ was our guest, Mother had gone to great pains to instruct a new girl. You can imagine Mother's embarrassment when the girl removed the plates and volunteered the information, "You will have to keep your forks." There were always many special agents and officials to be entertained though there was a good hotel near.

Housekeeping was not easy in those days. There was no ice but we had a very good well-room in the kitchen where the food would stay cool for hours. We had butter shipped down from Ottawa in kegs, also pickles and many other items packed in bags. I wonder now how Mother managed all these things. There was a laborer who took care of the horses and did other chores, and, of course, "boarded" with us. All that he wanted to eat was "side meat" and potatoes.

The summer of 1891, I spent at the Agency making blue print maps of the places allotted the Indians at the opening of the reservation lands in September. There were surveyors and a great many people about all of the time. Every Indian had an allotment of 160 acres of his own choosing. The land on the reservation left over—or surplus—after allotting the Indians was opened to white settlement.

By proclamation of President Harrison, the land was to be opened by a run for claims on September 22, 1891.⁶ I had transferred from the Shawnee Boarding School to teach at the Agency. I knew where I wanted my claim to be, and so dismissed the children from school on the day of the Opening to make the run. My father held my horse and would not let me start until all of the people trying to stake claims were on the move. I knew there was a young man at the Agency who had chosen to try for the same claim that I had. He had hired a fast horse at Guthrie but my horse was a running horse, too. I had never been on this land but I knew where I wanted to set my stake. I out-distanced everyone for when I came to the place there was no one else in sight, and my horse was very hot. I drove my stake, and then took care of the horse, rubbing him down with a cloth. A few

⁵ This was Vice President Levi P. Morton of New York, who served with President Benjamin Harrison, 1889-1893.

⁶ After the Indian allotments were made, there remained over 750,000 acres of land on 4 reservations—Sae and Fox, Iowa, Potawatomi-Shawnee—that were opened to white settlement by the Run of September 22, 1891.

minutes later, the young man who had been trying for the place came up and said, "You beat me. I got lost in the woods."

My father's laborer built a house for me but not of logs which I do not like. Then I had the place fenced with barbed wire. My mother gave me a set of silver which she had when she was married, and someone stole it. I went out to the house on my claim in the daytime but I always had someone with me for I was afraid to stay alone. However, one Saturday I sat alone hemstitching a sheet when I saw a man coming with a gun over his shoulder. I got a knife and locked the door for there was no one to call for help. The man looked in the window, and I could hear him walking around the house but he did not try to get in.

My brother, Lee Patriek, took a claim south of me. Cossett Stratton, niece of the well known writer Gene Stratton Porter, took a claim south of his. Lee and Cossette were later married. Roy Hoffman, later very prominent in Oklahoma, and a lawyer from Guthrie took a claim south of me.

I first tried to raise cattle on my claim but they died with the measles. My next venture was to raise pigs but they died with the cholera. To get final possession of my claim, I had to live on the land six months. I was the only one near me who finally proved up as all the others around me sold out for \$500 or less. Finally I sold my claim for it was costing too much money to keep it. I sold the land to D. C. Lewis, and now have lost all track of it. I sold the land for \$3,000.00, and I gained a lot of experience, too.

In 1893, Cosette, Lee and I went to Chicago to the World's Fair. Roy Hoffman joined us on a five-day trip on Lake Michigan.

At a teachers' institute, the President of Haskell Institute, a very fine Indian school at Lawrence, Kansas, asked me to go there to teach. My father did not like to have me that far away from home but he agreed that I might take twenty-three of the most promising children from the Sac and Fox Agency and enroll them in Haskell. Father went with us to Guthrie, and we camped on the way. We took the train from Guthrie, to Arkansas City where we stopped for dinner at the Harvey House. Father telegraphed ahead to Haskell that we were coming so there would be someone to meet us at the depot. Neither Father nor I knew that two of the boys had some liquor. When we were leaving the Harvey House, Mr. Sidieum took the bottles from the boys and put them on the train and they caused us no trouble.

We arrived at Lawrence about 5:00 a.m., and there was no one to meet us as Father's telegram had not been delivered. I telephoned out to the Institute and someone came to meet us

immediately. It had been a hard trip and an especially hard night with the children sleeping in the chair cars. One little girl about eight years of age tried to undress all night long in her sleep. She was the youngest of the group of the twenty-three from the Agency, and I am sure was very homesick. Poor little girl! There were about six teachers and children from other Indian agencies at Haskell. Of the twenty-three from our Agency, there were only two or three who stayed until they finished the courses in the school.

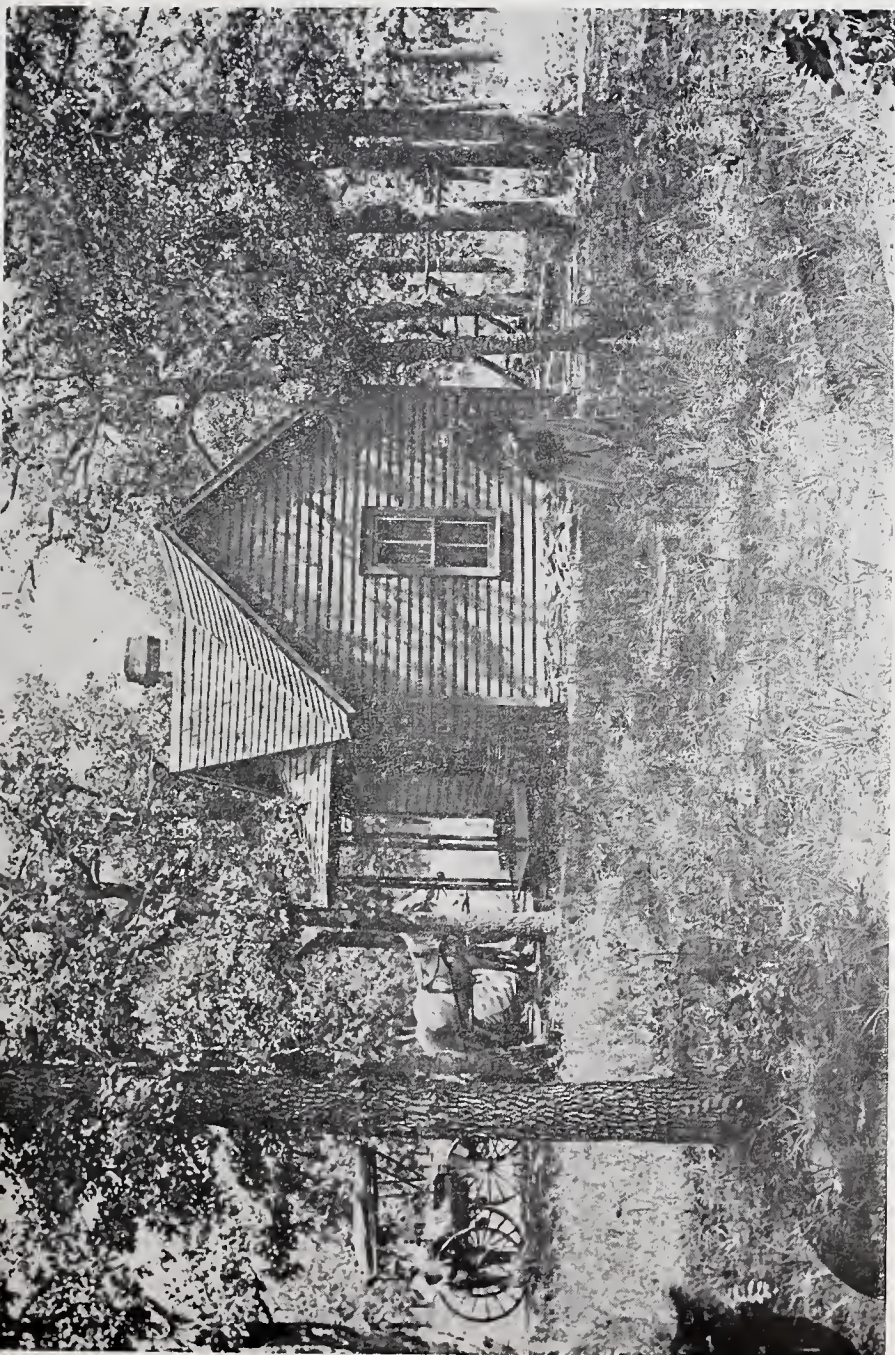
A terrible attack of sciatica caused me to give up teaching at Haskell. I was on crutches for three months. Mother came and spent a month with me but I finally had to give up and go home. Father and Mother were in Ottawa, Kansas, at the time. When I recovered from the illness, I was anxious to go back to work, and was assigned the principalship at Quapaw Agency, in north-eastern Indian Territory. After teaching at Quapaw, I went back to the Sac and Fox Agency where my brother was now Agent.⁷ Here I met Mr. Gilstrap, a newspaper man from Chandler. He had come down from Chandler to straighten out the records of the Agency, which were in a very bad shape. It took him several months and he was to receive 20% of what had been saved but he did not receive a cent. However, he saved the previous agent from a lot of trouble. I had always said that I would marry a professional man, and he would be a doctor, a lawyer or a newspaper man. I had met Mr. Gilstrap before this but did not fall in love with him until he came to the Agency.⁸ I just "fell" for him and he for me! I thought that I was an old maid and would not think of being anything else. He had never married either.

At this time, my brother, Lee, was at the Agency when an epidemic of small pox broke out. The school was closed and my brother told me that he wanted me to take his little girl of three years to Illinois immediately. As I boarded the train at Chandler, Mr. Gilstrap said, "When are you coming back?" "When you come for me," I replied. That was Christmas 1898.

We were married in Illinois on the next Sunday after Easter, 1899, in the home of my aunt, Mrs. Ed Patrick, with seventeen guests present. My mother and father had been there for sometime settling an estate. My wedding clothes were made in

⁷ Samuel Lee Patrick served as Indian Agent at the Sac and Fox Agency until 1895 when he was succeeded in the position by Edward L. Thomas. Agent Thomas was succeeded by Lee Patrick at the Sac and Fox Agency in 1897.

Thomas Wildcat Alford, *op. cit.*, p. 159, says: "Early in 1893, I again entered the Indian service as a teacher of farming to the Kickapoos under Samuel L. Patrick, U.S. Indian Agent, who was the father of Lee Patrick whom I have mentioned before. Both of these men were of high moral character and gave their very best efforts to the welfare of those under their charge."



House built by Harriet Patrick on her land claim, after she had made the run at the opening of the
Sac and Fox lands on September 22, 1891.

San Antonio in 1919 where he was discharged.¹¹ Major Gilstrap was at Fort Deavens. I met him at Fort Worth, and we came home together.

Major Gilstrap had lived in Chandler for twenty-two years but now sold his newspaper there, and went to Washington, D.C., as secretary to Congressman Manuel Herrick from Perry, Oklahoma. We lived in Washington about four years, and then Mr. Gilstrap was placed in charge of the Veterans' Administration and came back to Oklahoma. As our second son was graduating from the University and the youngest was in prep school, I did not come back to Oklahoma until later in the year, and it was grand to get back to the state though I had enjoyed Washington. We did not find a place that suited us for sometime but finally found this new house in a new neighborhood. I said, "This is my home for the rest of my life."

Major Gilstrap was a member of the Christian Church,¹² and I was a Presbyterian though I attended several different churches as a young woman. I went to a Catholic Church for a year where I sang in the choir and took music lessons from one of the sisters. While teaching at Haskell Institute, I attended the Episcopal Church in Lawrence, Kansas. Different preachers visited Haskell, and we had a Sunday school. I taught a class of forty boys, all Indians—no denominations. They were pretty religious. I saw they *were* sometimes, many of them. I have never had a class more attentive than that class of boys. We used a quarterly and had extra helps. As time has gone on, my church has meant more to me with the passing years. The dear people of the First Christian Church have honored me with many distinctions and positions in the life of the church. One position that I value highly is having been made "Deaconess for Life."

My home is still the one picked out in Oklahoma City long ago. My sons are married, and have families of their own. I

¹¹ Major Harry and Harriet (Patrick) had three sons: Lee Gilstrap, the eldest son, regained his health, and served in World War II, in which he received the commission of lieutenant colonel. He is now an instructor at Oklahoma State University at Stillwater. Two of his three children are living: a son, Hayes, and a daughter, Mrs. Mary Lee Gilstrap Spinks whose infant son, David, is the first great-grandchild of Harriet Patrick Gilstrap (*Lincoln County News*, Pioneer Edition, September 10, 1959).

The second son, Harry, served in World War II with the Air Force in England, Africa, Sicily and Italy. He received the commission of major, and is now business editor of *The Daily News* at Amarillo, Texas. He has a son, Harry Gilstrap (III).

The third son, Sam, suffering an asthmatic condition was not in the armed forces during World War II but served with the War Intelligence in San Francisco. He has served in Cairo, Frankfort, Manila, Mexico, Teheran, San Juan (Porto Rico), and is now Deputy Chief of Missions and Counselor of Embassy at Seoul, Korea. He has a son, Patrick, enrolled in the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, and an adopted son, Ronnie.

¹² In an automobile accident in 1935, Major Harry Gilstrap met tragic death, and his wife, Harriet (Patrick) Gilstrap was critically injured.



(Photo 1935, by Oklahoma City Times)

Major and Mrs. Harry B. Gilstrap and their soldier sons, Captain Lee, left, and Lieutenants Sam and Harry

have seen Oklahoma literally grow from "tepees to towers," and take her place as the 46th State in our proud Union. I feel it a privilege to have lived in this time and in this state, and to have been able to contribute a small part in the creation of the great, modern Oklahoma.

APPENDIX

EARNEST SPYBUCK, SHAWNEE

Harriet Patrick Gilstrap's mention in her Memoirs that her Indian pupil, Earnest Spybuck, would do nothing but draw and paint pictures in school is interesting in recounting the story of his life. He was about eight years old when Mrs. Gilstrap was his teacher at the Shawnee Boarding School in 1889-90. His old Indian friends who knew him as a boy on the Potawatomi-Shawnee Reservation have said that he later attended Sacred Heart Mission.

Spybuck became known as one of the first native American Indian artists in this country. His paintings would probably be classified as primitive art since it is not the flat, three dimensional work of the more recent native Indian artists. The painting reproduced in colors with the caption, "Oklahoma Cowboy and Indian," on the front cover of this number of *The Chronicles*, recently presented by Mrs. Gilstrap to the Oklahoma Historical Society is a fine addition to its collections. The Society has two other original Spybuck paintings, one showing cowboys and horses at a cattle round-up; the other, Indian dancers in native costume at a camp scene with horses and riders in the midst. Today, an original Spybuck painting is counted a treasure by collectors of Indian art.

Three of Spybuck's most beautiful paintings done in December, 1912, are reproduced in colors illustrating a monograph on the native culture of the Lenape, or Delaware Indians, published by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation in New York, 1921. These three paintings are wonderful illustrations of this work on *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape* by M. R. Harrington, the well known ethnologist, whose monograph here is one among a series of "Indian Notes" edited by F. W. Hodge and published in small book form by the Heye Foundation. These three scenes on the Delaware ceremonials in Oklahoma are fine in detail painted by the hand of the real Indian artist. The figures of men and women shown in the groups round about actually seem alive and ready to step forth from the picture. Both in the scene of the "Big House" ceremonial and in that of the tip of the Peyote rite, the flames of the fire at the

center of the floor dance as the thin gray smoke rises to the outside where it is night with stars shining in the sky.¹³

Earnest Spybuck, a full blood Shawnee, was born in 1828 on the Potawatomie-Shawnee Reservation now included in Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma. His Indian name was Mah-the-la, given him by his parents, John Spybuck and his wife, Peah-ehe-peah-so. Earnest Spybuck died at his home on his Indian allotment in the wooded area about sixteen miles west of the City of Shawnee, in 1949.¹⁴ He was buried in the family burial ground in the vicinity of his home.

JIM THORPE

SAC AND FOX—POTAWATOMI

Mrs. Gilstrap's Memoirs also mention one of her pupils at the Sac and Fox Boarding School in about 1896. This was none other than Jim Thorpe who became famous in history as the World's greatest athlete. In the summer of 1912, he was acclaimed champion in the Olympic Games entered by athletes from all over the World, held at Stockholm, Sweden.

Jim Thorpe's full name was James Francis Thorpe, his mother having given him the Indian name *Wa-tho-huck* meaning "Bright Path." He was the twin brother of Charles Thorpe, born May 28, 1888, on the Sac and Fox Reservation near the village of Belmont located about ten miles northeast of the present City of Shawnee, Oklahoma. The twin brothers attended the Sac and Fox Boarding School, twenty-three miles from their home, and were eight years old when Charley died of pneumonia at the School. Jim afterward attended Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas, and later the neighborhood school near his home for three years. He finally entered Carlisle Indian School, Pennsylvania in 1904, at the age of fifteen. By this time, he never saw a wild horse that he could not catch, saddle and ride, for he loved horses and was an expert in throwing a rope. He was also a good wrestler, runner and hunter having learned much from his father, Hiram Thorpe (Sac and Fox and part Irish), the

¹³ These three scenes are part of a series of some thirty-five paintings by Spybuck on Delaware and Shawnee life, in the museum of the American Indian, New York City.

¹⁴ Some of these notes on Spybuck and a picture of him were kindly sent the Editor by Mrs. O. D. Lewis of Shawnee, Oklahoma.



(Photo about 1947)

EARNEST SPYBUCK

champion swimmer, wrestler, jumper, and great hunter among the Indians on the Reservation in his time.¹⁵

Jim was a little over 5 feet tall and weighed about 115 pounds when he went to Carlisle. In his prime several years later, he stood 6 feet and 1 inch and weighed 188 pounds. He became noted on Carlisle's field of sports. The Carlisle football team reached the top in the season in 1907 and again in 1908, with Jim Thorpe as its star player. Coach Glenn ("Pop") Warner at the Indian School once said, "The greatest team I ever had was that Carlisle team in 1907." He further remarked about Thorpe: "Football was just a good time for Jim. I never saw him snarl. Most of the time, he just laughed, talked to the boys on the other team, enjoyed himself." Jim went in for track in the spring of 1909, and became a winner in some big track meets as a sprinter and in high jumping, pole-vaulting, hurdling, hammer throwing. He was excellent in swimming, and liked to play baseball, tennis and lacrosse. He was an all-round athlete.

As a part of the Carlisle school program for the Indian boys and girls, Jim lived and worked on farms owned by Dutch farmers in Pennsylvania, several months every year, first in a kitchen (from which he soon asked to be transferred) at \$5.00 a month, then out-of-doors at \$8.00 a month. Soon after he had entered Carlisle his father died, and Jim felt the loss deeply. He always held his father and mother, who had died some years before, and his twin brother, Charlie, in loving memory. There was no longer a home for Jim back in Oklahoma. In the summer of 1909, two of the Indian boys who played baseball asked him to go with them to Rocky Mount, North Carolina. Many college boys played ball in summer on the semi-professional leagues that dotted the country at that time, and most of the boys changed their names while playing on such teams during the summer months. Jim hung around Rocky Mount and finally landed a job on the Rocky Mount team for \$15.00 a week. He loved to play baseball and at least could pay his board and would not have to go to a farm back in Pennsylvania. But he did not change his name. He stayed *Jim Thorpe* on the records of the Rocky Mount team.

The big year came in 1912 when athletes from all over the country were trying for a position on the American team to go to the Olympic Games in Sweden that summer. Tryouts were held in the spring at the New York Giants' Polo grounds in New York City. Jim in the tryouts from Carlisle came out first in

¹⁵ This biographical sketch is written by the Editor from notes taken from research in the field and other sources including a file of newspaper clippings on Jim Thorpe in the Editorial Department; files of *The Carlisle Arrow* published at Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1912; and *The Jim Thorpe Story* by Genc Schoor and Henry Gilfond (Julian Messner, Inc., New York, 1951).

high jump and that won him a place on the Olympic team from the United States. Coach Warner took him and Louis Tewanima, a full blood Hopi Indian runner to Stockholm. The Scandinavians stood at the top in the World at the time, and Jim Thorpe's reputation in athletics had spread abroad. There was talk about having a World champion at the big Games but such a player would have to be an all-round competitor, an all-round athlete. Finally, the European track men and coaches with the United States in agreement revived the ancient Pentathlon, a five event competition, and the Decathlon, a ten event competition on the field at Stockholm this summer.

Thousands of sport enthusiasts saw Tewanima from ~~Mar-~~lisle win second in the 10,000 meter race. Then Thorpe was seen winning the Pentathlon composed of a 200-meter dash, running broad jump, throwing the discus, throwing the javelin and 1,500 meter run. He came out first in these events except in throwing the javelin, in which he was third.

Crowds were filled with excitement watching the Decathlon, all the events in one afternoon. This was a series of ten contests: 100-meter dash, running broad jump, 110-meter hurdle race, putting the 16-pound shot, 400-meter dash, running high jump, throwing the javelin, throwing the discus, pole vault, 1,500 meter run. Scoring in the Pentathlon was by allowing 1,000 points for each performance equal to the Olympic record for that event, the number of points that a contestant would win being determined by how near he came to the Olympic record. Out of the possible 10,000 points, Jim Thorpe scored 8,413.95 points, and his nearest competitor scored 7,742.49 points.

The great American Indian athlete, James Thorpe, had won the highest honors at the Olympiad. He was presented a bronze bust of the King of Sweden by his Majesty himself, for winning the Pentathlon. The replica of a Viking ship was presented him by the Czar of Russia for winning the Decathlon. When these handsome trophies besides medals and diplomas were handed him by the King of Sweden, the King said: "You, sir, are the greatest athlete in the World."

The press all over America and elsewhere recounted the story of Jim Thorpe at the Olympic Games. *The Christian Advocate* gave a fine yet conservative account saying that all boys covet to be perfect physically and that it would be interesting to read the story of Jim's training. One paragraph in this account sums up the thought here:

Smooth, even development, without knots or bumps, has marked the Sac and Fox Indian's progress all along. Most remarkable of all, possibly, is the simple fact that he clearly demonstrated to the world by his marvelous performances at Stockholm that he is the greatest athlete in the world by only revealing a bare third of the possibilities that lie in his youthful, alert body.



(Photo about 1908)

JIM THORPE

That fall the Carlisle football team played almost to perfection, and came out a leader in the college football season. Jim Thorpe for a second time won a place on the All-American team, having scored 25 touchdowns and 198 points in the single season for his Indian school. This was a great time in his life, his last year as a student at Carlisle.

In January, 1913, clouds appeared. A sports writer in a New England paper wrote a two or three line note that Jim Thorpe had played professional baseball on the Rocky Mount team in the Eastern Carolina league in 1909. The note shook the sports world. Jim was asked for an explanation for if he had played professional ball, it would debar him from his recent honors in the Olympic Games. He was stoically quiet saying that he could not figure out the situation, and that he certainly would hate to have to hand back his trophies won in the Olympiad. He said he thought that everyone knew that he had played baseball on the Rocky Mount team. He loved to play baseball and had not played for the money there was in it. Authorities of the Olympic Games, especially the Europeans, ruled and closed down on Jim, his trophies were taken away from him and sent back to Europe. This was a blow that marred his standing in the World. However, his marvelous achievement as an athlete at the Olympic Games in Sweden in 1912 will remain on the books of history to the end of time.

After leaving Carlisle in 1913, Jim began a fine record in Major League Baseball, playing nearly seven years at different times with the New York Giants, the Cincinnati Reds and the Boston Braves. He later played professional football, and was the first President of the American Professional Football Association. In World War II, he served in the U.S. Merchant Marine. In his late life, he played some parts in the movies at Hollywood, and in 1950 Warner Brothers began production on the story of Jim Thorpe's life. The Associated Press took a poll among leading sports writers and broadcasters throughout this country to name the greatest in sport, and out of 339 ballots, Jim Thorpe received 252 votes. In a count of points, he had 875 to Babe Ruth's 579. His biographers, Gene Schoor and Henry Gilford, writing on this poll, state in *The Jim Thorpe Story*:

Jim's total was almost as great as the combined score of the next three men in the poll. Except for Babe Ruth's, his total points almost equalled the combined points of every other man named by the sports writers and broadcasters. Jim Thorpe's magnificence as a sport figure is almost unbelievable.

There has never been an athlete on the American scene, or the world scene, to equal the versatility, the prowess, the vigor, the fighting spirit, the sheer ability of Jim Thorpe.

The great athlete, Jim Thorpe, died of a heart attack at the age of sixty-four, in Lomita, a suburb of Los Angeles, California,

on Saturday, March 28, 1953. His remains were interred at Mauk Chunk, Pennsylvania, near which is the site of the long ago abandoned Carlisle Indian School, and the name of the town changed to "Thorpe," in his honor.

This year (1960) the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians dedicates in his honor, a beautiful bronze bust of Jim Thorpe, on the Indian Hall of Fame grounds at Anadarko, Oklahoma.

—M.H.W.

THE VERY REVEREND URBAN DE HASQUE, S. T. D., L. L. D.,
PIONEER PRIEST OF INDIAN TERRITORY

By Velma Nieberding

Urban, Alphonse, Marie de Hasque was born the third son of Joseph Alexander de Hasque and Cornelia Carpentier, in Antwerp, Belgium, on July 16, 1875. He was one of ten children, six boys and four girls. His father was one of the principal sugar refiners of Antwerp and two sons of the family still carry on the business under the name of "Raffinerie de Hasque, Limited." His ancestors can be traced to the principality of Liege in the province of Limburg since 1300. He was of noble birth.

Urban de Hasque had never intended to become a missionary to the American Indians. Yet, it was his role, not only to make Catholic history in a land that was but a name on a map to him, but to finally preserve it as the official historian of the diocese he served.

His early education in Belgium was planned with the thought of serving in the Belgian Congo as a missionary. He studied for nine years at Our Lady's College in Antwerp, under the Jesuits, then graduated in Philosophy at the College de La Paix, at Namur. In August, 1894, he went to the Novitiate of African Missions, the Pere Blancs (White Fathers) at Algiers and Carthage. But the hot climate made him ill, so he was sent to the residence of the Pere Blancs at Rome to continue his studies until his health should improve. Some months later he returned to Carthage but his health failed again. That was when he made the decision to give up his dream of Africa and turn to missions in a more temperate climate.

Accordingly, in 1898, he enrolled in the American College at Louvain and followed classes at the famous Catholic University there, founded in 1425. He had talked with a young missionary Bishop who had come to Belgium to interest priests in becoming missionaries to the American Indians. This was Bishop Theophile Meerschaeert who had been sent to the Indian Territory in 1891. Confronted with the monumental task of administering to the vast territory with but a few priests to help him, the energetic Bishop made frequent trips to Europe to persuade well trained priests to carry on the work of organizing new parishes and building churches and schools, as well as to secure from foreign benefactors of his diocese the financial assistance needed for such projects.

On July 15, 1900, Urban de Hasque was ordained a priest and left immediately for the United States. Sailing on the Red

Star liner, *Southwark* he landed in New York on October 2, 1900 and reached Guthrie, Indian Territory on October 10.

The young priest had from childhood been interested in Indians, having seen Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and later at the Antwerp World's Fair in 1894, Pawnee Bill and his show.¹

Father de Hasque's first assignment was as assistant pastor at Hennessey. He was instructed by the (now) venerable Monsignor G. Depreitere who had been in the United States since 1895, the first Belgian priest trained for the Indian Territory. Father de Hasque was appointed as pastor of the Holy Name of Jesus Church, at Chickasha, in 1901. Here he began his duties as a missionary to the Indians in this part of the Indian Territory.

Since his childhood, Urban de Hasque had been intensely interested in history and geography and was an excellent scholar. In the library of his parental home can still be seen many books he received in college as first class rewards for these branches of knowledge. It is not surprising then that as early as 1902, he began to record the history of the Catholic Church in the Indian Territory.

He is credited with publishing the first parochial bulletin ever issued in the diocese (then a Vicarite). Dated 1905, the booklet was called "The official publication of the Holy Name of Jesus Church (Catholic)." It included a short history of the parish, listed parish organizations and carried "suggestions on the right way to conduct yourself in church." On its front, the booklet carried a picture of the little white frame church that had been dedicated on May 15, 1898, by Bishop Meerschaert.

The keen business ability that would later lift him to a high position as Chancellor of the Oklahoma diocese was almost immediately demonstrated at Chickasha. Confronted with the problem that the church possessed only a quit claim deed to a block of property with a two-story school building on it, Father de Hasque moved rapidly to put his new parish affairs in order. He had the church building (which stood on another lot) moved to the actual location of the property in question, then petitioned the Secretary of the Interior to appraise the entire school block to the Catholic Church.

At that time, fifty-eight years ago, the twenty-eight lots in the block were appraised at the sum of \$1,172! The full amount for this property was raised in the following years by annual bazaars put on by ladies of the Church. That same year the

¹ "When Urban visited a Wild West Show at the Chicago Worlds Fair he was enthusiastically greeted by some of the Indians and remarked to an amazed nephew who happened to be in the States, 'They are some of my best parishioners' "—Letter from Maurice de Hasque, Antwerp, Belgium August 29, 1956.



(Photo, 1950)

Bishop Eugene J. McGuiness, seated center, with four priests who were ordained at Louvain in Belgium on the same day and came to the Indian Territory the same year, 1900. Priests seated, left to right: Rev. Urban de Hasque and Rev. M. O. Dannie. Standing, left to right: Rev. William Huffer and Rev. Theo van Hulse.

pastor bought for \$58.00 at a public auction, the northeastern part of the Odd Fellows Cemetery and established a Catholic cemetery in the Chickasha parish.

During this time the priest was giving much attention to the christianization and education of the Chickasaw Indians. In order to know them he traveled tirelessly through the hill country to visit them, at the same time attending seven small missions near Chickasha. It was during the difficult time preceding statehood and he had the added difficulty of overcoming a certain hostility to the White man among the older Indians. At the end of 1905, however, twenty Chickasaws were enrolled in the parish school.

In 1903, Father de Hasque returned to Rome where he received the Degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology. While there he attended the funeral of Pope Leo XIII, who had died on July 20, 1903 and his account of this magnificent and solemn occasion was retold many times during the years that followed.

He resigned his pastorate in Chickasha in 1912, at the request of Bishop Meerschaert, and was appointed Chancellor of the diocese, a post he was to fill for six years. During this time he was secretary of the first diocesan synod and compiler of diocesan statutes. It has been said that he financed out of his own funds the printing of the Statutes of the Diocese of Oklahoma, (a unique edition of some 400 copies) in 1912.

In 1915, Father de Hasque founded *The Orphans Record* which succeeded *The Indian Advocate*, a publication that had been established by the Benedictine Fathers at Sacred Heart Abbey, in 1888. The *Indian Advocate* had been discontinued in 1910 and, until the establishment of the *Orphans Record*, no Catholic press had existed in Oklahoma since that time.²

It was during Father de Hasque's term as Chancellor of the Oklahoma diocese that his zeal and knowledge were tested in what came to be known nationally as "The Sacramental Wine Case." Early in 1917, the Oklahoma Legislature had passed the Ferguson "bone dry law" providing that among other things, "It shall be unlawful for any person in this State to receive directly or indirectly any liquor, the sale of which is prohibited by the State, from a common or other carrier."

Not long after the passage of this Act, the Reverend John Gastel, a Catholic priest stationed at Guthrie, had occasion to order a supply of altar wine, whereupon the Santa Fe Railway, in all good faith, alleged that under the law it could not act as carrier since altar wine was a liquor.

² The *Orphans Record* merged with and became *The Catholic Home* in 1922; This publication became *The Southwest Courier* in 1924 and continued to be the official publication of the diocese of Oklahoma until January, 1960. It is now called *The Oklahoma Courier*.

Father de Hasque then brought suit in the District Court to compel the railway to deliver shipments of wine intended solely for sacramental purposes. The suit was unsuccessful. On December 24, 1917, in a decision rendered by Judge Clarke, the court held that according to the statutes, wine "even for sacramental purposes" was forbidden in Oklahoma. This decision, which would either have prohibited the Church from observing Mass in Oklahoma or would have forced the Church into a boot-legger role, was appealed to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma and on May 21, 1918, the court ruled that wine for sacramental uses was not included in the prohibition legislation. The decision, based principally on the intent of the Legislature, was considered an affirmation of the American spirit of religious liberty by those most concerned with the case. For his work on this case and his work on the "Statutes of the Diocese of Oklahoma," Notre Dame University this same year conferred on Father de Hasque the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Meanwhile the country was involved in World War I. In 1917, Father de Hasque received permission from the Bishop to join the Army as a Chaplain. He had been deeply grieved and concerned at the fate of his beloved Belgium during the war, particularly because of the part played by his oldest brother, Joseph. This young man, as Chairman of the Catholic Youth (a boys' organization) in Antwerp, had despite German occupation inspired thousands of young men to join the Belgian forces and had personally led many of them across the barbed wire, electrified fences of the frontier, to Holland. He had been arrested in the summer of 1915 and sentenced by German Court Martial to fifteen years hard labor. The end of the war in 1918 rescued him from the labor camp.³

³ After the war, Joseph de Hasque became city councillor in Antwerp; a member of the Chamber of Representatives of Belgium and later a member of the Senate. He was the managing editor of the *Gazet van Antwerpen* the most important newspaper of the city when the Germans again invaded Belgium in 1940. He was immediately arrested and sentenced to a concentration camp, dying there of starvation during the terribly cold winter of January, 1942. This was the concentration camp, Sachsenhausen at Oranienburg near Berlin. The City of Antwerp has subsequently named a street for him, the one where stands the sugar refinery, of which he was chairman of the Board of Directors. It is called "Josef de Hasque."

Another brother of Father de Hasque, George had founded in 1911 the Baden Powell Boy Scout movement in the Flemish part of Belgium, as well as the Belgian Sea Scouts for which organization he had paid for several ships. He was arrested by the Germans for secret patriotic activities first in the summer of 1915, and later in the fall of 1918. He would have been executed by the Germans had not the war opened the prisons. He resumed his work with the Boy Scouts until his death in 1933. The youngest of the de Hasque brothers, Maurice, served as Belgian liaison officer to the British forces in Flanders during World War I; was wounded at Ypres. During the second World War he was an officer in the Belgian Secret Army and entrusted with the organization (under Nazi occupation) and command of the Liaison Service with the Allied Forces of the Antwerp Secret Army.



URBAN DE HASQUE
Chaplain, U. S. Army

Hoping to be assigned to the United States troops that would liberate Belgium, Father de Hasque went eagerly to his first assignment at Camp Travis, Texas, in World War I. He had asked for overseas duty and was due to embark for Europe when a serious outbreak of Influenza occurred in the Army camp. His devotion to the sick and dying during this trying time was highly and publicly praised by his Commanding Officer.⁴

It was not until 1919 that Father de Hasque could obtain permission from the Bishop to visit his family in Europe. After his discharge from the Army he remained in the Reserve Chaplains Corps where he reached the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and served as Departmental Chaplain of the Reserve Officers Association of Oklahoma.⁵

Father de Hasque returned from Europe in 1920 and was appointed the pastor of St. Anthony's Church in Okmulgee. While there he made plans for a new church, the cornerstone of which was laid by Cardinal Hayes of New York on May 10, 1925.

Father de Hasque bought eight lots in the same year for a Negro parish in Okmulgee, and Father Daniel P. Bradley of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, came from Philadelphia to initiate the work of organizing a district congregation of Catholic colored in that city. On October 25, 1925, Bishop Francis C. Kelley dedicated the new Negro Church to the Uganda Martyrs.⁶

He wears fifteen crosses or medals including the three Belgian orders and several foreign decorations, including Commandership in the Order of Merit of Spain. In view of these facts it is not difficult to understand the intense patriotism and Military preoccupation Father de Hasque manifested throughout his long life.

⁴An extract from a letter by Colonel of Cavalry, T. M. Coughlan, Executive officer of Camp Travis Texas, dated July 10, 1919 reads: "Upon your Honorable Discharge from the Service and says in part, "At the outbreak of the Influenza epidemic in the camp early in October, 1918, and upon the request of the Commanding Officer of the Base Hospital, you were attached therat for duty. Your work in this connection has been characterized by unremitting zeal and unswerving devotion to spiritual and material consolation of all the sick, irrespective of Creed. During the height of the epidemic you were on duty night and day for a period of three weeks and your activities included the administration of the Sacraments to four hundred Catholic officers and men, none of whom died without the last rites of the Church."—From the Files of Maurice de Hasque.

⁵During the World War I, nine priests of the diocese of Oklahoma were in active service, four with the French Army and five with the United States Army.—From an Historical Sketch by Dr. De Hasque, 1934.

⁶Because of his interest in Africa and because of his intense missionary zeal, Father de Hasque seemed to have a particular interest in the Uganda Martyrs—the twenty-two Colored who were martyred in Uganda in 1885. Father de Hasque possessed one of the only three relics of the body of any of these youths. He had obtained it from a friend who had been chosen as sponsor of the cause of the Beatification of the Uganda Martyrs.

Interrupting his parish duties during the years 1926-1929, Father de Hasque filled temporarily positions as Professor at American College, Louvain; Chaplain at Fort Sill; and Administrator of the Union City Parish.

He was constantly a builder. He had celebrated Duncan's first Mass in the home of John Weaver on December 12, 1902 and built the Church of the Assumption in that city, saying its first Mass on New Year's Day 1909. He built also a frame Church at Marlow which was dedicated by Bishop Meerschaert on November 22, 1904. Lindsay was a mission he attended from Chickasha from 1902 to 1912, and he was able to say the first Mass in the Church of St. Louis which he built there, two weeks before his assignment to become Chancellor of the Diocese of Oklahoma. He was the first priest to hold services in Waurika, his initial visit being noted as March 10, 1903. He began construction work on the Church there in 1915, funds having been obtained from the Catholic Church Extension Society. In 1929, he was sent to Oklahoma City where he served as inspector of Diocesan Schools until 1931 when he was appointed the Pastor of St. Rose of Lima Parish, in Perry.

Father de Hasque was next appointed Chaplain of St. Ann's Home for Aged in Oklahoma City. Still keenly interested in writing, he continued to work in the archives of the church, spending some time each day with filing and records.

In 1953, he was appointed the Chaplain of St. Vincent's Home. His health was beginning to fail and he suffered not only from arthritis but from diabetes and a heart condition. He talked often of another visit to Europe during this time, particularly as the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Royal Geographic Society of Antwerp was to be celebrated in Belgium. He was asked, as a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society to represent this society at the celebration, and he served also as a delegate for the National Geographic Society of Washington, D. C. The event, attended by representatives of King Beaudouin and other notables was one of the highlights of Father de Hasque's long and eventful life. He wrote from Belgium, "As the senior of twenty-seven foreign delegates I was always given a place of honor and twice addressed the hundred fifty or more members in Flemish, French and English" (He spoke six languages fluently).

One of the last great charitable acts of his life was to assist in the building of a Church in Rhodesia, North Africa. The native priest had been helped for a number of years through the generosity of Father de Hasque who had purchased for him a

motorcycle on which to travel about his extensive African parish. With characteristic modesty Father de Hasque said little about the building of the Church. The present pastor is Father Titus A. Kapepele.⁷

On August 28, 1953, Father de Hasque presented to the National Geographic Society in Washington, a French Atlas of the United States which had been published in 1825. At the same time he presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society a rare map (1822) of the Arkansas Territory which included present Oklahoma at the time.⁸

On September 24, 1954, the priest who had served Oklahoma so valiantly and with such inspiration for fifty-four years, was called to his reward. God's book of life alone will reveal the record of his labors and sacrifices for the Church. He had seen its present growth in Oklahoma sown in tears and privation; had served under three Bishops and three Popes. He had been a citizen of the United States since 1905 but a part of his heart was forever with Belgium. He had been a great traveler, visiting in Africa, Italy, and most of the countries of Europe including Turkey, Greece, Portugal and Spain, the Azores and Canary Islands. He had visited Palestine, the Holy Land on a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1910. He was in Egypt and Morocco and Cuba and Mexico. He had traveled extensively in the United States and had crossed the Atlantic ocean twenty-seven times by water or by air. So great was his knowledge, so devoted was he to the universal concept of the Catholic Church that he can never be considered other than a world citizen.⁹

But Oklahoma, the land where he labored for over half a century, claims him now and mourns his loss. He was buried from Our Lady's Cathedral, Oklahoma City and a young man whom Father de Hasque had encouraged to become a priest, Monsignor Stephen Leven, (now Auxiliary Bishop of San Antonio) preached the sermon. Bishop Eugene J. McGuinness was the celebrant of the Requiem Mass.

In Antwerp, Belgium, a memorial service was held in Father de Hasque's old parish church attended by friends and

⁷ "He (Father deHasque) had a letter from the Bishop of Africa with pictures of the Church and parishioners taken the day the Bishop dedicated the Church. On the back of the pictures he had written 'Your Church and Parishioners.' "—Letter from Mrs. Margaret Lally, St. Ann's Home, May 19, 1955.

⁸ *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, Winter, 1953-54, Notes and Documents.

⁹ All material in this biography, unless otherwise noted, is based on material in the files of the author and data furnished by the brother of Father de Hasque, Monsieur Maurice de Hasque, Antwerp, Belgium.

municipal authorities. The United States was represented by the Consul general and by the Antwerp Post of the American Legion with two flags as was the Belgian National Federation of Veterans of World War I. At the end of the service both the American and Belgian anthems were played, the congregation standing at attention, deeply moved—"May his soul rest in peace."

FRED L. WENNER: REPORTER

By Mary E. Newbern*

The "Oklahoma Run" is history now, a matter of record for the textbooks. But what was the opening really like? Why did people come? How did they live? Who were the men they remembered—the things, places and events that stood out in their minds down through the years?¹

Fred L. Wenner was a man well qualified to tell about it. He was sent from the east to report "the Run" for *The New York Herald*, *Chicago Times* and *The St. Louis Globe Democrat*. He was the last survivor of newsmen who made the Run, April 22, 1889. "Those Newspapers wanted me to tell how many white people the Indians killed during The Run," he recalled in an interview three years before his death.

Fred Wenner claimed to be the first newspaperman to set foot in the Oklahoma Country, and the fourth person to reach Guthrie, the other three being engineer and fireman and a woman who had seated herself on the cowcatcher of the first Santa Fe train to arrive. Fifteen Santa Fe trains made this thrilling race from Arkansas City to Guthrie.

The first train to arrive carried an interesting baggage car. Locked inside this suffocating car, thirty-nine newspapermen from all over the United States sweated and swore. Included in this number were such well-known newswriters as William Allen White, Frank Greer, W. P. Thompson, Victor Murdock and Dennis T. Flynn.

Long ago they all answered the final call to the "Great Beyond"—they and the courageous little Kentucky school-teacher who, seeking a home, rode the cowcatcher to Guthrie. Fred Wenner was the last to go. He was first and last.

* Among Mary E. Newbern's articles and feature stories that have appeared in the press throughout the country, including *The Daily Oklahoman* and *The Denver Post*, her personality sketches and biographies have received special notice. Mrs. Newbern has made her home in Oklahoma City for many years, and is an active member of the National League of American Pen Women and also, Oklahoma State Writers, Inc.—Ed.

¹This article was written from notes taken down in an interview with Fred L. Wenner three years before his death. He gave the writer permission to use any information from his book, *Oklahoma and the Eighty-Niners*. Mr. Wenner's daughter, Mrs. Mary Hopkins, gave the writer a copy of "*The Fred L. Wenner Story*" as dictated by him to his secretary, Betty L. Hamilton, with permission to use any information in this article about Mr. Wenner.

Fred L. Wenner was born in Tiffin, Ohio, January 8, 1865. He was educated in the Tiffin public schools. He got into the newspaper business by writing a graduating essay about "The Power of the Press." The next day after graduation he was offered a job as cub reporter on the *Tiffin Daily Herald*. He became city editor within a year. Later on he was city editor of the consolidated *Daily Herald-Tribune*. Subsequently he handled news for Detroit, Chicago and Cincinnati newspapers. He reported the Republican national and state conventions of the Harrison-Cleveland campaign for President of the United States.

Before he left his home in Ohio to join the wildest race in history, Mr. Wenner thought he should take out some life insurance. The company turned him down in a short but conclusive way, its agent saying: "You won't be alive two years from now." "He was mistaken, but anybody can make a mistake," Mr. Wenner said, good naturedly.

Reminiscing, he said every train leaving Arkansas City was packed the day of the Run. People stood on top of the trains, on platforms between cars; dozens stood on coal and wood in the the engine, or hung onto steps, all high spirited, laughing and shouting. At the same time, thousands of people camped along the border lines. For these people there existed a real peril. There were no roads, no bridges, no crossings at streams except at a few fords used as cattle trail crossings. Streams were treacherous with quicksand. Men and women dashed on horseback, muleback, some rode donkeys. Wagons drawn by horses mules or oxen lumbered along, pell mell. One man made fine progress with a donkey and an ox hitched to a rickety wagon. Mr. Wenner thought it remarkable that there were so few accidents.

Trains moved slowly. Numerous horsemen arrived soon after the trains did. "It was a never to be forgotten experience,—with whistles shrieking, bells clanging, the trains soon passed out of sight of the surging crowds rushing at break-neck speed."

"The first opening proclamation designated April 20th as the day of the Run," said Mr. Wenner. "Discovering this day was Saturday, the date was changed to April 22, to give people time to settle down before the Sabbath Day. Men and women had come here, seeking a home in a raw, strange land and they were asking God's guidance."

Certain newspapers printed lurid descriptions of life in this new country. Mr. Wenner was taken to task by his superiors for being scooped about train robberies, riots, hold-



FRED L. WENNER

ups and other outlawry that never happened. Of course there was gambling. Wasn't the whole thing a gamble?

"I'm telling it now just like I told it then. There was no wild west in the first year here. I can't say so much for later years" he remarked.

Citizens of Oklahoma Territory were incensed at untruthful, sensational reports circulated. U. S. Marshal Jones of Kansas who had jurisdiction over all Oklahoma, telegraphed on May 16, 1889, the Attorney General at Washington: "The entire Oklahoma country is absolutely quiet. I am astonished at false reports of bloodshed circulated by the papers. There has not been a single death from violence in that territory since the 22nd of April." On Memorial Day, there were no graves to decorate; so they created an unknown soldier's grave and nobody knew whether he was of the Blue or the Gray. Many soldiers from both armies made the Run.

When the Santa Fe trains arrived in Guthrie, people leaped from windows or through doors or from other perches on the cars. Land hungry hordes followed immediately, with their unique methods of locomotion.

Entering a country which lacked territorial laws, these people established themselves and created their own laws. On Guthrie's first birthday, its new settlers scattered in every direction. What was supposed to be the center of a great city was covered with tents. Flags were flying. Men and women were endeavoring to hold down their claims they had staked. They were hungry, thirsty and weary. Night passed and with the dawn criers announced that there would be a meeting to organize a city government. People from thirty-two states, two territories and two foreign countries responded to this call, assembling to organize the City of Guthrie. Charles W. Constantine, ex-Mayor of Springfield, Ohio, presided at the meeting. The balloting was kept up for more than two days, becoming so violent that officers in command of Federal troops were sent to quell the disturbances. Col. D. B. Dyer of St. Louis, Missouri, was chosen Mayor. Other officials were chosen later that day.

Mr. Wenner mentioned the water situation:

The price of water was five cents a cup and it was carried in buckets from Cottonwood Creek and the Cimarron. Soon the water became so muddy it looked more like a cup of coffee.

Churches and schools were organized at once. A few teachers served without pay but most of them were paid in part with butter and eggs, wild turkey or prairie chickens.

The town of Frisco, between Oklahoma City and Fort Reno, was first called "Veteran." It was settled entirely by Union

soldiers said Wenner. It was estimated that there were more Civil War Veterans in Oklahoma Territory, in proportion to population, than any other state in the Union. Special privileges had been granted Union soldiers in the land laws.

The post office was a center of interest those days. Hundreds of letters were addressed simply to "Oklahoma." These all went to Oklahoma City which was then a post office called Oklahoma Station, used by government freighters for the army and for stage line employees. G. A. Biedler of Philadelphia, a friend of Postmaster General Wanamaker, was appointed postmaster of Oklahoma, which had been Oklahoma Station, the name being changed to Oklahoma City many years later.

Dennis Flynn was appointed Guthrie postmaster. Mr. Wenner imparted the fact that Postmaster Flynn was pleased with Guthrie's post office progress, and May 14, 1889, he telegraphed the Department in Washington: "Am selling \$50 worth of stamps a day. 11 clerks work from 5 in the morning until midnight." Great quantities of mail came and were delivered from three windows cut in the sides of the post office tent, on which was the sign, **Roast Office**.

Guthrie's first bank was a frame shack with no front, not even a complete roof. This bank and one in Oklahoma City opened April 22, 1889.

"Oklahoma's first newspaper was *The Guthrie Get Up*," said Mr. Wenner, "which hit the streets three days after the opening." "It was very difficult to get news out of the country," he said. "There was only one telegraph wire and not a word could be sent for several days other than by railroads." Newsmen begged and cajoled, finally sending their first stories by train clerks to be wired from Arkansas City to their respective newspapers. Death messenges had the right of way. A man rode fifty miles horseback to deliver a telegram to one whose wife had died in Illinois, only to find the man lived in a tent two blocks from the telegraph office.

Fred Wenner covered all the Oklahoma land runs for metropolitan newspapers and the United Press. At the time of the Sac and Fox opening, he rushed back to Guthrie and held and used the telegraph line from one to three o'clock p.m. *The San Francisco Examiner* printed a 3,500 word story of the Sac and Fox run by Wenner. A couple of Smiths, Ed and Ida, no kin, were the first to be married in Guthrie.

The first baby born in this new land was born in a wagon in Kingfisher. His parents owned a couple of thin blankets,



The sign business was good when Guthrie was three weeks old, in 1889.

and his father had a couple of dollars. A \$27-collection was taken, and J. V. Admire, Receiver for the Land Office, sent his own tent to house the new citizen. Several hundred men bid for the privilege of naming the the baby. Admire won for the price of \$52.50, which went to the mother. He wrote to his wife in Kansas for a suggestion for a name, but the baby's parents insisted on naming him "Admire Lewis."

"From all the milling throng of people who arrived in Oklahoma in the runs some were destined to become national leaders, financial and otherwise." For instance: F. G. Bonfils, who later published *The Denver Post*. He made the Run of 1889 and built the first native stone building in Guthrie, across from the tent postoffice. (This building is still in use.) It is said that Mr. Bonfils left a 14 million dollar estate when he died.

Guthrie boasted many barber shops. One, in a basement, was owned by F. M. Knowlton of "Danderine" fame. He later produced his "Danderine" in Chicago, and ended up a multimillionaire. He came back to Guthrie at intervals to visit, and paid \$5.00 for shaves at his former shop just for old time's sake. He paid the rent of the barber shop as long as it bore the name of "Knowlton."

A young boy working in Kimball's Grocery Store conceived the idea of cutting beeswax in strips, rolling these strips in sugar and flavoring them with any flavor the grocer carried. These sold beyond his expectations. This boy was William Wrigley. Later he put the jaws of the world to work on his "Wrigley's Chewing Gum."

Mr. Wenner told about a young fellow who was eager to work in the "Operry House." He was allowed to do so by sweeping and dusting for a salary of \$3.00 a week, but he was also allowed to sleep on the stage. His name was Lon Chaney. He became a famous movie star. While in Oklahoma, he also worked in a furniture store in Oklahoma City.

"A man named Stratton who worked as a carpenter in Norman, for a dollar and a half a day, later made the biggest strike in Cripple Creek, Colorado," continued Mr. Wenner. He added, "Captain Arthur MacArthur, in charge of Federal troops, was stationed at Guthrie. His small boy Douglas was there, too, when he was very young. He later became the famous General Douglas MacArthur."

A number of infamous people arrived in Guthrie in later years. Some of their pictures are used to decorate windows in public places during the yearly celebrations of the Run.

Mr. Wenner added later news:

The Oklahoma Troop of Rough Riders—Teddy Roosevelt's—was organized in Guthrie. Fred Wenner enrolled and classified 750 volunteers who wanted to join up with Teddy Roosevelt. Oklahoma's quota was only 86.

Coxey's Army passed through Guthrie. The two Cessna boys built a plane in their shop on a farm and for \$200, flew to Guthrie. They became ace pilots in World War I. These boys founded Cessna Aircraft in Wichita, Kansas.

It was easy to get into business in those early days. As soon as one man arrived, he settled his family in a tent and chalked a sign on the side of his covered wagon: City Dray Line—15 cents. He became the head of a large Transfer Line later on in Oklahoma City.

A young Jewish boy and a retired Methodist minister from Wichita, set up an enterprising cold drink and lunch stand. This business flourished depending on the weather. As today, Oklahoma weather was fickle.

For eleven years Fred L. Wenner was connected with the Oklahoma territorial government, serving as Secretary to three Governors. He was Secretary of the St. Louis World's Fair Commission; Secretary of the Territorial School Land Board. He acted as Secretary to the Board of Referees which passed upon the qualifications for 400 postmasterships in the Territory and made recommendations to the Postmaster General or to President McKinley.

He worked to bring about good roads. He had great interest in schools. Many graduating essays were based on information received in his office. His office was always headquarters for pioneers. He helped charter the Guthrie Presbyterian Church. He was a charter member of The Guthrie Building and Loan Association and served on its Board of Directors for over 50 years. After serving as County Treasurer, he served fourteen years as City Treasurer. He served as manager of the Guthrie Chamber of Commerce 1911-1920.

Mr. Wenner was married at Tiffin, Ohio, in 1894 to Miss Amy D. Myers, who was a daughter of a Presbyterian minister. Her father was later a missionary for the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Mrs. Wenner took active part in religious and social life, and a great interest in the activities of her busy husband. She died in 1942. Their son, David, lives in Sulphur, Oklahoma; Henry lives in Free-water Oregon; and their daughter, Mrs. Mary E. Hopkins, lived at the home of her father in Guthrie. The Wenners had seven grandchildren. Fred L. Wenner died on August 18, 1956. His grave is in the Summit View Cemetery at Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Mr. Wenner was at different times editor of *The Guthrie Daily Capital*, *The Guthrie Daily Leader*, and was a staff writer for *The Daily Oklahoman* in Oklahoma City. He once owned *The Kingfisher Free Press*.

He had a nose for news and loved to tell it in a concise and dramatic way. He remembered one of the first statehood conventions, which was held in Purcell. This meeting came to an abrupt end because of the rise in the South Canadian River. A special train from Oklahoma City got back across the river fifteen minutes before the bridge was swept away by a ten-foot wall of water.

A writer of such great facility, Mr. Wenner had very little time to devote to writing on historical subjects; yet he never gave up. His book, *Oklahoma and the Eight-Nines*, was published by the Co-operative Publishing Company of Guthrie. It goes into detail about the happenings during Oklahoma's early years. His life was dedicated in helping develop Oklahoma.

As a careful reporter, Mr. Wenner chose to record some of his life's activities, and include incidents of Oklahoma history. In a way, one might say he wrote his own obituary in 1949, many years before he died. He dictated "The Fred L. Wenner Story" of eight typewritten pages to his secretary, Betty L. Hamilton. In his book, he said: "In a single day, they peopled a land of solitude, in a few days, weeks and months they conquered a wilderness—they opened up farms, built towns and cities in a day, established and maintained governments, organized churches and schools."

He loved Oklahoma—"Land of the Fair God," he called it. He was the first '89er newspaper man to come and the last to go.

BIG JAKE'S CROSSING

*By Bess Rogers**

In late 1898 the Rock Island railroad built west into Weatherford, where it stopped for a time—the end of the road. My father, Mr. G. W. Miller, had bought a farm four miles south of Weatherford in what was known as the Missouri Settlement. The family was large, four brothers and a sister, and farming was not very prosperous in those days, so my father was always looking about for something to supplement the income.

A Mr. Dean in Weatherford had received the government contract to carry the mail from Weatherford, Custer County, to the inland town of Cloud Chief across the Washita about twenty-five miles southwest in Washita County, Oklahoma Territory. Mr. Dean offered my father the job of keeping the way station on the road at "Big Jake's Crossing" on the Washita where the horses were changed each day on the way to and from Cloud Chief. The mail was carried in a two seated rig, which also carried passengers at two dollars a head whenever they wanted a ride.

There were no bridges in this part of the country on the Washita, and my father saw the need and the opportunity of a ferry boat at Big Jake's Crossing to be used in time of high water. With the help of my older brothers, he built a small flat boat, capable of carrying a wagon and team. It was operated by pulleys on a large rope cable, tied to a huge cottonwood tree on each side of the river. The charge for crossing was 25 cents for a wagon and team and 10 cents for a man on horseback. He also saw the need of a small stock of merchandise for trade with the Indians. He erected a small tent to house his store.

A group of Cheyenne Indians were camped a mile south of the crossing, and an Arapaho village was located five miles north. The Indians of both villages were good friends for there was a continual stream of travel on the north-south road between the two camps. The Indians came in wagons, a whole family usually seated flat in the bottom of the wagon bed, a half dozen dogs trotting behind, and many horsemen, usually riding bare back. On the east-west road there was an unending string of freighters hauling from the end of the railroad at Weatherford to Cloud Chief across the Washita. For the three years the railroad stopped at Weatherford, and the little pin point of Big Jake's Crossing became important to the progress of Western Oklahoma.

* Bess Rogers lives in Oklahoma City, and is an active member of Oklahoma State Writers, Inc. She is a writer of fiction stories and articles that have appeared in national publications.—Ed.

When school was out in the spring of 1900, the family joined my father at Big Jake's Crossing. The living quarters were of a temporary sort, a large tent with a hastily built-shack in the back. But I think we did not mind too much, for my parents had lived in most of the makeshift kinds of shelters common to early day Oklahoma.

We children stayed close at home for a few days. I remember looking in awe at an Indian woman who came into the store with a long sharp hunting knife hanging from her belt. We were assured it was only for skinning animals, and, as nobody lost his scalp, my fears subsided. They did, that is, until one night we were awakened by the beating of tom-toms and the most wierd chanting that ever struck terror to the heart of white man. I was for taking off immediately for the farm in Missouri Settlement. Was it the war dance? Would the Indian women come with their long knives and peel our heads? Would we all be killed or captured?

But the next morning we were told by one of the English speaking Indians that a member of the village was ill—"blood in the mouth." It happened all too often at the camp. The performance we had heard was their method of warding off evil spirits and saving the lives of their people.

My mother, with true neighborly spirit, killed one of her fat hens and cooked a kettle of delicious soup to take to the sick woman at the camp. It seemed to be the policy of the Indians to keep their patients isolated (yet they knew nothing of contagion). So my mother left the soup with an old man who raised the flap answering for a door. She told him she would take the children to look around the village and return for the kettle later. In our round of the camp we saw Indian women sitting on the ground in front of the tepees doing exquisite bead work on moccasins. Some of the women were shy and withdrawn, but others were quite friendly. The children were shy too, but I could tell by the gleam in the little girls' eyes they would like to join us if they were permitted. I could see that, strangely enough, the Indians were as much afraid of us as we of them. A long eared dog trotting in front of us stopped to quench his thirst from a bowl of water sitting beside a tepee. As he licked his chops and trotted on, a little black eyed boy came out of the tent, picked up the bowl, and drank the rest of the water! Having completed the rounds of the camp, my mother went back to pick up her kettle. She asked the old man if the soup had been enjoyed. He nodded vigorously. He knew, for there was a trickle of golden broth running down from each corner of his mouth!

A great source of enjoyment for me was the many birds. The woods often rang with the melody of their singing. I was especially fascinated by the red bird, darting through the trees

like a flaming streak. We kids decided to catch one of the elusive little creatures. We built traps of willow twigs and watched for days. And one morning there he was! Jubilently we rescued him from the trap. But he was so piteously frightened, his heart beating so wildly, we decided red birds were better for distance viewing, and turned him loose.

We often made forays into the woods in search of wild flowers, "johnnie-jump-ups" on the river banks, and red bud on the fringe of the timber. Plum blossoms spread a white cloud over a little hill and sent out a delicate, heavenly perfume. On one of these trips my little brother stuck a thorn in his hand. He was crying lustily as we walked home. An Indian riding by dismounted and squatted beside my brother. He asked what was the trouble, and we called attention to the hand. "Walk-a-Pan make well," he consoled. Whereupon, he spat in the loose dirt of the road and with the spittle made a little ball of mud which he plastered over the wound in brother's hand. "Hand well now," Walk-a-Pan assured him. Even at the time I doubted the therapeutic value of Walk-a-Pan's treatment. But we heard no more from my brother.

Later I wandered back to the plum thicket and found the bushes covered with little half grown plums. For some strange reason I decided to see how many of the plums I could cram into my mouth. It is amazing how much the skin of a little girl's cheek will stretch. I surprised even myself. I started home to show the other kids my accomplishment. As I was crossing the stile into the yard I was met by my uncle who had come from Missouri to visit us. He kissed me on the cheeks, and the plums began to roll out of my mouth—into his shirt collar and down his vest. My uncle was somewhat of a dandy, and I often wondered what he thought of his little half wild niece in Oklahoma. I guess he did not care much for our crude manner of living, for he soon took himself back to Missouri and his law practice there.

The woods near the crossing were full of campers almost every night. We children would go down next morning to see what they had left. There was never anything but a burned out camp fire and a pile of egg shells. But it was fun to visit the places where they had been and speculate on who had spent the night there.

One afternoon the rain started falling, and we had to stay inside the house. It rained all night, coming down in torrents. At dawn the clouds broke away, and we walked down to the crossing. The river was rising steadily. There must have been extremely heavy rains farther up the stream, judging from the mud-laden water that was swirling down. There was an undertone of danger in its increasing murmur. Hourly my father drove stakes at the water's edge to gauge the rise. The willow

tree that had playfully dipped its branches into the bright, sparkling little stream was already half submerged. The singing river was fast becoming a raging torrent. The water was soon too deep to be forded. My father and brothers rigged up the ferry boat and oiled the pulleys. I held my breath as the first heavily loaded wagon drove out onto the ferry, and the little boat moved slowly out across the swirling, muddy water. But as it made the trip back and forth without incident, I lost my apprehension, and even begged to be permitted to ride across.

There was never a let up all day long. Wagons and horesback riders were lined up eight and ten deep on both sides of the crossing. A crowd of freighters, ranchers, Indians, and covered wagon tourists stood about on the muddy banks watching the little boat battle the raging stream.

The rise continued. Whirling, foaming water lashed at the small boat. Debris lodged against it and had to be pried away—tree limbs, tangled wire and fence posts, dead cattle. There was a smell of decay in the muddy water. The river kept on rising. My father decided that the point of danger had been reached. He anchored the boat and refused to take anyone else across.

A drunk on the other side called out to come and get him. "You'll have to camp on that side until the water goes down," my father yelled back. "If you don't bring that boat, I'll cross on thith rope!" the drunk yelled thickly.

The boat remained at anchor, and the drunk caught the rope cable and started "cooning" it across. Slowly he moved holding to the rope, out to the middle of the stream where the roaring angry water almost touched his back. He might have been struck at any moment by a tree limb and dragged from the cable to certain death. He finally made it across. My father took him to our quarters and Mother brewed him a pot of strong black coffee. They sobered him up and gave him lodging for the night.

The river crested that evening and started slowly to go down. By morning the ferry was in operation again, and traffic moved as smoothly as it had the day before. It was several days though before the river could be forded again.

Then one day in 1901, a strange sound pierced the stillness of the rolling prairies—the shriek of an engine and the roar of a speeding train. Rock Island had extended its line west. Weatherford was no longer the end of the road. There was no need for the string of freighters on the winding trail. There was no need of the ferry boat at Big Jake's Crossing. The mail was carried by the railroad. The Cheyennes struck their tepees and disappeared as noiselessly as a sunset. The crossing, once bustling with activity, was silent and deserted. My family moved back to the farm in Missouri settlement.

A moment in the history of West Central Oklahoma had ended. The need for Big Jake's Crossing was over. But it had been caught in the mind of a small girl—the mystery of swiftly flitting, golden throated wild birds, the beauty of Oklahoma wild flowers, the humanity of the native Red People called “Wild Plains Indians,” the wonder of loaded wagons and yelling cursing men, the tragedy and suspense of the rampaging Washita River.

WE CAME TO LIVE IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

*By Fannie L. Eisele**

My parents, Charles and Elizabeth Gopfert, lived in Saxe Meiningen, Germany where I was born on February 6, 1884. I had one brother and one sister, Herman and Ida. Our home until I was eight years old was in Germany where children had to learn to work at an early age. We went with our parents to the fields at harvest time to help harvest the grain. I had a willow basket with straps over my shoulders and a paring knife with which to gather dandelions for the geese. I also had to help get wood to burn, carrying as much as I could on my back. All this I did as a child by myself.

In harvest time, Father cut the grain with a scythe, and Mother tied it in bundles. We children had to pick up the heads of grain that fell and put them into a basket. Mother tied them into bundles, too. In the evening, Father would haul the grain into the home place on a wagon. When the grain was gathered in and dried out, it was threshed by a flail, all of us having to help and keep in time. A flail had a wooden handle and a whang of leather at one end to beat out the grain. Rye or wheat or barley grain was put on the ground and threshed and then scooped up. The grain was cleaned in the wind or by fanning. Then we put the grain into sacks and took it to mill to be ground. The sacks of meal and flour were taken home and stored under the roof upstairs in the house.

We grew crops of hay, beets, beans, carrots that were cut up and fed to the cattle in feed troughs. The cattle were kept in a barn, and so were the hogs and the chickens. The barn was partitioned off into separate sections, and everything was kept clean. We children had to help in all this work.

* Fannie L. Eisele has lived her life, full and brimming over with her activities as farm daughter, owner of her land claim and as teacher in Old Beaver County, farm wife and mother, nurse of the sick, worker and president of a farm women's club and a poultry club in the Garfield County agent's program and as a writer, since she came with her parents to Oklahoma Territory. Two of her books (printed at Covington) are *History of Covington, Garfield County* (1952) and *History of Noble County* (1958). Mrs. Eisele is a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and has been on its Annual Tour for several years. She and Mr. Eisele (82 years of age) live on their farm in Garfield County, with their post office at Douglas near Covington. This story of Mrs. Eisele's life has been adapted by the Editor for publication in *The Chronicles*, from her "Autobiography," a manuscript of notes on her life.

Wood was given from certain fields all around the town, and it took walking at five o'clock in the morning to get a supply. At ten o'clock, it was lunch time, and then we went to another field, for apples, cherries and prune trees were not planted together. Much of the fruit was picked and dried in those days. When the prunes were ripe, we made prune pies. The crust was a light bread dough in flat pie tins. The seeds were taken out and the prune fruit laid on the dough, then sugar and cream and an egg with a little flour for thickening were added. The pies were baked in large ovens located in the center of the town. Baking was done by lottery. A man started the ovens and ten people baked there in a day, each person given a number in turn. The bread was of dark rye flour, in ten, big round loaves worked into dough from a forty-five pound sack of flour. After the bread was baked, then coffee cake was baked in the ovens. Pies were baked last.

Children were out of school when they were fourteen years of age, and then they were hired out to big farmers where they had to milk and do the rough farm work. They had to cook and help the farmers' wives, each having different work in cooking for the harvest hands. Some of these young people learned tailoring. Most of the boys went out to work as apprentices but they did not earn much. Some of them got shoes and shirts made out of home spun flax which was grown at home and bleached on the grass in the meadows. My mother spun a lot of flax into thread which was taken to a weaver.

Where we lived in Germany, the people kept geese. We children had to bring them home in the evening. Everything was cared for inside the house or barn. The tame rabbits were kept under the manger. In the winter, large drives for wild rabbits were made by the big farmers in hunting parties.

My father had two cows and a horse at times. When his aunt came to visit us from America, he decided that someday he would come over here, too. When she came a second time, he decided to leave Germany. He sold everything he owned, and we started for this country, arriving in New York after landing at Staten Island, in 1891. Our aunt took us home, and we were now amongst strangers in a new land. Father worked as his trade as a stone mason and bricklayer, and Mother got a job at a factory sewing buttons on garments. We children were sent to school, and on Sundays, Father took us to the zoo. He also took us across Brooklyn Bridge. On the Fourth of July, there were fireworks on the Bridge. I

never will forget the fireworks at night that I almost missed seeing. A cousin gave me a lighted firecracker, and I was looking at it when it went off and shot me in the eye. Father took us out to visit all the parks, and out to see the river. He did not like the city.

Father wrote to Uncle Fritz in Beattie, Kansas, and finally decided to come west. In Chicago on the way, we saw rats at the depot so large that we were afraid. We had to wait three hours for our train connections. When we arrived at Beattie, Kansas, our train was late and Uncle Fritz had gone home. So father hired a livery man to take us out to the farm and we were glad for all of us were tired and worn out from the long journey west.

Uncle Fritz lived on his farm five miles northwest of Beattie, and we stayed with him until we located a home in town. Uncle Fritz was a good man. His wife had to move about in a wheel chair as she had the rheumatism. She often read to us out of a large Bible that was different from any I have ever seen. It had a lot of pictures, and Aunt would read and tell us about them.

Uncle Fritz had a large farm and was owner of 18 horses, 300 chickens, 350 hogs of all sizes and some cows. My sister would go and bring the cows to the barn in the evenings; she helped gather the eggs and also picked plums. Uncle Fritz had two old mules, and he put me up on one of the mules to ride, which scared me as I had never before been on a mule or a horse in my life. He told me to get the mail at Quartz, a nearby trading post in those days. The post office there was kept by two old ladies. The trading post was an interesting place with a peacock, chickens and turkeys round about, and caravans of people moving west or east stopping there to trade. I often walked to the trading post with my dog, Pellow, that Uncle Fritz gave me. Pellow afterward came to Oklahoma with us and lived to be fifteen years old.

I went to school at Beattie, taught by Miss Nellie Berry, the Mayor's daughter. And I attended church—the Baptist, the Lutheran and the Methodist at different times. I learned to sew quilt pieces at the Methodist Church, and attended the Sunday school.

One of my schoolmates was Lena Fitzameier, the adopted child of Mr. and Mrs. Bowers who owned a large farm out in the country about a mile from Beattie. They were members of the Lutheran Church and very religious. Lena and I were good friends, and had good times together for my Mother

would let me go visit the Bowers on week ends. I loved the farm. I rode a large gray mare after the cows in the evening, and learned how to milk. There was a big orchard on the Bowers' farm, and Lena and I would gather apples and plums. A lot of the apples were stored for the winter, in the cellar. Mrs. Bowers and her daughter, Emma would make aprons. Then Lena and I would take them to town at Christmas time, with fruit and jelly as gifts for the needy. After we came to Oklahoma, I wrote to Lena for thirty-five years. Her sister, Emma, lived to the age of 99 years; her parents lived to 100 years, and her brother, to 89 years—all on the same farm.

One day in 1894, there was talk of a new land for homesteads in Oklahoma. Father wanted to come to get a farm but I took sick, one doctor said it was rheumatism and another said it was dropsy, and I was sick for four months.

The next year, Father left for Oklahoma to find a farm. When he arrived at Enid, he hired a livery rig to take him around to look at the land, and found plenty at different prices. One day while at Enid, he walked over in Garfield County and found a 160 acre land claim that was being contested as the man who had filed on it had already used his homestead rights elsewhere so he would lose his claim here. He had made some improvements here so Father bought him out and was then the owner of 160 acres of land. He wrote a letter to Mother to get ready to come to Oklahoma.

Father went to Hiawatha, Kansas, and bought a young team, wagon and bows, oats, harness and a canvas wagon-cover besides hoops to stretch the cover over the bows so we would have shelter in case of rain. While traveling, the oats were in the bed of the wagon, and over the oats was our bedding. Then dishes, chairs, table and stoves were placed on top, with a box of chickens and some pigeons packed in, too. The canary bird was in a cage hung on the center bow in the wagon. Our horses were named Jennie and Charlie.

Father, Mother, Ida, Herman and I and my dog Pellow started from Beattie, Kansas, to make a home in a strange new land. It took us two weeks to get to Oklahoma as traveling by team and wagon was slow through rain, sunshine and heat, as it was August haying time. In Kansas, we stopped in the evenings to camp and buy hay from the farmers along the way. And we got melons, too. We bought milk at 5¢ a quart, butter at 10¢ a pound and eggs at 5¢ a dozen since Mother had brought potatoes and other food along with us. A lot of traveling was done this way in those days.



(Photo, taken in Kansas, 1894)

Charles and Elizabeth Gopfert and their three children: standing left to right, Fannie, Ida and Herman.

When we came into Oklahoma, the houses were small and there were sod houses and dugouts. There was not much land tilled. When we came to a town along the road, the buildings and stores had false fronts, and cotton goods—calico and percale—sold for 5c and 10c a yard of poor color that would fade out when it was washed the first time.

Life was different in Oklahoma. Much of the country was prairie with few trees. Most of the people that we saw were very poor. They drove their cattle behind their wagons when on the move, until they came to their place to live. The farms had no fences. We finally came to Black Bear Creek. In fording the stream, our horses could hardly make it up the steep banks. One day Father said to me, "Take the harness off the horses while I look for some hay." Not knowing any better, I unbuckled and took the harness all apart to get it off the horses. Then Father had to spend a lot of time putting the harness together again before we could hitch up the team and travel on.

We came to a store on our way called Garber. Mr. M. C. Garber, his cousin, Mr. Faft, and Bird Garber owned the store and sold merchandise here—dry goods, hardware and tools of all kinds. They freighted the heavy goods and tools from Perry, Noble County, and from Enid, Garfield County, in wagons with teams of four mules. There were no well traveled roads, just trails in this part of the country, and the creeks had to be forded. The store was moved sometime later to a new location and a town began building which is now known as Garber, Garfield County, named for Mr. M. C. Garber. His father from Iowa was a judge and held court in a log house. Later, M. C. Garber became a lawyer, and served as judge and as Congressman from our Oklahoma district for thirteen years. He was well known and prominent in the western part of this state, and was honored in the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame."

Finally, we arrived at our homestead, twelve miles from Garber's store. Father said, "There's our place!" There stood a sod house dwelling, a sod chicken house, and about five acres nearby on the farm had been broken with a plow. There were no fences, and it was my job to lead the horses and let them eat grass. The place near the house was full of weeds, and we had cut out tumble weeds and all the other weeds with a corn knife and a hoe. Then the new ground was plowed, and I helped plant corn with a hoe. The ground squirrels were thick and would eat the grains of corn so we had to plant again. We drowned out most of the squirrels by filling their holes in the ground with water carried from the creek. Father gave us one penny for each squirrel we children drowned.

Father and a neighbor, Otto Pheffer went to Crescent, Oklahoma to buy trees for posts. It was thirty-five miles to timber, and it took three days to make the trip. Afterward a shed was

fixed up on one side of a hill closeby, and covered with bundles of feed as a barn for the horses. Another neighbor, Mr. Groom, had some kaffir corn, and we cut it on shares with our corn knives. A son of Mr. Groom had a patch of peanuts, and we harvested them on shares.

Father started soon digging a water well with a pick and shovel. Mother, Brother and I carried away the dirt as it was brought up from the hole. It took some time to finish the work and we had good water. The well was forty-five feet deep, and Father walled it up with rock. The water is still being used, drawn from this same well with an electric pump. Father carved a watering trough from a tree trunk, and it was used near the well for many years to water the stock.

My job on the farm was to help out doors. The second year we bought a cow, and more cattle were bought as the years passed. As long as I was home with Father and Mother, my job was to milk the cows, churn the butter, wean the calves, and yoke the cattle to keep them from straying off as the fences were poor. At first, only one strand of barb wire was used for a fence but later two woven wires were used. For a long time, I milked from five to twelve cows every morning and night. When any cattle were sold, I rounded them up and started them out because when the buyers came, the animals would get scared and run and jump the fences. In 1897, Father bought some fine, registered short-horns, and from that time, our family always kept this stock.

Brother and I worked at haying time, and in harvesting the grain. I helped haul in the hay from the meadow and stack it in the racks. One time the team ran away when we drove over a nest of bumble bees that swarmed up and stung the horses. I shocked the bundles of wheat in the field, helped scoop up grain into the wagons and haul it into the bins.

When the grain was ripe for the harvest, it was cut with a binder machine. A push binder was run ahead of the horses, and I shocked the bundles of grain behind a six foot binder for many years in harvest time. Then "headers" came into use.¹ Father took care of the grain at the threshing machine, turning out as much as 2,000 bushels a day.²

¹ A "header" was a farm machine pushed by 6 horses, 3 on each side of the tongue, driven in quarter day shifts of 12 hours. Two barges alternately pulled alongside with another team to each, to catch the cut-off heads of grain and haul them to the stacks for threshing later on. The crew in this first part of the harvest consisted of 1 machine operator, 2 barge drivers who also pitched the heads of grain to 2 stackers.

² A threshing machine was a steam engine outfit that went from farm to farm early in the harvest for "shock" threshing, and late in the summer or in the fall for "stack" threshing. The crew for stack threshing usually



A mover's wagon ready for a long journey.



Water hauling in early days. E J. Eisele (standing at left with team) and some of his farm neighbors.

Father rented and farmed other land near our place as years passed. We farmed the Dr. Renfrow place and the Poindexter place, and later the Covington farm. When I was nineteen, Father bought another 160 acres (NE $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 16, T. 21 N., R. 4 W.).

My brother, Herman, and I did the plowing. We would come in from the field in the evening at seven o'clock, and feed our horses. First, we would brush the horses and wash their shoulders. Then I milked the cows, while brother would look after the plows and get them repaired for the next day. I drove three horses on a plow. It took six weeks to finish plowing 160 acres. Besides the grain crop, we would raise corn and use the cobs to burn in the stoves at the house as well as wood. Father fed corn to his hogs and we cured our own meat.

We were at work one day when a neighbor came by saying "What! Working on Sunday?" We had lost all track of the days. There were no churches nor schools in our part of the country the first year we lived in Oklahoma Territory. We had to walk four miles to our first church. Traveling preachers came to preach in the school houses. The second year after we came to our place, school was held for one month in a dugout about a mile west of present Covington; then the school was moved and held in a sod house for two months about a mile north of Covington. Recalling the teachers, I remember Mrs. Thompson was our first teacher; then the next teacher was Mr. Beard, a one legged man. Other teachers at different times, were Mrs. Covington, Mrs. Shores and Mr. McGill who drove his pony from Enid and boarded in the neighborhood of the school, by the week and paid for his pony's feed. He received a salary of \$25.00 a month. I only finished the 5th grade but I read and kept on learning by myself through the years.

Our first post office was "Luella" located one mile east and one mile southeast of Fairmont, Garfield County. This post office was five miles from our home, and we had to walk at first to get our mail. I walked the five miles over to Luella and back home in three hours but later I went horseback. The post office east of us was first called "Tripp," with John Beopple as the postmaster. The place later became Covington named after Mr. J. Covington.

consisted of an engineer, a separator tender, water hauler (for the engine), 4 bundle pitchers, 2 to 4 hand cutters, 2 alternate feeders (before separators had blowers). There was always someone to serve as "water monkey" to carry drinking water to the crew.

"Shock" threshing took about the same force except there were 4 to 6 field pitchers and 4 to 6 bundle pitchers. "Shocks" of grain were small piles, of 10 to 16 bundles of grain each, set up over the field by 1 to 4 persons, called "shockers," who followed behind a binder machine when the crop was first cut. The "shocker" did the work methodically, setting up the bundles in a pile with the heads of grain up then covering or "capping" the pile with 1 or 2 broken bundles to shed the rain.

In my childhood days, Father would let me go with him sometimes to take a load of wheat to the mill at Enid—the Palejeck Mill and Gieses Mill. It was rough traveling in those days for we had to ford the creeks. When anything went wrong I would help and drive the team. Enid was twenty-two miles from home, and we would start at 3 o'clock in the morning and get to town at 5 o'clock in the evening. We would feed the team at the Square, and buy what groceries we needed. Then would start for home, and get there at 4 o'clock in the morning. It was a heavy load both ways—to Enid and back home.

In 1898, nearly four years after we came to Oklahoma, we moved into the new farm house that Father built, and all of us helped him until it was finished. There were two rooms upstairs and two downstairs, with an arch cave under the house. Five years later, another room was built upstairs, and the house was in the shape of an L.

As times got better, buggies were bought and more horses. There were eight to ten horses on a farm; there was larger machinery and more land rented for farming. We rode horseback and in buggies or surreys or wagons and sometimes walked to entertainments in Covington. This town grew and a brick school house was built in the town, and later there was a high school.

By the time that we built our new farm house, there were more schools in the country and the school term was longer. There were more church meetings and Sunday school which we attended. "Literaries," spelling bees and community gatherings were held in the school houses. These community gatherings were held generally to raise money by having a pie supper, or sometimes a cake was baked and given the ugliest man present, or a cake for the brightest girl. We had parties where we pulled taffy candy or made popcorn balls or "dunked" for apples in a tub full of water. We played such games as "Hide the Thimble," "Drop the Handkerchief," "Fruit Basket," "Move and Andy Over," "Dare Base," "Sack Race." We had singing parties, too.

There were plenty of organs in those days. We would go visiting the neighbors, and sometimes stay all night. We played music and sang in the evenings. My sister played the accordion. My brother did the calling for dances. And I played the harp. These are a few of the many songs my sister and brother and I sang when we were young folks: "Long, Long Ago," "Old Black Joe," "Home, Sweet Home," "Lay my Head beneath a Rose," "In the Shadow of the Pine," "Red River Valley," "Barbary Allen," "A word of Advice," "Picture of Eighty-four," "The Fatal Wedding." I have these and other old songs handwritten in a book, the pages getting brittle with age.³

³ Mrs. Eisele's manuscript lists the titles of more than 40 titles of songs, some of them sung more than 70 years ago.

As I grew to womanhood, I loved the farm and doing farm work for Father. I helped with the housework, too, and cooking. I often scrubbed six rooms on my hands and knees in those days.

In 1906 when I was twenty-two years old, there was still some public land that was open to settlement out in Old Beaver County in the Panhandle. I told Father that I wanted to go to that western country and try my luck for a land claim. My sister and brother joined me, and we made the 300-mile trip in mover wagons from our home in Garfield County to what is now western Texas County. A long journey that we made several times back and forth in the years that followed. Generally, two wagons traveled together, and it took nearly two weeks to make this trip overland. We took the route through Enid, Cherokee, Alva, Buffalo, Beaver City and northwest to the "Half-way House," thirty-five miles west of Hooker, half way to Elkhart, Kansas. This "Half-way House" was a building and corral where stages on this route changed horses. Mr. Green, an old range rider, owned the stage drawn by four horses, and brought the mail down into the Territory to Hooker from Elkhart. He also carried passengers with their luggage piled on top of the stage and trunks strapped on the back. Mr. Green had a brother who had a ranch in Kansas and later had a store, in which was the post office called "Kuhn" in Texas County.

We were lucky in getting land, and I got a claim six miles south of Elkhart which is in Kansas right near the north boundary of Oklahoma. My place was in what is now the northwestern part of Texas County where there was nothing but prairie land and buffalo grass. It was called "hard land" but it was good soil, 4 to 5 feet deep, and coke was found in some of the "breaks" of the red hills some miles away. There were still wild horses, antelope and prairie chicken in the Panhandle. Keltner was our post office.

There was a lot of longhorn cattle roaming over the farms for there was no herd law in the country at that time. I often had to shoot my gun to drive the cattle away for the longhorns would come and nearly knock the roof off my house. This was a dugout with a car roof and a stove pipe. There was only one room, 6 by 8 feet, the walls standing 4 feet above ground, with the floor 3 feet below ground, and 3 steps leading down into the house.

There were few water wells in this part of the country, and I helped haul water from Mr. Smith's "2 Circle" ranch. I cooked and, as I had helped in care of the sick in my home community, I helped the sick among my new neighbors, and did water hauling, too. There was another bachelor girl who had land on the same section as my place. Later, I moved from my first dugout nearer to my neighbor, Mrs. Chappee whose family had a well

and I used water from this well. Mrs. Cheppée had two children and I taught them and six other children one winter. There were eight other children in the District and they were taught by another friend. Mrs. Chappee had taught many years in Illinois before coming to Oklahoma Territory, and she told some things about teaching school. There were no schoolhouses in the District so I taught the eight children in my home. All the books we had were different, no two alike, and I had no chairs so we used boxes for seats. Two of the children, of a neighbor family from Pottawatomie County, rode some miles on a donkey to my school. Sometimes, the donkey would stop about a half mile away and refuse to move. Knowing that something had happened to make the riders late, the other children and I would take off down the trail to bring the donkey and the two tardy pupils into school.

There were hard times and money was scarce. I continued to care for the sick on week ends, helping Dr. Jim Tueker with his patients in the community. I also helped clerk in the stores. The first harvest after we went to the Panhandle, I came back with my brother and sister to help my parents harvest their crops in Garfield County. Then I went back to my claim and stayed a year. This was the winter that I taught school in my dugout home.

In 1909, I married Mr. Ernest John Eisele who had come from Stuttgart, Germany, and had a land claim seven miles from my place. We moved over to his dugout and his land near his neighbor, Mr. Collier who had a well where we could get water. I was used to work and a new country and kept the home. The cooking was done on a little "monkey stove" with "two eyes" (stove lids) and a small oven up on the pipe about 2½ feet above the top of the stove. I baked bread three loaves at a time in this little oven. One day in a high wind with a storm coming, tumble weeds rolled up in a big pile on top of the roof against the stove pipe and caught fire. Alone at the time, I hurriedly climbed up on the roof in the terrible wind and dragged and pushed the pile of tumble weeds off to save our house from burning. We had no cows for mine were back in Garfield County but we got milk from a neighbor, and my husband in return helped the folks with their work.

Dry weather came and there were no crops for two years. Most of the farmers were gone to Colorado to work in the sugar beet factory. My husband went to Kansas to work in the harvest. The people left the country in 1911 for there were no crops, no work and no money. We called our claim in Texas County home though we went back to Garfield County at times, and my first son, Herman was born there in 1910.



Fannie L. Eisele's dugout home on her
land claim in the Panhandle.



Farm home of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest J. Eisele
in Garfield County.

Finally, we left the Panhandle in 1913, and bought a place in Garfield County (SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 9, T. 2 N., R. 4 W.), on the same section of land where my Father had filed his claim in 1895. My husband farmed Father's place, and I helped Mother until she passed away. Father lived many years by himself, and I cleaned his home and took care of him until he died.

Mr. Eisele and I and our four small children (three sons and a daughter) moved in 1917 to the home where we still live. We kept on with farming until 1931 when my husband's health was failing. Through the years, I did the work in our home and the sewing, and took care of the garden and the cows. At harvest time as always, I helped in shocking the wheat when it was cut by the binder in the field; then at threshing time, cooked for the harvest crew. I raised all kinds of poultry, and sold vegetables in summer in town.

When the children were growing up, I started showing my poultry and agricultural exhibits at the County fairs. I had the "Barred Rocks" for thirty-two years—the Thompson strain and the Parks strain. In 1927, Mr. Whitehurst held a meeting on agriculture in the State Capitol for three days, and I attended as a delegate from my county. When I came home, I started a farm women's club among my neighbors. We soon had a large club, and cooked meals at the convention hall in Enid to raise money in our work. For thirteen years, I worked with the County agents in the agricultural programs—canning and poultry division. With the study and work in poultry raising, I was elected the poultry federation president, and put on big poultry shows at different times in Covington, Waukomis and elsewhere. In this work, I had a part of the agricultural shows and programs at Stillwater, Enid and Perry, and traveled to different states—Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois and Ohio. Steadily for thirteen years, I reported to the papers on agriculture.

Crops were good in 1932 so I bought three registered short-horns myself, and we still have shorthorn and some white face cattle on our farm. Several seasons after our children were out of school in 1932, I worked in the poultry hatchery at Garber, with my quota of thirty-two families supplying eggs.

When my husband was in poor health in 1929, I began writing history at home, and have since completed and printed two books. We have six grandchildren.

This is something of my life story here in *The Chronicles*. Yes, it has been a busy life, some good and some bad. Our family has lived on the same section of land for sixty-five years since Oklahoma territorial days. My husband and I celebrated our Golden Wedding—married fifty years—on February 2, 1959.

MUSIC IN OKLAHOMA BY THE BILLY MCGINTY COWBOY BAND

By Leslie A. McRill

In this age when it is the rage to portray everything that has to do with cowboy lore, in the movies, on the television screen, on the radio, and in many magazines, and we are busied with the building of a Cowboy Hall of Fame as a national monument to the services rendered by this particular group of early day citizens, it is but natural that we here in Oklahoma recall something of our own history that was born of the cowboy tradition.

This is the story of the rise and development and of the passing, also, of an early day musical organization that contributed a great deal to the enjoyment of citizens, not only here in Oklahoma, but all over the nation. It is the story of "Billy McGinty's Cowboy Band" which came into being in the very early days of the radio. Along with the development of the radio there was a demand for entertainers who could broadcast suitable programs. So this band very naturally fell into place as a radio broadcasting group. The group was first formed as a purely local dance band, but in the course of events became an organization that assumed much more than local fame.

At first, according to the local newspaper, the *Ripley Record*, the group was known as "The Old Time Fiddlers," but as one of its original members told the writer, the boys changed the name to the "Ripley Cowboy Band." It was composed of local musicians who liked to play old time tunes. This same member recalls how the boys got together as early as the year 1921 and formed the musical group. And from this beginning a more pretentious band grew and became known beyond the small village of Ripley.¹

One of the interested business men of Ripley, George Youngblood, saw in this group the possibilities of a fine musical organization specializing in cowboy music as its main attraction. As the radio was coming into use he saw this band as a group that should have a more pretentious name than "The Old Time Fiddlers," or simply a "Ripley Cowboy Band." Youngblood was a town-promoter of no mean ability and talked with the group and came up with

¹ All of the newspaper references in this article were taken from the files of the Newspaper Department in the Oklahoma Historical Society.



The original McGinty Cowboy Band that made the first broadcast. Standing, left to right: Guy Messecar, Mandolin; Paul Harrison, Guitar; Frank Sherill, Violin; Ulys Moore, Bass. Front row, seated left to right: Marie Mitchell, Pianist; Billy McGinty; Mollie McGinty.

the idea of calling the band "The Billy McGinty Cowboy Band." This was a very natural conclusion since Billy McGinty was known nation-wide as one of the very early cowboys of Oklahoma, Texas and Arizona. At first Billy was not so sure he wanted that kind of publicity, but after being told by the aggressive Mr. Youngblood and by the boys themselves that it would be a very fine thing for Ripley to have his name, he acquiesced and thus in early 1925, March 19, to be exact, we find this item in the local newspaper: "G. G. Youngblood and Frank Sherrill motored to Bristow last Tuesday. It is said that the 'Old Time Fiddlers' from Ripley will put on a program on the air from KFRU there in about two weeks."

A few days before this, the Ripley High School had visited Bristow and put on a program of varied selections, as we read in the *Record* of March 12, 1925: "A fine program of the Ripley High School was broadcasted from KFRU, 'The Voice of Oklahoma,' at Bristow today. It is said that Ripley will again appear at Bristow some evening soon at which time the old time fiddlers will take a part."

So with the birth of the radio station at Bristow, one of the first in the state, talent was needed and was obtained from the colleges, high schools, and from the few dance bands available for such purposes. It will be noticed that the radio was in its infancy and not many people afforded one in their homes. At one time the newspaper proudly stated that there were at least twenty-five or thirty radios in Ripley homes and asserted that there would soon be many more installed by progressive citizens. A report of this High School broadcast was given by the *Record*, a whole column, giving the numbers used, the performers, and the names to whom these numbers were dedicated, a very important part of an early day broadcast. Some of the report in the Riply School Notes read: "The program broadcasted by the Ripley Hi School over Radio from Bristow last Thursday was considered a fine program and was enjoyed by all. The school children all gathered in the auditorium to hear the Radio—at school."

As early as January of 1925, reports of programs on the Bristow station occupied places in the news columns of the papers. The *Record* states that "Many have enjoyed the fine programs given by the new broadcasting station at Bristow during the past week." Another item informed the public that "The Cushing Junior Chamber of Commerce will

broadcast a program from station KFRU at Bristow Monday night, Feb. 9th."

We now begin to hear of "Billy McGinty's Cowboy Band" in the headlines. The Ripley paper states:

"Program Broadcasted From KFRU, Bristow, Oklahoma.

"Personnel—Bill McGinty, Roosevelt Rough Rider; Col. Frank Sherrill, First Fidler; U. E. Moore, Bass; Paul Harrison, Guitar; Guy Messecar, Mandolin; H. C. Hackney, Banjo; Mrs. Marie Mitchell, Pianist; and Ernest Bevins, Harmonica."

We pause to note that this was the original group of Ripley players and that they were with the band when it disbanded a year or so later. We continue with the write-up of the first broadcast:

Bill McGinty's Cowboys playing the old time tune, "Roaring River." This was dedicated to Col. Sherrill's mother, wife and family. It is interesting to note some of the titles of pieces rendered at this broadcast: "Durango Hornpipe," "Ride 'em Cowboy," "Over The Waves Waltz," dedicated to the town of Ripley; "Hell Among The Yearlings," "Who Stuck The Gum In Grandpa's Whiskers?" "Casey Jones," "Breakdown in F," "Lost Indian," "Turkey In The Straw," "Arkansaw Traveler," "Irish Washerwoman." A guitar duet by U. E. Moore and Col. Frank Sherrill was a feature of the program. U. E. Moore now lives in Oklahoma City where he is the proprietor of a barber shop, and Frank Sherrill, a retired farmer, lives a few miles north of Ripley on his old home place.

"Ernest Bevins, aged thirteen, played the following selections on the Harmonica: 'Irish Washerwoman,' 'Red Wing,' and 'Casey Jones,' each being dedicated to some of his friends in regular radio procedure.

The article finished with these words: "Many telegrams and telephone messages were received during the concert, not only from all over Oklahoma, but from points in Texas, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and other states, congratulating the players."

Thus the first Cowboy Band began to assume importance in music circles of the day. Some time during this program, George Youngblood, who seemed to be sponsor and first "daddy" of the group, made these radio remarks.

Facts About Ripley:—Ripley is a town on the Santa Fe leading to Shawnee. It is in Payne County and has all the branches of business claimed by the small towns of Oklahoma. The town was named for President Ripley of the Santa Fe Railroad.

It has a population of about 500, and its five churches and extra fine school building testify as to its religious and educational advantages. The town is situated on the Cimarron River. . . . Ripley cannot as yet boast of its many oil refineries and factories, but if you will take a look at the oil and gas wells around the town you will see that they are sure to come.

Bill McGinty and his Rough Rider Fiddling Cowboys' Band are located at Ripley and we are proud of them. Since they are here representing the town and will play for you, perhaps it is in order to tell how and why the Cowboy Band came into existence.

William McGinty

In introducing Bill McGinty and his Cowboy Band of old time fiddlers, I will state that Wm. McGinty was a real cowboy at the age of 14. He had a backbone of steel and the courage of any locoed bull that roamed the wild and wooly plains, and at this young and tender age there was no horse or steer that he could not ride. . . .

At this point the speaker told of Billy's personal history in the Spanish American War and in Buffalo Bill's Circus, and how he won medals with his riding feats, and then the speaker continues: "Bill is now a few years older than he was when he was World's Champion Rider. He often dreams of the times had in the dangerous profession, and to while away the time, he, like Old King Cole, has 'his fiddlers three, and is as happy as can be' eating pie and listening to their jokes and music." Here the speaker's flair for oratory and his enthusiasm carries him away as he continues:

I wish to say of this bunch of cowboys that they are not only good fiddlers, but can ride or rope anything that has horns, hide or hair. This is emphasized in Col. Sherrill, who will demonstrate the fact if you will furnish the animal you want ridden. He plays first fiddle and we leave it to you whether he can fiddle or not after he plays for you.

But to return to Bill McGinty. He has friends in every state in the Union, and in Mexico and Canada, who will know his voice whether they heard it in Heaven or elsewhere. I want him to say now just a word to his old-time friends who may be listening in at this time. I now introduce to you Bill McGinty.—Youngblood.

Bill, however, had slipped out and didn't reappear until speech-making was over. He never pretended to be able to 'rope' a crowd by talking. He, however, has been hearing from many old friends everywhere by telegraph, mail and telephone.

Those who know Billy are not surprised that when the speech-making came he disappeared. He will never, even to this day, try to make a speech. He will answer questions gladly pertaining to his life and riding experiences, but he shuns a speech as, it is sometimes reported, the devil shuns holy water.

According to the newspapers this first performance was the curtain-raiser to added appearances on the Bristow radio station. Reports of their accomplishments were attracting

many outsiders, some of whom visited the station at broadcast hours. Two musicians of the old time variety were attracted from neighboring Drumright and after several visits joined the band. They were Dave Cutrell and Johnny Bennett. Dave had the nickname of "Pistol Pete," and was a real radio character. He had coal black handle-bars mustache, one piercing black eye and two very prominent front teeth. All of this with his ability to sing made him outstanding. His special song which was called for everytime he appeared on any program was entitled "The Midnight Special." One of the boys recalls how Dave got his monicker of "Pistol Pete." The band all dressed in their cowboy outfits were in Bristow to give a program. Cutrell encountered the hotel porter on the way to the wash-room and jokingly asked him where he could get a bottle of liquor. The porter, who did not know Cutrell, protested strongly, saying: "Nothin' like that around here, boss. We don't handle anything like that. Suspecting that Cutrell was a detective the negro added: "No, suh, you look like a pistol Pete, a sure 'nuff law man."

After the program the negro approached "Pistol Pete" and quietly said: "Boss, I can get you that bottle now."

After that incident the boys called Cutrell "Pistol Pete." There are some who think that the later famed "Pistol Pete" of Perkins took that handle from the Cowboy Band member.

The Band had dates to fill long before they were on radio, however, as on Thanksgiving night, 1922, they played for a dance in Pawhuska. In 1925 they played a broadcast appearance on station KFJF, Oklahoma City, from 9 to 12 at night, and they filled a week's engagement at the Liberty Theater in Oklahoma City. Ulys Moore tells of going to Tulsa with Billy to play at the Mayo Hotel for Pawnee Bill's Indian Show. They could not muster all of the regular group, so they substituted Ernest Bevins, the harmonica player and Leonard Fullwider. And they must have been good substitutes for the station manager told Ulys after the broadcast that they had "the smoothest string band he had ever heard."

Always with the Band's performances there seemed to be in the background some of Billy's former experiences coming to light. The local paper at this time tells of the time Will Rogers was to be in Oklahoma City and people from all over the state went down to greet him. Billy went with others, but as was his custom, he loitered in the background. As Will stepped from the train he was met by some hundred business men and remarked:

"Where you-all going?"

"We've come to meet you," said Mayor Cargill.

"Oh," said Rogers, "I thought you were leaving town."

Then spying a brown shirt in the background, Rogers hastened through the notables to grasp Billy's hand and exclaim: "Folks, meet Billy McGinty, my friend. You know McGinty here was Roosevelt's personal friend in the Rough Riders. He was with him all the time. One day Roosevelt got on 'im because he couldn't keep step. McGinty just smiled and told Roosevelt, 'I joined this here army to ride a horse, and you'd better bring me one in a hurry.'"

After copying this article from the *Oklahoma News*, the Ripley paper, in introducing another announcement of the Band's activities, carried this heading: "*Billy Was Colonel Teddy's Pal*. At the battle of San Juan Hill in the Spanish American War, he carried coffee and sustaining food to the boys on the field. Diminutive Billy McGinty of Ripley, Oklahoma, who with his famous Cowboy String Band put on a unique entertainment at KFRU today. . . ."

This notice was taken from the Bristow Daily Record and copied in the local Ripley paper of May 28, 1925.

Then in the same issue we read: "McGinty's Cowboy Band went today to broadcast a program. The program was one of the best ever put on the air by this popular band and was well received. Upon their return they were entertained at Cushing, where a large audience greeted them and applauded their efforts."

Another account of this broadcast appeared in a later issue. It read:

Billy McGinty's celebrated Cowboy Band, accompanied by a number of ladies and gentlemen from this place, went to Bristow last Thursday, and broadcasted a fine program from KFRU station at that place. The members of the band were dressed in regular cowboy style, including broadbrimmed hats, high-heel boots, "chaps," and spurs, etc. They played at the noon hour and from 3 to 5 p.m., produced a fine program of old time string tunes, selections on the piano, singing, etc., and the concert was well received by hundreds of listeners Mr. McGinty was prevailed upon to make a short talk. His experience as a Rough Rider, broncho buster and cowboy is enshrined in the memory of thousands who know him personally.

Some of the messages received were published. They were from Stillwater, Cushing, Ponca City, Cleveland, Oilton, Chandler, Haynesville, La., Fort Smith, Ark., and many other places. One message was from the Osage-Pawnee Council of the Boy Scouts of America.

The band was also welcomed and entertained in private homes. One account in their home town paper tells of them being the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Williamson along

with other friends. The item goes on to mention "pink and white ice cream and cocoanut cake." It was a common item to read of the band going out to fill a date. One item read:

McGinty's Cowboy Band will go to Bristow today The notice was not received until a day or so ago. The program was varied with mandolin, guitar and banjo solos and duets that were played by U. E. Moore, Guy Messecar, Paul Harrison and H. C. Hackney. Col. Sherrill, the first fiddler, is also a fine guitar player. Many selections were dedicated to persons throughout the state

Mr. McGinty, while there, was met by a gentleman who had come from Chicago to hear the band, and was asked to consider a tour of the band for several weeks. It is not likely, however, that the band, which is composed of business men from here, would wish to make such a tour, especially in the warm summer months.

So the fame of the Band had reached Chicago and the nation was inviting these "Old Time Fiddlers" to entertain in further reaching broadcasts and personal appearances. In the August issue of the *Ripley Record* we read: "McGinty's Cowboy Band, of this place, has been offered the job of playing for the Ellis County Fair at Arnett. Mr. McGinty has been absent for some days and whether or not the band will accept the offer has not been decided on, we learn." Ellis County was one of the former homes of Billy in his earlier married life. Old Day County was where Billy had the Crossed Saber Cattle Ranch and where he served as deputy sheriff for some time.

Naturally with all this build-up and fame, for it was a "going organization" at this time, well known and received, Billy was followed by the "news hounds" and at this point it was not surprising that some one with a flair for show business would covet the organization, so in the *Repley Record* of December 3rd, 1925, we read a social item which must have had more than social significance. "Mr. and Mrs. Otto Gray, of Stillwater, attended the entertainment at Hominy for which McGinty's band, of this place, furnished music." The Band broadcasted later from KVOO and the Tulsa World published a picture of the group with a write-up of the origin and fame of the Band.

Evidently Otto Gray was thinking of taking over the organization since he had a talent for managing such a group on a wider basis and scope of operation. It was well known that the local boys would not be in a position to make tours out of the state, so if the band were to answer the call for nationwide engagements, it would have to be reorganized. An engagement at Hominy made this perfectly clear. The men could not afford to neglect their business affairs for so long a time.

We read in the *Ripley Record*, copied from the *Stillwater Gazette* the latter part of December, 1925:

Bill McGinty's Cowboy Band of which Otto Gray of Stillwater, and a group of Ripley folks are members, will extend its field of action in January 1926. Arrangements have been made by Mr. Gray to appear on the Orpheum vaudeville circuit in Kansas City, Mo. for two weeks, beginning January 17, and for a radio concert for the W. H. Sweeney Automobile School in Kansas City, it is reported.

J. M. Hemme of Kansas City, son of F. W. Hemme, of Stillwater, completed arrangements for the band's appearances in Kansas City.

The boys were dated for a week at Hominy, as stated above, soon after being taken over by Mr. Gray, but when the week's engagement was over they resigned from the organization in toto. This made it necessary for a complete reorganization with the old name only, "McGinty's Cowboy Band," for a group of players outside the Ripley community. Since they had no connection with the town of Ripley the original and well known group was no longer with the band and it passed out of existence as a Ripley organization.

Billy went with the new organization for a time, but was soon compelled to return to business at Ripley. In talking over the Band's progress, Billy recalls that George Youngblood and his own son, O. W. (Jack) McGinty, made several trips to the radio station at Bristow before they were able to "sell" the new band to the radio authorities at that place. Another amusing incident is one that he tells. When the Band went to Bristow for the performance given above, as their first, and Mr. Youngblood made the flowery speech above reported, Billy says that Youngblood stood before the "nike" and became utterly speechless for several seconds before he could utter a sound. But Mr. George Youngblood was the band's first sponsor and "daddy" and kept up his interest all along in the progress of the organization.

In running through some old papers and clippings recently, the writer found this parody on a very popular song of the day: "Alexander's Ragtime Band." A penciled note at the foot of the typewritten song words stated "This was the first Cowboy Band on the air, and this was the first song that was sung. It was rendered by Paul Harrison, 'Fat' (Alvin) Mitchell and Mollie McGinty. Mrs. Marie Mitchell played the piano":

Tune in and hear, tune in and hear
Bill McGinty's Cowboy Band;
Tune in and hear, tune in and hear—
It's the best band in the land.

They can play the old-time tunes
Like you never heard before,
Just like the ones that they
Played in days of yore.

It's just the grandest band what am, Honey Lamb,
Tune in and hear, tune in and hear
Bill McGinty's Cowboy Band.

Bill is the man, Bill is the man
Who is the captain of this Band;
And if you want to hear
The good old tunes played fine and dandy,
Tune in and hear Bill McGinty's Cowboy Band.

Thus the Band arose, entertained the early Oklahoma people, gained a splendid reputation, prospered for a time, and like all things in nature, passed quietly from the scene of action, but all old timers of the Ripley neighborhood still talk of the "old time fiddlers" in "Bill McGinty's Cowboy Band" with affection as they seem to hear those old tunes still ringing in the ear of memory.

THE DAUGHERTY RANCH, CREEK NATION

Ella M. Robinson

James Monroe Daugherty, son of James Madison Daugherty and Eleanor McGeehee, was born in Denton County, Texas, February 27, 1850. He lived in that vicinity until the close of the Civil War, when at the age of sixteen years he embarked in cattle business.¹

His first venture was when he bought five hundred head of yearlings in South Texas for 75¢ apiece, on credit; hired four of his cowboy friends at \$40.00 per month, also on credit, promising to pay in the event he could make a profit on the cattle when sold. He then started driving them through Texas and the Indian Territory to Kansas where he expected to find a market for them. He and his helpers packed all their bedding and provisions on mules and started on their long drive.

It was only a short time, however, before they realized they would have to have a wagon for their camping equipment. Finding a friend along the road who sold him a yoke of oxen and an old tar-bucket wagon, they loaded their possessions into it. After buying provisions enough for the trip, he had a dollar and fifteen cents left when they reached Abilene, Kansas. Their route took them through the western part of the Indian Territory, on what was afterward known as the old Chisholm Trail. As they journeyed through the Territory, a tire on the wagon broke and as the country was just a vast prairie there was no blacksmith shop within hundreds of miles. But being of a resourceful nature, he conceived an idea as to how to fix the broken tire. He told the boys to kill a yearling and bring him the hide. This he cut in one long strip, beginning at the outside and going around and around. With this he wrapped the tire and journeyed on. This procedure had to be repeated several times on the trip, a yearling being sacrificed each time. As they ate the meat, there was no loss incurred.

After reaching Abilene, he went to a leading merchant and told him what his business was there and that he had no money. The merchant volunteered to extend credit to

¹This account of the Daugherty Ranch is found in Vol. 42, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Grant Foreman Collection, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, made the transcript published here in *The Chronicles* for Spring, 1960. The account was written by Miss Ella Robinson in 1937.—Ed.

him until the cattle could be sold. He soon found a buyer, sold the entire herd, realizing \$15.50 per head, cash. That was his first trip through the Indian Territory where he later became the owner of one of the largest ranches in the country. Having been so successful in his first venture, he then began in real earnest, buying cattle in southern Texas, driving them through the Territory to points in Kansas.

Seeing the possibilities of the country, in 1885, he decided to start a ranch in the Territory, which afterward played an important role in the history of the early ranch life. He first leased the land in the Creek Nation through Legus Perryman, Chief of the Creeks, and his brother, his secretary, for one-half cent per acre. The ranch house and headquarters were located some two miles south of Catoosa, near the present intersection of Highways 66 and 33, on a tract of land now owned by J. B. Gallo. The old house is still standing at the back of the Gallo home. It was built in 1890 by R. G. Stanifer of Catoosa. The ranch holdings extended from the Verdigris River on the east to where the Midland Valley Depot in Tulsa now stands, on the west. From the Cherokee-Creek line, which was a few miles north of the present Admiral Boulevard in Tulsa, and approximately to the Indian Hills Country Club grounds at Catoosa, then south to the Blue Springs Ranch near Coweta.

The Jay Forsythe Ranch near Broken Arrow was a part of the Daugherty holdings, and was operated by Forsythe under a sub-lease. During the year 1894, Mr. Daugherty was pasturing 22,000 head of cattle for Canady, Clair and Wood, of Texas. By 1896, he was handling approximately 40,000 head of cattle, bearing 367 different brands, 10,000 of which had been shipped to Catoosa from Florida in double-decked cars, as sheep and hogs are frequently shipped. According to John Foutz of Tulsa, one of the ranchmen, the cattle from Florida were not much bigger than sheep, but under the care of the ranchmen and the fine pasturage soon reached the ordinary weight of fine cattle. But the main portion of Mr. Daugherty's cattle were the long-horn breed from Texas. The width of the horns from tip to tip would reach from six to eight and nine feet and the rattle of the horns could be heard long before they appeared in sight, as they were being driven along the route.

Mr. Daugherty was fortunate in keeping his employees for many years. Charles Hamilton was his bookkeeper for forty years. Lem Hoks, now living in Bowlegs, was an employee for forty years, as foreman. He is still serving in the same capacity for the Daugherty Ranch at Vanhorn, Texas.

Among the many employees on the ranch were two Negroes; Negro Bob, the cook, and Bob Mathis, a bronco-buster, and Chico, a Mexican chore boy and handy man. Mr. Daugherty, being of a genial likable character, was thoroughly agreeable to his employees. However, possessing a stability of his Indian nature and the shrewdness of his Scotch-Irish blood, he was always able to hold his own on any occasion that might arise.

When Mr. Bryan was running for president, Mr. Daugherty was in St. Louis on business, where he was called into the office of Clay Pierce and Company, with whom he did business, and was diplomatically informed that if Mr. Bryan was elected, Daugherty's note for \$150,000 held by them, would have to be paid promptly when due. Should Mr. McKinley be elected, all the time needed would be granted. Mr. Daugherty walked out of the office and after a brief visit with some Jewish merchant friends, returned with a check for \$150,000. Laying it down on the desk, he said, "Give me the note and the mortgage on my cattle that you hold, and you and Mr. McKinley can go where you please."

During the years that he so successfully operated his Territory ranch, he also had one at Vanhorn, Texas, where he is known to be one of the greatest cowmen in Texas. When it was apparent that Statehood was coming, in 1906, he sold his holdings in the Territory and returned to his home at Vanhorn. During the years spent in the Territory, he divided his time between each place, his family remaining in Texas.

About 1872 or 1873, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Middleton, a sister of D. H. Middleton, also a ranchman of Indian Territory days and a former citizen of Muskogee, now living in California. The Daugherty's had three daughters. One lives in China, one in California and one in Vanhorn, with whom he makes his home. His wife died some years ago.

He has retired from active service and has lost his sight completely, but he is still called the greatest cowman in Texas as well as the Indian Territory.

NOTE ON ABOLITIONISM IN THE CHOCTAW NATION

By James D. Morrison

In the midst of the furor which pervaded the United States during the summer of 1850, a fiery editorial was published by a country weekly in a remote corner of the "Cotton Kingdom." The author of the editorial is unknown. The regular editor, Charles DeMorse, often dubbed the "Father of Texas Journalism," was absent at the time from Clarksville, Texas, where his paper, *The Northern Standard*, was printed. The Congressional debate over the Compromise of 1850, which featured Webster's March 7th speech, had waxed hot and heavy and the Nashville Convention, with its threat of secession if Southern rights were not recognized, had just concluded its June session to await the outcome of the Compromise debates in Congress.

Clarksville was only fifteen miles from Red River, the boundary between the State of Texas and the Choctaw Nation. Since the mixed-blood Choctaw planters to the north of the river and the Texas planters to the south both used the Red River as a means of communication with the outside world, since both employed Negro slaves for the cultivation of their plantations and had many other common interests, relations across the River were customarily excellent. But by 1850 the North Texans had begun to be annoyed by a particular development in the Choctaw Nation and the political climate of 1850 presumably caused this annoyance to receive a public airing. Simply stated, the Texans feared that a nest of abolitionists had been planted uncomfortably close to their northern border.

The *Northern Standard* editorialized thus in its issue for June 15, 1850:¹

We are not opposed to missionaries being sent among the Indians on our border so long as they know and attend solely to their business as such; but we are opposed to the plan of sending avowed abolitionists among them, who are disposed to meddle with the institutions of the south, particularly slavery. It is a well known fact that all the run-away negroes from this part of Texas, always fly to the Nation, and it is equally well known that they receive encouragement and are harbored by reason of the influence of the sentiments propagated by these Reverend Northern gentlemen, and in truth it is with difficulty that a master can regain his slave after he has got among them. If there is any law whereby these gentry can be made to answer for such misdemeanors—well, if not we would say to our citizens, **make a law to suit the occasion.**

¹ *Northern Standard*, June 15, 1850. A file of this publication is located in the newspaper collection of the University of Texas, Austin.

This blanket charge of abolitionism, fired against all missionaries to the Choctaws, was resented by *The Choctaw Intelligencer*, a weekly paper published at Doaksville, a community which had grown up near Fort Towson and which at the time was the capital of the Choctaw Nation. One of the editors of the *Intelligencer* was John P. Kingsbury, son of Cyrus Kingsbury. The elder Kingsbury was a missionary, greatly revered by the Choctaw people. The younger Kingsbury wrote a signed editorial in *The Intelligencer* for June 27, 1850, defending the missionaries:²

I must confess that I am at a loss in what manner to notice an attack, so uncalled for, on men who have devoted the best part of their lives to the work of missions among this people. The charge is false throughout, and is a libel alike on the good sense of the people of Texas, the Choctaw Nation, and the Northern Missionaries. I believe that it was made in ignorance, and under the influence of excitement; and am confident that it will be unreservedly retracted.

It is not true that there is any plan for sending avowed abolitionists among this or any other Southern tribe. The only societies which send out avowed abolitionists, were organized for the express purpose of breaking down this Mission, and they do not believe it right that a Slaveholding people should have "the benefit of the Clergy." Some who have avowed themselves as abolitionists after their arrival here, have remained but a short time, believing that this people were giving over to hardness of heart.

After thus answering the charge of abolitionism, Kingsbury took up the accusation that the Choctaw Nation furnished a haven for runaway Texas slaves:³

It is not true that all the negroes from the neighboring part of Texas fly to the Nation. Two negroes belonging to Mr. R. K. Runnels, of Bowie County, were taken up in Clarksville, broke jail in that place, and were finally secured in Paris. By a parity of reasoning, these slaves evidently thought their chance of escape better in Texas than in the Nation, for the distance to the Nation was much less and the country much more unsettled than that over which they passed. The jailor and citizens of Clarksville and vicinity might be charged with aiding and abetting the escape of those slaves, with just as much propriety as the Choctaw people and the missionaries can be charged with aiding and abetting the escape of slaves because, occasionally, they are able to hide themselves in the swamps and mountains of the Nation. As many, if not more, are found in Arkansas and Missouri than among the Choctaw people. This people do not harbor runaway slaves, and I defy any one to prove to the contrary. Runaway negroes are not such comfortable neighbors as to receive encouragement in lying out. Empty smoke houses and impoverished graneries [*sic*] would be the consequence.

We presume that is very easy to get possession of slaves who escape to the Comanche and Mexican country where the Northern Missionaries have not yet gone.

² *Choctaw Intelligencer*, June 27, 1850. An incomplete file of this frontier newspaper is to be found in the Library of Congress.

³ *Ibid.*

He concluded his editorial with a long tribute to the missionaries, including his father:⁴

Intimately acquainted as I am, with the Missionaries of this Nation, and as the son of one who has spent nigh four and thirty years of his life, in constant, unremitted labor among the Indians, I should have preferred to take no notice of the matter, as it is a true saying, that the best way to kill calumny, is not to run after it. But the position which I occupy, seemed to require of me some notice of the charge, standing as it does in the editorial columns of the *Standard*.

This is not the first false accusation which has been brought against the missionaries of the Nation; but they come not here to obtain a good name—this they had ere they left their homes. In the humble discharge of their duty, they devoted their hearts and their hands to the labor of love among this people, and they cannot see how, "after having put their hands to the plough," they can turn back and mingle in the fierce strife and angry declamations incident to any interference in Political matters. They have something to do. Time does not lie idly on their hands. Numerous calls of the sick, afflicted, and poor; circuits of hundreds of miles, and the care of large schools, leave them hardly time for the social intercourse of the fireside, without looking for runaway slaves. They have not time, even to attend to the spiritual wants of those negroes who stay at home, as they would wish, much less to take upon themselves the looking after runaway negroes. They are the last to hear of runaway slaves, and it is very seldom that they ever hear of them. From my earliest recollection, I know of but one runaway having shown himself at my father's place, and that was in Mississippi. Although there has been some excitement here about a negro supposed to belong to H. A. Runnels, I question if there is one of these "Reverend Northern Gentlemen" who know anything of the circumstances. Right certain I am that the one who lives nearest, say a mile from here, does not know them.

In conclusion I would say that if the gentleman who penned the (to say the least) unwarrantable charge, will pay a short visit to each of the Mission Stations in the Nation, and ride round with the Missionary in his preaching tour, if he is not gratified with his visit, he will at least find that these men have a higher work than to meddle with business which brings trouble, and only trouble, and that continually.

J. P. Kingsbury

This copy of *The Intelligencer* reached Clarksville too late for a reply in the June 29th issue of the *Northern Standard*, but the editor promised, "We will attend to them next week."⁵ This promise was fulfilled when the *Standard* appeared the following week. Under the heading, "Choctaw Intelligencer, Missionaries, &c," was a diatribe, heavy with sarcasm, against J. P. Kingsbury. A sample sentence ran: "Here we have lived at one place for the last 10 years, and have never been caught at our rascality till Mr. Kingsbury, associate editor of the *Choctaw Intelligencer*, proves to a demonstration as clear as mud, that we are guilty of libel and base slander."⁶

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Northern Standard*, June 29, 1850.

⁶ *Northern Standard*, July 6, 1850.

The *Standard* editor refused to retract anything he had charged against the missionaries and continued by naming a specific culprit, using italics for emphasis:⁷

We have heard Mr. Pitkin, a Choctaw Missionary, express himself in such a manner that there was no mistaking his views. He can say we have heard him express himself as only abolitionists can express themselves. gentlemen who have lived in the Nation for years have informed us that they did not believe there was a single missionary in the Nation but what was an abolitionist in every sense of the word. Mr. Kingsbury asks us to come over and ride around with the Missionary on his preaching tour, but we must beg leave to decline as we can hear better preaching at home. We now bid an eternal adieu to the Intelligencer and the Missionaries. We have placed our citizens upon their guard concerning them. Meanwhile Mr. Kingsbury, you can discontinue our exchange.

The "Mr. Pitkin" mentioned was the teacher, from its beginning, of a boys' school called Norwalk, founded in 1846 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions nearby and under the same control as Wheelock, a school for girls established some years earlier. Horace W. Pitkin was praised as an excellent teacher by his superintendent, the Reverend Alfred Wright, in the latter's report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the fall of 1849.⁸ Pitkin was a musician and Wright commended him for the "proficiency made in singing" by his pupils.

Horace Pitkin's musicianship included the ability to repair and tune pianos, a skill which he used during school vacation periods to augment his meager salary as a missionary teacher, not only in the Choctaw country but in northeast Texas as well. The need for tuneful Texas pianos may have prompted another editorial outburst in the *Standard* columns of July 20, which stated:⁹

The Choctaw Missionary, Mr. Pitkin

In a previous number we came out and exposed the abolitionism of this gentleman, and further than that we have nothing against him, and as we understand that he is uneasy concerning his personal safety in visiting this part of Texas; we take this occasion to say to him that he is perfectly safe We think Mr. Pitkin's fears are unfounded, and we promise him that he shall be perfectly safe, whenever he shall see proper to visit us.

We have no fears whatever in visiting the Nation; no more than we ever had, and should feel perfectly safe in Mr. Pitkin's own beat,

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1849), p. 1141. See also: *The Missionary Herald*, Vol. XLII (1846), p. 213.

⁹ *Northern Standard*, July 20, 1850.

and we wish Mr. Pitkin to feel as comfortable as we do Mr. Pitkin we believe is the only individual in a hundred miles of us who understands the repairing and tuning of pianos, and as most of those instruments in Clarksville need his assistance; we take this occasion to invite him over. Come over Mr. Pitkin. Come over and see us; and bring your friend the younger Kingsbury with you.

Further evidence that the *Standard's* pro tempore editor was receding from his original uncompromising stand with its blanket charges may be drawn from this editorial concerning Ramsay D. Potts, a Baptist missionary, which accompanied the conciliatory remarks concerning Pitkin: "In our remarks in regard to the missionaries being abolitionists we . . . say that the Rev. Ramsay D. Potts, who is a missionary among the Choctaws, is entirely free from the least taint of abolitionism. We believe him to be a gentleman and a Christian."¹⁰

As might be expected, this battle of newsprint ended with each side claiming victory. Kingsbury wrote in the *Intelligencer* for July 18:¹¹

The *Standard* will find us very generous. We always cease firing when the enemy pulls down his flag. The *Standard* never retracts what it says; we always hope to do so when we are wrong. We hear nothing, however, in the *fiddling* of the former to cause us to change the position we assumed in reply to a charge made against the Choctaws and their missionaries.

As to the missionaries, we presume they will try to follow in their poor way the line which their *Glorious Standard Bearer* has marked out to them in his Word, till He shall call them home. The *Standard* might have saved itself the trouble in regard to our exchange, as we had, very fortunately not concluded to exchange.

The final sally by the *Standard* in this exchange was printed on July 20 under the heading, "The Choctaw Missionaries:"¹²

From the very uncourteous and ungentlemanly manner in which we were assailed by Mr. Kingsbury of the *Intelligencer*, we determined to have nothing more to do with the *Intelligencer* or its allies, the Abolition Missionaries; but we have been solicited by many of our most respectable citizens to continue our expose of them. Most of our citizens think we are doing nothing more than our duty in warning the people of Texas in regard to these abolitionists, and have requested us to continue in our course. In doing so we shall have strict regard for the truth, and shall assail no one whose conduct does not deserve it. We shall notice them again whenever they get at all out of their latitude, and we hope in the end to make honest men of them all. So send us the *Intelligencer*, Mr. Kingsbury—let us see what you have to say.

The last item on the matter to appear in the *Intelligencer* consisted of a letter to the editor from a "Choctaw Friend." The

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Choctaw Intelligencer*, July 18, 1850.

¹² *Northern Standard*, July 20, 1850.

letter was printed in the number dated August 1, 1850, with this introduction:¹³

The *Northern Standard* accuses us of assailing it in an uncourteous and ungentlemanly manner. We do not consider ourselves the *assailants*, and we see nothing, save in the caption wherein we can be charged with improper expression. As far as the caption of our first article is concerned we can cheerfully affirm that we did not intend to stigmatize the *Standard* as a scandalous or slanderous paper, though that may seem a natural inference therefrom.

The letter, ending with "I am a Choctaw" and signed "Idea," was a spirited defense of the missionaries. The *Standard*, according to "Idea," was "barking up the wrong tree": the missionaries did not harbor runaway slaves—quite the contrary; their influence was good, although hard put to counteract that of "bad white men" who proposed by foisting various vices, especially drunkenness, upon the Indian people. "It is the Choctaws who ought to complain," he asserted, "for they are the sufferers" from the greed of white men.¹⁴

Perhaps there were other exchanges between the editors concerning the missionaries and their abolitionist leanings. If so, they have escaped notice. The *Intelligencer* ceased publication with the number dated January 7, 1852, because of lack of adequate financial support, while the *Standard* continued to publish for a number of years after the Civil War.

As for the missionaries, it is undoubtedly true that many from New England harbored abolitionist sentiments. It could not have been otherwise. But no evidence has been uncovered that they harbored runaway slaves from Texas or elsewhere or made any attempts to promote the escape of slaves from their legal owners. The American Board, which had sent both Cyrus Kingsbury and Horace W. Pitkin to the Choctaw Nation, became increasingly worried by the attitude of its missionaries there, who not only appeared to condone slavery but often employed slave labor themselves.

In April, 1855, the Choctaw Mission stated its position on slavery to a representative of the American Board, making three points: (1) a missionary should have nothing to do with political questions; (2) while admitting slavery to be wrong, they refused to hold every slave owner as sinful when the institution of slavery was recognized as legal in the United States; and (3) that it was the missionary's duty to explain and illustrate Biblical teachings concerning the relationships of servants and masters.¹⁵ The Board was not satisfied with this policy of the Mis-

¹³ *Choctaw Intelligencer*, August 1, 1850.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ W. B. Morrison, "The Choctaw Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IV, No. 2.

sion on slavery, which promoted the missionaries to request an end to their relationship with that body in these words:¹⁶

We are fully convinced that we cannot go with the Board as to the manner in which we as ministers of the Gospel and Missionaries are to deal with slavery. We believe the instruction of the Apostles in relation to this subject are a sufficient guide, and if followed, the best interests of society as well as the church will be secured. We have no wish to give the Board any further trouble on this subject, and as there is no prospect that our views can be brought to harmonize, we must request that our relation to the A.B.C.F.M. be dissolved in a way that will do the least harm to the Board and to our mission.

This was in 1855. The actual dissolution came four years later, December 24, 1859, when the American Board decided finally to relieve itself of "the unceasing embarrassments and perplexities connected with the missions in the Indian Territory." The work was taken over by the Presbyterian Church, Old School, of which most of the missionaries were already members.

Perhaps it is fitting, as the Nation struggles with the problem of intergration, to recall the difficulties of a century ago in Oklahoma as to the proper relationship between white and black.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE CHOCTAW:
U.S. POLICIES OF 1820 AND 1830

By Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr.*

The Choctaw removal from Mississippi exemplifies, perhaps better than that of any other tribe, the American policy regarding the ejection of all Indian tribes from the eastern states to the west of the Mississippi River. Even though the Choctaw represent one of the largest tribes in the United States, they have been all but forgotten in the history of Indian removal in favor of more publicized and belligerent tribes.¹ In his study of the Choctaw, John R. Swanton presented a summary of their tribal characteristics. He pointed out that they were farmers and not warriors: "their beliefs and customs were simple and they seldom left their country to fight but when attacked defended themselves with dauntless bravery. In other words, the . . . Choctaw seems to have enjoyed the enviable position of being 'just folks,' uncontaminated with the idea that they existed for the sake of a political, religious, or military organization."² The Choctaw Indians were also friendly people and presented few if any military problems to the War Department.³ In times of crisis, such as the War of 1812, the Choctaw allied themselves with the United States and fought against the Creek in Alabama and the British in Pensacola and New Orleans.⁴ But their friend-

* Dr. Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr., is Assistant Professor of History in Mississippi Southern College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi. His article here in *The Chronicles*, on the Removal of the Choctaws from Mississippi, is an adaption of a paper read before the Mississippi Historical Society, the data for which was gathered for his doctoral dissertation at the University of South Carolina. Dr. DeRosier has been a contributor of an article and book reviews in *The Journal of Mississippi History*.—Ed.

¹ Robert S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians, The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman: 1954). In this work the author pays far too little attention to the role played by the Choctaw in early Nineteenth Century Southern history.

² John R. Swanton, *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians* (Washington: 1931), p. 2.

³ The Choctaw tribe during the 1820's numbered around 21,000 inhabitants. U. S. Congress, House of Representatives. "Memorial of the Choctaw Nation, in Answer to the letter of the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the Choctaw Claims," No. 94 in *The Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives For the Third Session of the Forty-Second Congress, 1872-73*, Vol. II, 42d Cong., 3d sess. (Washington: 1873), p. 7.

⁴ Franklin L. Riley, "Choctaw Land Claims," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, Vol. VIII (1904), p. 686.

ship with the United States and their efforts to help in time of emergency were rewarded in a peculiar manner: First, they were heartily thanked by the government, and then they were moved west of the Mississippi River.

The actual removal was the result of two separate treaties, one in 1820 and the other in 1830. The former was the culmination of a moderate program sponsored by President Monroe's Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun. Calhoun, who is often referred to as the "Father of the War Department,"⁵ gained the title partly because he directed American Indian affairs. He worked closely with Thomas L. McKenney, the Superintendent of Indian Trade, to insure that the Indians were fairly treated by white traders and merchants. When Congress abolished the Bureau of Indian Trade in 1822, Calhoun promptly organized the Bureau of Indian Affairs and appointed McKenney as its head which enabled him to utilize expert advice in the handling of Indian problems.⁶ He promoted the appointment of honest, hardworking men as Indian agents who could be accepted by the Indians as friends.⁷ Above all, he stopped the aimless, drifting, practically non-existent American Indian policy, and adopted a definite plan.

The Calhoun formula was fairly simple. He believed that by 1818 the majority of Indians were losing their war-like nature because of the growth and advance of the United States. Their strength had been crushed, and as the frontier expanded they would become more and more dependent on the federal government. The Indian was no longer an object of terror, he reasoned, and the government should recognize that fact by adopting a policy of "humanitarianism and fair dealing"⁸ to replace the outdated policy of retaliation.⁹

The first step in the new plan was to eliminate the Indian policy of independent nations. The United States should possess the sole determination of what was good or bad for the Indians. "By a proper combination of force and persuasion, of punishment and rewards," Calhoun wrote, "they ought to be brought within the pales of law and civilization."¹⁰

⁵ Thomas L. McKenney to Andrew Jackson, April 23, 1829, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, MMS., National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁶ Richard K. Cralle (ed.), "Report on the System of Indian Trade; Communicated to the House of Representatives, December 8th, 1828," *Reports and Public Letters of John C. Calhoun*, V (New York: 1888), p. 14.

⁷ *The Mississippi State Gazette* (Natchez), April 16, 1813.

⁸ Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun Nationalist, 1782-1828*, Vol. I (New York: 1944), p. 164.

⁹ Cralle, *Reports of John C. Calhoun*, Vol. V, p. 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Once American laws superseded the primitive Indian customs and manners the second step could be initiated to convince the Indians that they should confine themselves to a definite "reasonable" area of territory. The land could then be divided among families in the tribe, and thus individual ownership of property would be introduced into Indian culture.¹¹ To facilitate this concession the government would solemnly promise that no more territory would be acquired from the Indians.¹²

This in essence was the Calhoun program. He also believed that this program must be carried one step farther through education. How could he insure the continuance of his program after he left the War Department? The government through missionary societies, annuities, and special funds should instill Indian children with such ideas as sanctity of contract, individual ownership, obedience toward law, and other valuable tenets of a democratic society. When they reached maturity, they could begin to participate in all of the civil and political rights that the states might extend to them.¹³

In general, the program was paternal, moderate and optimistic. Time and again Calhoun emphasized that force would never be used to implement his program, and expressed his pessimism over the ultimate fate of the Indians if his plan were not adopted. "It is only by causing our opinion of their interest to prevail," he wrote, "that they can be civilized and saved from extinction."¹⁴ There was no middle ground: Either adopt the program or the Indian was doomed. His proposals were almost completely ignored by the Congress, and it was not until the late Nineteenth Century that his ideas were revived and adopted as the basic American policy. While it can be noted that education did flourish in many tribes, it was due mainly to the several missionary societies.

Once the new plan was formulated, the Secretary of War promoted its operation among one of the most thoughtful and deliberative Indian tribal groups—the Choctaw of Mississippi. As early as November, 1817, he wrote to U.S. Agent John McKee who was a believer in moderation expressing President Monroe's desire for a cession of land in Mississippi.¹⁵ It was

¹¹ *Ibid.* Thomas L. McKenney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal: With Sketches of Travels Among the Northern and Southern Indians: Embracing A War Excursion and Descriptions of Scenes Along the Western Border*, Vol. I (New York: 1846), pp. 34-6.

¹² *Cralle, Reports of John C. Calhoun*, Vol. V, p. 19.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* *Southern Galaxy* (Natchez), March 11, 1830.

¹⁵ John C. Calhoun to John McKee, March 24, 1817, Military Affairs 1800-1861, Letters Sent, MMS., National Archives, Washington, D. C.

not until President Monroe presented his first annual message to Congress on December 2, 1817, that Calhoun elaborated on the reasons for a cession by stating that "no tribe or people have a right to withhold [land] from the wants of others more than is necessary for their own support and comfort."¹⁶ Here was a sharp, new view for the Choctaw, in the ownership of their lands, expressing Calhoun's belief that they possessed entirely too much country for only twenty-one thousand tribesmen. He held that the Indians must confine themselves to a limited area, and cede their surplus land to the United States.¹⁷ To effect such a cession, Agent McKee was appointed head of a three man commission in May, 1818, to negotiate with the Choctaw chiefs for the cession of an east-west strip of land in the southern part of the Choctaw Nation.¹⁸ McKee's instructions were important because for the first time the government suggested that the Choctaw move west of the Mississippi River. Calhoun did not demand removal west as a condition for negotiations yet he hoped that the Choctaw would accept his advice so that the people of Mississippi would not hamper their education.¹⁹

Throughout the negotiations both the Secretary and John McKee considered the effort premature and doomed to failure. Their doubts were confirmed when the Choctaw met in council in October, 1818, and unanimously voted against a cession. McKee wrote Calhoun that the opposition "originated entirely with the half-breeds and whitemen residing in the country." He further stated that after talking to some of the influential chiefs it was the opinion of the commission that the Indians would agree to a cession at a later date. He suggested that the government postpone all removal efforts for at least one year.²⁰

Despite the failure of the initial step in the removal program, the War Department continued to urge its adoption.²¹ In his second annual message, President Monroe restated his stand on the abolition of independent nations: "To civilize them, and even to prevent their extinction, it seems to be

¹⁶ James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. I (Washington: 1897), p. 185.

¹⁷ John C. Calhoun to John McKee, May 2, 1818, Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, MSS., National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* The other two commissioners were General Carroll and David Burnet.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ John McKee to John C. Calhoun, October 27, 1818, Letters Received by Secretary of War, MSS., National Archives, Washington, D. C.

²¹ Removal treaties were completed with other tribes, including the Quapaw and Osage Indians.

indispensable that their independence as communities should cease, and that control of the United States over them should be complete and undisputed.'"²² Calhoun's program was advocated by other influential persons. Governor David Holmes of Mississippi, for instance, was a constant supporter, stating that the Choctaw must be moved west so that the Pearl River could be completely opened for navigation.²³ General Andrew Jackson also urged removal as a necessity for the growth of the Southwest. He warned the Choctaw that they must leave soon, prophesying that if they waited too long, the government would resort to a different program.²⁴ The War Department disapproved of Jackson's threats, but the frontier general disregarded all orders and warnings and even drew up terms for Indian removal. He told James Pitchlynn, a Choctaw chief with considerable influence, that his people would receive equal lands, compensations for their improvements in Mississippi, guns, blankets, household utensils and government provisions until they could harvest their first crop.²⁵ Jackson wrote Calhoun personally to adopt a coercive policy.²⁶ He stated:

Policy alone introduced the measure of treating with our own *subjects* (for such I consider the Indians) and this policy was correct so long as the arm of government was insufficient to carry into effect the legislative regulations, but, the strength of our nation is now sufficient to effect any object, which its wisdom, humanity and justice, may please to adopt, with regard to those unfortunate people.

In August, 1819, urged by General Jackson and Agent McKee, Calhoun decided to attempt another treaty for removal. Jackson bombarded him with testimonials from Indians which stated that they were ready to remove, and he even secured a promise from James Pitchlynn that over three hundred Choctaw families were anxious to move west.²⁷ Jackson's stand apparently had no basis in fact, for as soon as the Choctaw convened in general council, they again voted overwhelmingly against removal. Speaking for his Nation,

²² Richardson, *Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. I, p. 614.

²³ David Holmes to William Crawford, October 8, 1818, Executive Journal Govs. Holmes, Poindexter, Leake, Brandon 1817-27, MSS., Department of Archives and History, Jackson Mississippi.

²⁴ Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin (eds.), *American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the Fourteenth to the Second Session of the Nineteenth Congress, inclusive: Commencing December 4, 1815, and ending March 3, 1827*, VI (Washington: 1834.), p. 229.

²⁵ Andrew Jackson to John C. Calhoun, December 31, 1818, Letters Received by Secretary of War, MSS.

²⁶ Andrew Jackson to John C. Calhoun, August 24, 1819, Indian Affairs, MSS.

²⁷ Lowrie and Franklin, *American State Papers*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

the great medal chief Pushmataha answered the Calhoun proposal. "This day we have made up our minds deliberately to answer our great father's talk I am sorry I cannot comply with the request of my father We wish to remain here, where we have grown up as the herbs of the woods; and do not wish to be transplanted into another soil."²⁸

After two futile attempts it would appear that there was little chance that the United States could ever secure a cession without resorting to force, but Calhoun refused to compel any tribe to move from its lands. Yet the government's position was far from hopeless. In the first place, Pitchlynn did have a small nucleus of Choctaw who were favorable to removal.²⁹

On January 29, 1820, James Pitchlynn wrote President Monroe that several of the chief captains of the Six Towns "requested me to send this talk to you that we think it injustice that a part of our Nation should reside on the United States lands it is the wish of this part of the Choctaw Nation to cede their lands to you for lands west of the Mississippi"³⁰ Again, the government's position was strengthened through the public opinion for removal which had developed in Mississippi. The *Mississippi Gazette* reported that the governor, legislature, and people of Mississippi were grossly "annoyed" with the Indian problem, and suggested that the Choctaw be removed from the lands "which they hold to the great detriment of the state."³¹ Even Calhoun by April, 1820, felt that after two years of education in the missionary schools of Mississippi the Choctaw were beginning to realize the value of moving west to avoid future conflicts with the white people.³²

To satisfy the rising public opinion and to unify the Indian group for removal, President Monroe on May 23, 1820, appointed Thomas Hinds of Mississippi and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, both popular frontier generals and noted Indian

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

²⁹ James Pitchlynn to Andrew Jackson, September 15, 1819, Letters Received by Secretary of War, MSS.

³⁰ James Pitchlynn to James Monroe, January 29, 1820, *Ibid.*

³¹ *The Mississippi State Gazette*, January 8, 1831. Executive Journal, MSS.

³² *The Mississippi State Gazette*, April 22, 1820. U. S. Congress, House of Representatives. "Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting Pursuant to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 6th July inst. A Report of the Progress which has been made in the Civilization of the Indian Tribes and the sums which have been expended on that object," No. 46 in *House Documents*, Vol. XXXIII, 16th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: 1820), pp. 1-2.

fighters, as commissioners to treat with the Choctaw. In accepting his appointment, Jackson demanded complete freedom to negotiate in his own manner.³³ Calhoun balked at the suggestion but finally allowed the Commission a free hand except in the determination of the area to be ceded.³⁴ Calhoun also for the first time adopted a flexible attitude on the use of force. He wrote that Jackson must not intimidate the Choctaw in any way, but it is significant to note that he did not threaten to reject any treaty that Jackson might secure by fraudulent means.³⁵ This omission was no mere oversight, nor was it a cowardly compromise on the part of the Secretary of War, but rather an effort to handle Jackson diplomatically. A flat ultimatum against force followed by a threat, would have been in reality an accusation against Jackson's honesty, and possibly ended in bad feelings between the two men and Jackson's refusal to head the American Commission.

During the next four months, the Commissioners prepared to meet the Choctaw in council at Doak's Stand on the old Natchez Trace. They carefully circulated propaganda throughout the Nation and took special care to see that certain inducements were offered to key leading, mixed blood Choctaw. Jackson wrote Calhoun that "reservations will have to be made to some of the half-breeds who wish to remain before their consent can be obtained."³⁶ The commissioners secured liberal funds to purchase supplies for the treaty grounds, and Jackson used some of the money for presents to be distributed among the Choctaw chiefs and captains. But it was actually the personality of Jackson that brought about the Treaty of Doak's Stand. No American was as highly esteemed among the Choctaw Nation as was Jackson for they had fought with him and respected his leadership. They had also witnessed his ruthless suppression of the Creeks. Determined that no such fate would befall their tribe, the Choctaw leaders decided to consider the proposals for a cession.³⁷

The Treaty of 1820 at Doak's Stand was the culmination of Calhoun's moderate Indian policy. No force was actually employed yet a large area in central Mississippi was ceded to

³³ Lowrie and Franklin, *American State Papers*, Vol. VI, p. 231.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

³⁵ John C. Calhoun to Andrew Jackson and Thomas Hinds, July 12, 1820, Andrew Jackson MSS., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

³⁶ Andrew Jackson to John C. Calhoun, August 2, 1820, Indian Affairs, MSS.

³⁷ Gideon Lindecum, "Life of Apushmataha," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, Vol. IX (1905-06), pp. 474-75.

the United States in exchange for a larger area in the Indian Territory. Land was all that America secured, however, for the treaty failed to move the Choctaw west of the Mississippi. Most of them simply moved into the remainder of their lands in the state of Mississippi and by 1829 less than seven hundred had left for the West.³⁸ The Calhoun removal plan was a failure up to this point. The Indians loved their lands and would not voluntarily surrender their heritage as long as the United States Government would protect them against encroachments of the white citizens of Mississippi.

During the next eight years moderation continued as the basic Indian policy. After Calhoun completed his term of office in the War Department in 1825, the undercurrent of opposition became more apparent. President Adams, though a follower of the moderate plan, admitted in December, 1825, that the program was failing because the Indians remained independent nations. Unless a change was introduced, he predicted Indian degradation with extermination as the inevitable end.³⁹

There were also numerous Mississippians who were vocal in their objections to any Indian owned territory within the borders of the state. A memorial was introduced and passed in the Mississippi House of Representatives which demanded outright Indian removal, and on April 15, 1826, Thomas B. Reed presented three Mississippi objections to the United States Senate. (1) the presence of the Choctaw kept Mississippi from becoming a geographical unit by hindering the economic, political, and social advancement of the state; (2) a removal would enable Mississippi to defend its borders from outside invasion; (3) removal would save the Choctaw from decadence and eventual extinction.⁴⁰

Reed called upon Congress to appropriate \$20,000 to enable the President to treat with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians.⁴¹ A number of senators objected because no evidence was presented to show that the Indians were willing to cede their lands. However, the appropriation was made and Generals Thomas Hinds of Mississippi and John Coffee of Alabama

³⁸ U. S. Congress, House of Representatives. "Letter from the Secretary of War transmitting the information required by a resolution of the House of Representatives, of the 22nd ultimo, in relation to the Tribes and parts of Tribes of Indians that have removed to the West of the Mississippi River, their location, etc.," No. 233 in *House Documents*, Vol. VI, 20th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: 1828), 6.

³⁹ McKenney, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 239.

⁴⁰ *Natchez Gazette*, May 13, 1826.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

were appointed commissioners to treat with the two Mississippi tribes—Choctaw and Chickasaw. They met the Indians on November 10-15, 1826, at Treaty Ground in the Choctaw Nation, but as some senators had anticipated, all offers were promptly rejected by both tribes.⁴²

The complete failure of the negotiations of 1826 did not end the efforts of Mississippi to move the Choctaw west. Representative Haile of Mississippi in a debate before the House of Representatives in January, 1827, failed to get another appropriation for Choctaw removal.⁴³ He felt that the recent effort had failed because the government had not made provisions to facilitate a trek to the West, and that an adequate transportation system would allay their fears of removal.⁴⁴

To get a first hand view of the Indian problem in the South, Thomas L. McKenney, head of the Bureau of Indians, visited the area in the fall of 1827. During his stay in the Choctaw Nation, he tried to negotiate a treaty on October 16th and 17th, but as was the case earlier the Choctaw refused to cede any more land. With typical Indian bluntness, one of the chiefs stated, "We are thankful for your advice—but more than sorry, that we have been unanimous in declining to accept it."⁴⁵ McKenney replied, and his answer showed that the paternalistic policy initiated by Calhoun was still being followed, "Brothers: I cannot but feel trouble for you if you do not rise up and look around you. Let my voice keep sounding in your ears—think of me: and of my councils; and if you get into trouble send me word, and if I can, I will help you I will never forsake you. I am the red man's friend, and shall always be so."⁴⁶ He later wrote in his *Memoirs* that many of the Choctaw he talked to were very much in favor of removal, but certain chiefs had promised death to anyone who spoke for another session.⁴⁷

While the citizens of Mississippi were clamoring for a more direct policy, and while the Choctaw were endeavoring to maintain their present state, the election of 1828 took place. Andrew Jackson won. The extremists in Mississippi were elated, for they knew that finally a man from the West was in office and he would adopt a more favorable Indian policy. However, from all outward appearances it seemed that the

⁴² *Ibid.*, November 25 and December 16, 1826.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, February 8, 1827.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ McKenney, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 338.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

new President would continue the moderate policy of the past ten years. In his inaugural address, he stated that his administration would endeavor to be liberal and just to the Indians and that they would never be coerced into surrendering their lands to the American people.⁴⁸ Yet, the Choctaw were too familiar with the new President to adopt a complacent attitude. During the year 1829, there were indications that they would move to the Indian territory. There was also a report that they might emigrate to Texas.⁴⁹

The Choctaw had good cause for concern for as soon as Jackson was able to formulate a new policy he radically changed his earlier stand. In his first annual message on December 8, 1829, he stated that as the white man advanced the Choctaw would be weakened and eventually they would experience the same fate as the Mohegan and the Narragansett Indians. The only way to insure that this would never happen was for the United States to set aside an ample district west of the Mississippi River to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they occupied the land. Here they could be free of the white man except for a few American soldiers who would be stationed in the area to preserve peace on the frontier. He hastened to add that removal to such a "Utopia" would be voluntary, but if they remained east of the Mississippi River they would be subject to the laws of the states. In other words, submit and leave, or become "merged in the mass of our population."⁵⁰ Either way the Choctaw would lose their status as an independent Nation.

The Jackson policy did not basically change the old plan of Calhoun. It only carried Calhoun's ideas to a logical conclusion. The difference was that Calhoun considered the Indian an equal and would never force him to leave, even by implications, whereas Jackson had a definite contempt for the Indian as an inferior being and would force him west simply to free the states of a difficult problem. The two plans differed only in degree and not in basic policy.

The pro-removal faction in Mississippi hailed the new militant policy as a panacea for the Indian problems. Little time was wasted in putting it into effect, and in January, 1830, the first act passed by the Mississippi legislature was entitled:

⁴⁸ Richardson, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1001.

⁴⁹ John Bond to Bureau of Indian Affairs, July 6, 1829; T. Child to Bureau of Indian Affairs, July 11, 1829; William Ward to Bureau of Indian Affairs, July 14, 1829; Office of Indian Affairs, Registers of Letters Received, MSS., National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁵⁰ Richardson, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1021-22.

"An Act to extend the laws of the State of Mississippi over the persons and property of the Indians resident within its limits."⁵¹ The law repealed "all the rights, privileges, immunities and franchises of the Indians," and stated that Mississippi law governed all persons within the limits of the state. If the Indians did not comply with the new law, they were subject to a maximum fine of one thousand dollars and up to twelve months in prison. The bill was overwhelmingly adopted with only one dissenting vote. Despite its easy passage, the act was never enforced, but it did achieve its goal of goading the Choctaw into ceding the rest of their lands in Mississippi.⁵²

The Mississippi act of January 19, 1830, did not go unnoticed and was a landmark in American-Indian relations. It touched off a heated controversy over the moral right of the state to force the Indians to leave.⁵³ Numerous newspapers, many of them published beyond the borders of the state, protested against the morality of such a law.⁵⁴ Protest meetings were organized and culminated in a mass meeting in Natchez on March 17, 1830.⁵⁵ The opposition stressed the point that removal was unlawful, and as William B. Melvin, a planter in Adams County, stated: "It involved the *faith* of this whole nation, pledged in the most sacred manner by *treaty* with the Indians—it involves the principle of *right and of justice*, and the great political and moral effect it will produce on the Indians in all future time."⁵⁶

Numerous reasons were set forth as to why a general removal would fail. (1) The Choctaw were an independent nation recognized as such by the United States in numerous treaties. (2) If they were removed immediately, they would be subject to exposure, hunger and suffering because of the lack of transportation facilities. (3) A removal must be gradual and result in all ties being broken, which would hurt the policy of Indian civilization. (4) The Indian Territory was deficient of water and wood. (5) Putting all Indians in a large area would produce quarrels and fighting. (6) The proposed plan was entirely too visionary and nothing in the

⁵¹ *Southern Galaxy*, February 11, 1830.

⁵² Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi The Heart of the South*, I (Chicago: 1925), p. 556.

⁵³ *The Natchez*, February 27 and April 3, 1830. *Southern Galaxy*, March 25, 1830.

⁵⁴ *Southern Galaxy*, January 7, 1830, quotes the New York *American* as asking Mississippi to reconsider.

⁵⁵ *The Natchez*, April 3, 1830.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1830.

history of human affairs sustained it. (7) No guaranty of new country could be given them and they would hardly get settled when the expanding frontier would force them to move again and again. (8) The Choctaw would not move voluntarily and they could not be forced to leave under the existing American policy.⁵⁷ The editor of the *Natchez* wrote, "that all attempts to accomplish the removal of the Indians by bribery and fraud, by intimidation or threats, by withholding from them a knowledge of the strength of their cause, by practicing upon their ignorance, and their fears, or by vexatious importunities, interpreted by them to mean nearly the same thing as command:—all such attempts are acts of oppression, and therefore entirely unjustifiable."⁵⁸

The protagonists of the act struck back at their opponents. They pointed out that two successive Secretaries of War, Peter Porter of New York and John Eaton of Tennessee favored the policy of removal by any means.⁵⁹ and that even Indian Bureau chief Thomas L. McKenney was continually advocating removal.⁶⁰ They also listed several reasons why a complete removal must be effected. (1) Mississippi needed more land to attract immigrants from the East. (2) The Choctaw imposed a heavy financial burden on the state as they did not pay taxes. (3) They harbored runaway slaves in the nation. (4) They were hunters, not farmers, and did not care about cultivating their lands. (5) They were inferior human beings and could not be civilized, thus Mississippi must remove them as one would remove a cancer. (6) The Choctaw lands were all within the boundaries of Mississippi, so they belonged to the state.⁶¹

Many of the arguments for removal contained vicious implications. To secure the lands for a larger white population, one writer in the *Natchez* stated, "I am resolved to believe that we do want more land, and we *must* have it, in some way."⁶² Also, in explaining the alleged dislike of the Choctaw for working the land, he asserted that their main activities were loafing and drinking. "Shew [sic] me an Indian in the street," he concluded, "and I could buy the bones of all of his forefathers, if he had them, for a pint of whiskey. I

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, February 20, 1830.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, February 13, 1830.

⁵⁹ John Eaton to John Bell, February 13, 1830, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, MSS. *Southern Galaxy*, March 11, 1830.

⁶⁰ Thomas L. McKenney to James L. McDonald, February 9, 1830, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, MSS.

⁶¹ *The Natchez*, February 13, February 20, 1830.

⁶² *Ibid.*, February 13, 1830.

look upon the introduction of whiskey, as a great point: it has already done a great deal in facilitating the acquisition of Indian lands all over the United States."⁶³

The most heated argument came from "A Patriot" writing in the *Natchez* on February 20, 1830. He maintained that all Indians were inferior to any white man, and that they had no basic religion and could not be educated. As to the assertion that given an equal opportunity an Indian could rise as high as a white man, he stated: "I don't believe it, I don't believe a word of it, I *know* an Indian will be an Indian because we have had plenty of Indians in Natchez, and can you show me one who has been civilized by being brought among us?"⁶⁴

The controversy in Mississippi over the morality of removal spread all over the United States and people in all sections and all walks of life discussed the arguments for and against the new Indian policy. It was pretty generally agreed that the Choctaw had greatly benefited by the past policy of education. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church wrote that education and religion had permeated every district of the Choctaw Nation and that the Indians would not be exterminated by either removal or American citizenship because of their present level of education.⁶⁵ A captain in the United States Army named Ben Johnson from the state of Kentucky wrote in *Niles' Register* on July 3, 1830: "I have been acquainted with the Choctaw tribe of Indians for about fifteen years, . . . they have been gradually and pretty generally improving in the art of cultivation of the earth. They also imbibed a disposition for more regular government, . . . there is an unusual impulse . . . for religion."⁶⁶ Also, the sub-agent in the Choctaw Nation, Stephen Ward wrote that the change that had taken place in the Choctaw Nation since formal education facilities had been introduced was phenomenal.⁶⁷

Besides the general agreement on the merit of education among the Indians, there was a growing opinion in the United States that, whether it was just or unjust, the Indians would have to move west to avoid extinction. The reasons given for

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, February 20, 1830.

⁶⁵ "Choctaw Indians," *Presbyterian Mission Tract*, 1831 (in the library of E. DeGolyer, Dallas, Texas, Microfilm copy at North Texas State College), pp. 7-8.

⁶⁶ *Niles' Register*, July 3, 1830, p. 345.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

the necessity of removal varied from the general arguments heretofore mentioned to others that took on a sectional flavor. The northern philanthropists admitted that removal of the Choctaw was the only humane thing to do in 1830, but they further asserted that removal was necessitated by the past bungling policy of the state of Mississippi.⁶⁸ The southern newspapers ridiculed the northern philanthropists and charged that the North was envious of the growing strength of the South. The editor of *The Southern Patriot* in Charleston, South Carolina, wrote an editorial in which he stated, "one of the reasons why certain people of the North are so strongly opposed to the Indian emigration is that it will give the Southern and Southwestern States, by largely increasing their white population, an influence in the councils of the Nation which they do not now possess, while their territory is inhabited by savages," ⁶⁹ Also, many northerners and southerners felt that President Jackson was playing politics when he introduced his new Indian policy in December, 1829. They reasoned, with questionable justification,⁷⁰ that the President was pacifying the Southwest because he was anxious to secure its support against the state of South Carolina which was starting to raise the pesky nullification issue over the changing tariff policy of the federal government.⁷¹

The act of January 19, 1830, passed by the Mississippi legislature, and the subsequent debates in the United States Congress on a possible federal removal bill,⁷² brought the Choctaw into action. They first deposed Greenwood LeFlore, chief of the Northwestern District, for "tyranical and cruel conduct,"⁷³ and replaced him with the old chief Mushulatubbee who was quite moderate on removal. This action worried David Folsom, another district chief, who feared the same fate as LeFlore, and he therefore adopted a very moderate stand. Folsom wrote Senator Johnson, restating a previous offer to lead an exploring party west. He also added "I can be useful, I hope in some measure to cause the Choctaws, in that country to come and settle on some particular place, so that they can be benefited by doing so.—And the description

⁶⁸ Alfred Balch to Andrew Jackson, January 8, 1830, Andrew Jackson, MSS.

⁶⁹ *The Southern Patriot* (Charleston, South Carolina), May 21, 1830.

⁷⁰ No where in the Jackson papers did this author find any justification for this proposal.

⁷¹ Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York: 1938), p. 550.

⁷² *Niles' Register*, January—June, 1830.

⁷³ Thomas L. McKenney to John Eaton, February 25, 1830, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, MSS.

of the country that I would bring to these people here, they would take my word for the truth."⁷⁴

Panic stricken over the prospect of a forced removal of their nation, the Choctaw leaders assembled in a council in March, 1830, to decide upon a course of action.⁷⁵ While they met, the resourceful Greenwood LeFlore opened separate negotiations with Thomas L. McKenney. LeFlore knew that the chiefs were so confused that it would be impossible for them to agree unanimously on anything at the council, so he decided to work out an equitable settlement with the Indian Bureau and present it to the council for ratification. By such an action he would undoubtedly be restored to the rank of chief. By April 7, LeFlore had drawn up a treaty which he sent to Mushulatubbee for his approval. The treaty provided that every man and woman with a child would be given 640 acres of Choctaw Mississippi land to sell to the state, and every young man would be given 320 acres for the same purpose. In addition, every captain would be given by the government a suit of clothes, a broad sword, and fifty dollars annually for four years. Also, every man was to receive a good rifle and plenty of rifle powder and lead, an axe, hoe, plough, blanket, and brass kettle; while each woman received a spinning wheel and a loom. Lastly, all of the Indian's possessions would be moved free of charge to the new lands, and the government would feed and clothe the emigrants for twelve months after they left their present lands. The proposed treaty did not please Mushulatubbee so LeFlore quickly added that the United States would defend the emigrants with soldiers, and probably give the Nation fifty thousand dollars annually forever.⁷⁶ LeFlore also sent a copy of the treaty to Governor Gerard C. Brandon of Mississippi to convince him that the Indians were endeavoring to comply with the recently passed Mississippi law.

On April 8, LeFlore entered the Choctaw council and presented his proposed treaty. He was praised for his work and unanimously elected chief of the Western District.⁷⁷ The Choctaw chiefs, captains, and warriors were so thankful that someone was able to bring order out of chaos that on the forenoon of April 9 they all came forward and resigned their

⁷⁴ David Folsom to R. M. Johnson, February 7, 1830, Choctaw Emigration 1826-1833, MMS., National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁷⁵ *Southern Galaxy*, March 25, 1830.

⁷⁶ Greenwood LeFlore to Mushulatubbee, April 7, 1830, Choctaw Agency 1824-1833, MSS., National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁷⁷ Greenwood LeFlore to Governor Brandon, April 7, 1830, Governor's Documents (Series E), MSS.

several offices and unanimously elected Greenwood LeFlore the chief of the whole Nation.⁷⁸ This was an honor that had never before been bestowed on a Choctaw chief, even Pushmataha. Once LeFlore was in charge of the Nation, he immediately had his proposed treaty drafted and delivered to a special messenger, Major David W. Haley, who was to convey it to the President in Washington. The council was then adjourned, and for two days the Choctaw celebrated the emergence of LeFlore as the savior of his people.

The treaty acquiescence of March, 1830, spelled the end of the Choctaw in Mississippi. Jackson refused to accept the treaty although it demonstrated that the resistance of the Choctaw to removal had been crushed by his policy. The reason Jackson gave for refusing to accept the Indian offer was that no American commissioners had been present when the treaty was written.⁷⁹ However, to insure his reward, Jackson succeeded in getting Congress, on May 28, 1830, to pass a bill which enabled him to treat with the Indians for removal to any lands west of the Mississippi River.⁸⁰ The bill was fiercely debated and strenuously opposed by northern Congressmen. Jackson believed the opposition of the "Itinerant Yankees" stemmed solely from their desire to keep the southern lands out of the hands of the planters. Regardless of the real reason for opposition, the bill was passed by a slight majority and the fate of the Choctaw sealed.⁸¹ The road was now opened for a complete removal, and in less than five months the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was negotiated in which the Choctaw finally surrendered their Mississippi lands.

⁷⁸ *Southern Galaxy*, April 8, 1830.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Richardson, *Op Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1040-41.

⁸¹ Muriel H. Wright, "The Removal of the Choctaws to the Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, No. 2, (June, 1928), p.103-104.

⁸² John Eaton to Thomas L. McKenney, June 7, 1830, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, MSS.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

INDEX TO THE CHRONICLES, 1959

The Index to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, 1959, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the magazine. Orders for the Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

STORIES RELATING TO OKLAHOMA TERRITORIAL
COURTS AND LAW

Dr. L. Wayne Johnston, Stillwater, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society has contributed to *The Chronicles* the following biographical sketch of Thomas A. Higgins, Court Reporter in the U. S. District Court at Guthrie before Statehood, and some of Mr. Higgins' stories that he enjoys telling about incidents relating to law and order in Territorial days:

Thomas A. Higgins

Thomas A. Higgins, the writer of the following stories, was born April 12, 1881, on a farm near Cedar Vale, Kansas, and came to Guthrie, Oklahoma, on June 22, 1889. Graduating from the Guthrie High School in 1897, he took shorthand and typewriting at the Capitol City Business College and on completion of that course, went into the employ of Judges Dale and Bierer, attorneys.

In September, 1900, upon the resignation of Emory R. Buckner as Court Reporter for Judge John H. Burford, he was appointed as Court Reporter for the First Judicial District, with headquarters at Guthrie. He assumed his duties about mid-September, 1900 at Stillwater.

Statehood saw many new districts created, and Kiowa and Woodward were dropped from the First District, as well as Payne county, but Kingfisher county was added to the area of the former First District, becoming District No. 11, with Payne county joining with Pawnee county in another District. Then another change in Judicial Districts, with Kingfisher being removed from the 11th Judicial District, and Payne county being attached to the old No. 1, and Logan and Payne counties constituting District No. 9.

Mr. Higgins continued as reporter for Judge Burford until Statehood, and thereafter in the same position under Judge A. H. Huston, which position he held until he entered the practice of law at Cushing.

During the early part of his service as reporter, he also served as deputy clerk of the Court, and prior to Statehood also held the position (without pay) of Deputy Clerk of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Oklahoma.

He has practiced law at Cushing and Stillwater, since February, 1913. Mr. Higgins tells these amusing stories from his experiences:

Political "Due Process"

It was during the Free Homes Campaign of territorial Delegate Dennis T. Flynn that he had scheduled a speech at Taloga, Oklahoma Territory. Incidentally, the fall term of Court for Blaine county was scheduled to begin on the same date, with Judge Jonathon H. Burford presiding, and with Capt. Benjamin F. Hegler, as clerk.

Court was held in a large army tent, and at the convening of the session, the persons who had been summoned as Federal grand jurors, and Federal petit jurors, Territorial grand jurors and petit jurors, together with those summoned as witnesses before both inquisitional bodies, and witnesses who were summoned for the trial of cases set, were present in quite a crowd,—in fact the "tent" court room was filled to the last seat.

Since Delegate Flynn's speech was a feature of the afternoon, Judge Burford obligingly recessed court for the occasion. After concluding his speech, Delegate Flynn was beaming at the large audience he had addressed, and made mention of that fact to Capt. Hegler, who very casually (but truthfully) remarked:

"Yes, there was quite a crowd present and, every damned one of them was brought in by due process of law."

* * * *

Unbelievers—Quo Vadis?

Judge S. S. Lawrence, the author of Lawrence's Probate Forms, in use in many counties now, was holding one of his first terms of the Superior Court of Logan county. The local bar at that time numbered among its members, Fred W. Green, and Gustave A. Erixon, both of Guthrie. Mr. Green had filed a divorce action for a female client, and had obtained the usual temporary order for suit-money, court costs and attorney fees against the defendant. He had employed Mr. Erixon as his counsel, and he had filed the usual motion to vacate or modify the order previously made. The matter came regularly on for hear-

ing, and substantially the following argument was made by Mr. Erixon in support of his motion to modify:

Mr. Erixon: We have filed this motion because I don't believe the plaintiff presented the full facts to the Court as to the defendant's ability to pay. I don't believe that if she had, the Court would have made the order it did. I don't believe the plaintiff has shown her need of such a large order. I don't believe that the Court would have made such an order if the plaintiff had stated her true financial condition. I don't believe that the defendant is in any condition to meet the payments demanded, and I don't believe plaintiff is in such dire straits as she alleges. We ask the Court to modify the order.

By the Court: I don't believe! I don't believe! I don't believe!

Mr. Erixon, do you ever read the Bible?

Mr. Erixon: I don't believe I get the significance of your honor's question.

By the Court: Do you know what the Bible says about those who don't believe?

Mr. Erixon: I don't believe that I recall, just now, Your Honor.

By the Court: They go to hell. Mr. Green, prepare your order denying the motion to modify.

* * * *

Law: As Practiced by Courtesy

Shortly after Statehood Judge A. H. Huston, of the Logan County district, and Stillwell H. Russell, of the Ardmore district, exchanged benches for one week, to permit the trial of cases in which these Judges were disqualified for one reason or another. There were something near one hundred cases set on the Ardmore docket when Judge Huston arrived, and they were all set for the one week for jury trials.

Upon calling the first day's assignment, all of the cases set for that day were continued, for the reason that: Col. Blank, is on the other side of this case, and he had to go to Dallas, on some other business.

Judge Blank who is my opponent in this case, had to be out of the City today.

Mr. Blank, on the other side, told me that he had gone on a fishing trip which would make it impossible for us to try that case today.

And so on, throughout the remainder of the days' calendar.

And, too, for the same reason (or lack thereof) all the remainder of the docket for the rest of the week was disposed of by an order of continuance.

Which caused the Logan county District Judge to remark: "This is the only place in the world, to my knowledge, where they practice law entirely by courtesy."

However, there was one case for trial on the last day of the term, not because *both* attorneys were present, but because the defendant was present, and demanding a trial, even without the assistance of his lawyer. The attorney for the plaintiff was present, and since the defendant was demanding a trial, a jury was chosen, and the plaintiff's evidence by way of depositions, was completed. The suit involved a dispute between American Chicle Company and the Ardmore Wholesale Grocery Company, over a earload of chewing gum which the Grocery company had ordered, and received. The Grocery Company was present by one J. V. Bodovitz, president, who had his own ideas of the law of "fitness for use" of such articles as chewing gum.

The president of the company made a statement to the jury, of the company defense, which for brevity and clarity might well be an example to students of Blackstone henceforth.

The defense statement ran something like this:

Mr. Bodovitz: Gentlemen, the plaintiff says we bought a earload of chewing gum from them. Yes, we did. But this gum didn't have any chicle in it, and without ehicle, we elaim it isn't ehewing gum. We will introduce evidence that this gum didn't have any ehicle in it, and if it didn't, he (plaintiff) is stuek. If it did, I'm stuek.

With this terse statement, Mr. President pulled out a ear-ton of this gum from his hip poeket, and introduced it in evidence, and passed it around to the jury.

Result: No ehicle! Verdict for Defendant.

* * * *

Municipal Encephalitis.

There was a street ear line on Springer Avenue, Guthrie, in the earlier days, and on that line there lived one of the **more** prominent families, the W. H. Coyle family. After this line had been in operation for some time, some of the ear operated on Springer Avenue had developed a disease known as "flat wheel" in the parlance of street railroading. This line began operations very early in the morning, relatively speaking, but around 6:00 a.m.

Mr. Coyle probably enjoyed his late morning snoozes, and hated to have his slumbers disturbed by the pounding noise of the "flat wheel" ears going by. He endured this torture patiently, but when he could endure it no longer, took his pen in hand and wrote a letter of complaint to John W. Shartel, Presi-

dent of the street railway company, at Oklahoma City. There never had been the most cordial feelings between the two cities, and when Mr. Shartel received this letter of complaint about the noise keeping one of its first cities awake, he likewise took his pen in hand and answered Mr. Coyle about as follows:

“If I thought that anything could awaken the citizens of Guthrie, I would gladly put on a few more ‘flat wheel’ cars.”

* * * *

Unreliable Train Schedules.

Judge J. C. Pollock of the Federal District Court in Kansas was assigned to try a case in Guthrie, involving the crime of making false entries in the books of a National bank. Mr. Dan Hogan, of Cashion, Oklahoma, had been summoned as a juror in that case. Cashion was about midway from Guthrie to Kingfisher, on a line of the Rock Island Railroad (at that time) and he was an officer of the bank in Cashion. He did not answer to the call of jurors at the convening of Court, and the Court was perturbed at his apparent lack of obedience to the summons. Mr. Hogan later in the day put in his appearance and his name was announced as being present. He was called to the bench, and the following conversation took place between the Judge and him.

The Court: Where do you live, Mr. Hogan?

Mr. Hogan: At Cashion, your honor.

The Court: Where is that

Mr. Hogan: It's on the Rock Island Railroad, about half way between here and Kingfisher.

The Court: Why were you late in coming to Court, then?

Mr. Hogan: I caught the first train through Cashion, coming this way, and thought I could make it in time for the convening of Court.

The Court: Well, I'll have to fine you \$25.00 for being late. You ought to know that you never can depend on the Rock Island getting you to your destination on time.

* * * *

Neckties: Non Juridical!

Temple Houston was practicing law at Woodward with his partner D. P. Marum, when that county was part of the First Judicial District of Oklahoma Territory.

At one of the terms of court, presided over by John H. Burford, Chief Justice, Temple came into court and approached the bench. Judge Burford looked at him, quisisically, over the

glasses which he wore, and asked him what that was that he was wearing as a necktie, that it looked all the world like a snake skin. To which Temple replied that it was a rattlesnake skin. The judge shivered slightly, and asked Temple to discard that article of wearing apparel, because it made him nervous! Temple cheerfully obliged and apologized.

* * * *

Report Judicial.

It was during the days when the city of Guthrie was angling for a number of railroads into that city that John E. DuMars, representing the M. K. & T. Railway, and John H. Cotteral, representing some property owners, were trying a condemnation case in District Court before Clinton F. Irwin, sitting for John H. Burford, the regular presiding judge.

Mr. Cotteral was introducing evidence in support of his contentions, and Mr. DuMars began to object as "Incompetent, Irrelevant and immaterial, and not a proper measure of damages," and the Court sustained the objections, and Mr. Cotteral excepted to the ruling, and asked another, along the same line, with similar objection, and ruling.

After repeated questions, objections and rulings, the following colloquy took place:

Mr. Cotteral: I don't understand the theory on which the Court mases its ruling.

The Court: On the grounds on which they are made:

Mr. Cotteral: I've asked the same question several different ways, but he always objects, and the Court sustains him. I still don't understand the ground on which the Court sustains his objections.

The Court: Well, all I can do is to furnish you information, I can't furnish you comprehension."

PROGRAM AT THE ERECTION OF OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL MARKER AT THE LINE OF 1889 AND 1893

An outstanding program commemorating the erection of the Oklahoma Historical Marker on the line of 1889 and 1893, on the north side of Stillwater, was held at the Stillwater Municipal Airport on Sunday afternoon, April 10, 1960. The program was sponsored by the Payne County Historical Society, of which Dr.

B. B. Chapman is President, with the assistance of individuals and organizations including the Army and Air Force ROTC Units of Oklahoma State University; Boy Scouts of America; Cherokee Strip Association; United Daughters of the Confederacy; Daughters of the American Revolution; Early Day Settlers, Guthrie; Farmers Union; Girl Scouts of America; Oklahoma National Guard; Daughters of the American Colonists; Oklahoma Pioneer Club of Cushing; Stillwater Chamber of Commerce; Stillwater Grange No. 111; Writers Club of Stillwater; U. S. Army Reserve of Stillwater; Women's Relief Corps, G. A. R.; Oklahoma State University history students; Oklahoma Historical Society.

Over 2,000 guests were on hand at the Stillwater Municipal Airport for the program that stressed patriotic and pioneer themes beginning with preliminary exercises of music by the Stillwater High School Band, drill team exhibition by the Pershing Rifles and a special on the minute "Fly-over" of F-86 type aircraft by the Oklahoma Air National Guard. The main program began with the "Echo of an old Army Signal" fired on the Line of 1889 and 1893 by the Oklahoma National Guard. Then came the Advance of the Color guard of Army ROTC, Air Force ROTC, Pershing Rifles and Naval Reserves. The "Star Spangled Banner" was sung, and Pledge of Allegiance was given, followed by the Invocation and group singing of the old song "Oklahoma," the words of which were written many years ago by Stillwater pioneer, Freeman E. Miller. History students of Oklahoma State University explained "Songs of the Boomer Era" in Oklahoma. The official State song, "Oklahoma," was sung by the Fogarty Junior High School of Guthrie. The fading lines of real '89ers—those who came to this country in 1889 or who made the run on April 22, 1889—were represented by sixty-five of these pioneers, many of them in costume of the period, from over the state, each presented an award of a "Certificate in Oklahoma History" by Colonel George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Interesting talks were a part of the main program: "History of the Line of 1889 and 1893" by John H. Melton of the Payne County Historical Society; "Food on the Frontier" by Mrs. Edna Eaton Wilson, Editor of *The Log Cabin Cook Book*; "Women as Pioneers" by Mrs. Sam M. Meyers, Second Vice Regent of Oklahoma Society of D.A.R.; "Run of '89: The Farmers Viewpoint" by Jim Wells, President of the Payne County Farmers Union. "Soldiers on the Frontier: A Tribute," given by Colonel Donald A. McPheron, Professor of Military Science and Tactics, Army ROTC, Oklahoma State University, was especially inspiring, and follows here for readers of *The Chronicles*:

SOLDIERS OF THE FRONTIER: A TRIBUTE

For some three-quarters of a century before the first official openings in Oklahoma, the history of this area can be told in the annals of the United States Army. In 1817, Major Stephen H. Long brought a small detachment of the famed old Seventh Infantry Regiment up from Louisiana to establish Fort Smith, the farthest western extension of the frontier. It was this group of soldiers, the heroes of the battle of New Orleans, that brought the first semblance of law and order to an untamed wilderness. From this small beginning, the frontier soldiers were destined to expand their services ever forward through the forested hills of the east to the high and open plains of the west. Their tasks were numerous and hard. Theirs the mission to protect the eastern Indians at the terminus of their forced migrations; theirs the task of evicting white settlers from the land to assure the Indian of his permanent home, promised to him forever.

In keeping with the changing policies of the government they served, the soldiers of the frontier built new forts from the timber and stone they provided themselves. Forts Gibson, Towson and Coffee emerged as symbols of Federal control of a turbulent frontier ever progressing. The soldiers surveyed the boundaries, built the roads, escorted government agents and commissioners on their various missions. In this process, many troopers were destined to fill unmarked graves along the trails where their missions led.

It was mostly a hard life they led; far removed from the centers of civilization from which they came. Their work was generally thankless; taken for granted by far away officials who issued orders with little understanding of the problems they entailed. The troopers were called upon to restore order among the tribes when their feuds erupted into open conflict; to establish and maintain peace among the tribes of the east and of the west; and to serve as a barrier to the mounting pressure of the white frontiersman against the boundary of the great Indian Territory.

Near midcentury, the pressure of events forced the Army to extend its forces beyond the cross timbers. Dragoons and cavalymen were patrolling the Great Plains with missions of war and peace. New forts (Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb) were built to serve as centers of government control along the most unique of all frontiers; that of civilized Indians on the east and the unconquered wild tribesmen of the west.

Escorts had to be provided for wagon trains of the traders; for the gold seekers of '49, along the California Road; and for the topographical engineers surveying a route for the transcontinental railroad. Ironically, it was the great American tragedy of our civil war that witnessed a temporary cessation of the traditional duties of the regular trooper in the Oklahoma area. Hurriedly withdrawn, under orders, in 1861; they would not return until the close of that great struggle in 1865, and the fair lands of Oklahoma would be left to the warring factions of provisional forces for both North and South.

In the hectic years that followed, the Army, most reluctantly, was called upon to engage in a cruel and bitter series of Indian wars for over a decade. Fort Sill, Fort Supply and Fort Reno came to represent the major stations from which the frontier soldier worked and to which many never returned. These troopers were hardly of the type so frequently portrayed in the Hollywood extravaganzas and on "TV". Theirs was a hard, dangerous and unrewarding life, but they faithfully served the government which issued them their orders. They accomplished their missions and received little but abuse for their

efforts. Few soldiers anywhere or at any time have been called upon to do so many odd tasks as those troopers of the "old Army" in Oklahoma.

Probably the most unique mission assigned the old Army was the thorny problem of the restless white men who insisted on homesteading in Oklahoma regardless of the prohibitions placed upon them by law and government policy. It was the Army that had the wholly thankless task of stopping the famous Boomer movement and of supervising the great openings which we celebrate here today. So long as the government ordered, troopers from Fort Reno, Fort Sill, and Fort Gibson evicted the followers of David L. Payne and William L. Couch in their numerous forays into the Unassigned Lands or the Cherokee Outlet. This was accomplished without bloodshed, in spite of that famous incident on Stillwater Creek when the Boomers announced their intentions of staying and their willingness to resort to force to demonstrate their demands. That Colonel Edward Hatch and the 350 negro troopers of the old 9th US cavalry accomplished the eviction of Couch and his followers without violence is a tribute to the discipline and forbearance of those veterans of many hard campaigns. These events of 1884 mark only one phase of this story, however, for within five years the comrades of these frontier soldiers were the ones to fire the signal guns for the first of the great runs and to police the area opened by Federal decree.

So, from the beginning, until the coming of the permanent settlers, the frontier soldier served whoever needed him or whoever was decreed to have his services. In all the gyrations of Oklahoma's fabulous history, the Army itself was "neutral." It was the very essence of Federal authority and policy. It did its tasks as ordered; ever the mark of the good soldier. The greatest tribute which can be paid, therefore, to the frontier soldier is the laconically simple statement:

"MISSION ACCOMPLISHED"

Reading of the inscription on the Oklahoma Historical Marker, written by Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, concluded this outstanding historical program at Stillwater:

BOUNDARY LINE 1889 and 1893

On April 22, 1889, the Run for land south in Old Oklahoma began on this line, by Proclamation of Pres. Benj. Harrison. Also, on Sept. 16, 1893, the Run for land north in the Cherokee Outlet began on this line, by Proclamation of Pres. Cleveland. At Booth No. 1, site $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. east, thousands registered for the Run of 1893.

Oklahoma Historical Society and State Highway Commission,
1960

BOOK REVIEW

Comanche and Kiowa Captives in Oklahoma and Texas. By Hugh D. Corwin. (Privately printed; Hugh D. Corwin, Lawton, Oklahoma, 1959. pp. 228. Ills. \$3.60 postpaid.)

The study of human captivity is usually filled with pathos and mis-understanding. Hugh D. Corwin's latest volume *Comanche and Kiowa Captives in Oklahoma and Texas* is no exception since the majority of the people carried into captivity were children. The author has made use of both primary and secondary sources, including several rare volumes and books which are no longer in print. Wide use has been made of the personal interview. The descendants of numerous former captives including Francesca Medrano, Cynthia Ann Parker, Mo-Keen, Tomassa, Millie Durgan, and many others were consulted. They, in turn, reiterated the poignant stories describing how their progenitors were abducted from their homes and whisked away to Indian camps on the periphery of civilization.

The author describes with vivid detail the numerous hardships most of the captives were forced to endure on the return journey to the various Indian camps. Details of the wanton cruelty and abuse that awaited their arrival, and the menial and sometimes onerous tasks which were destined to make up their future daily routine are interestingly related for the student and lay reader alike.

Mr. Corwin has a wide personal acquaintance within the Kiowa and Comanche tribes. The student of Indian history will find this anthology of captive life both interesting and informative reading.

—R. Halliburton, Jr.

Cameron State Agricultural College
Lawton, Oklahoma

Texas Indian Papers, 1825-1843. Edited by Dorman H. Winfrey. (Austin, Texas State Library, 1959. Pp. 298. \$5.25.)

The Archives Division of the Texas State Library announces the publication of *Texas Indian Papers, 1825-1843*. The significant documents of Texas history, not generally accessible to the public, pertain mainly to the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Republic but also include miscellaneous papers of other departments dealing with Indian matters.

The present publication fills a need which has existed for a great many years. Historians and others doing work in almost all phases of Texas history have had frequent need to examine the Texas Indian Papers. As a result of long and repeated use over the years, the manuscripts have become worn and in many instances can no longer be made available to researchers for general use. This work, then, has been brought out in order to preserve the original manuscript copies of the Texas Indian Papers and at the same time make their valuable contents available.

Two hundred and nineteen documents, including the Indian treaties, appear in the Texas Indian Indian Papers, 1825-1843. The book contains 298 pages, with maps, illustrations, and index, and sells for \$5.25. Since payment in advance is required by state law, please send your check, made out to the Texas State Library, and the book will be mailed to you immediately.

Send all orders to :

Archives Division
Texas State Library
Camp Hubbard
Austin 3, Texas

EVA ZERLINE LEWERS

1895-1956

Eva Zerline Lewers, Superintendent of the Indian Boarding School at Eufaula, Oklahoma, for over twenty-one years, died November 20, 1956. Miss Lewers, the daughter of Charles Alexander and Jeanette Greenwood Lewers, was born December 31, 1895 at Schofield, Missouri. She was survived by her mother, who has since expired, by two brothers, James Greenwood and Christopher Hamilton Lewers, and by two sisters, Mrs. Harold Bradshaw Howat and Mrs. William Carroll Langston. Interment was in the family burying lot in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, with the Reverend Sherman Kirkpatrick, Minister of the First Christian Church of Eufaula and the Reverend Frank Belvin of Okmulgee, Oklahoma, officiating. Miss Lewers was a descendant from a long line of colonial ancestry dating back in America to the First Families of Virginia. She was a charter member of the Pennsylvania Chapter Colonial Daughters of the Seventeenth Century, and life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Miss Lewers worked in the United States Department of the Interior, Department of Indian Affairs, for more than thirty-six years. She served among the Sioux Tribes of South Dakota and as Superintendent at the Rosebud Reservation, at Carter Seminary in Ardmore, as well as at Eufaula.

Among the educators with whom Miss Lewers was associated she was known for her brilliance, her high scholastic standards and attainments, as well as for her unusual devotion to duty. Elementary and high school work were completed at Crane, Missouri, where she graduated as valedictorian. Her Bachelor of Science degree was earned at Missouri State College at Warrensburg where she again graduated with honors. She received the Master of Science degree at Iowa State College at Ames, Iowa. After teaching in high school at Lamoni, Iowa, where her agriculture classes received first honors in competition at Iowa State College, and after teaching at Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa, she taught at Iowa State College. She later had graduate work at Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, and at Columbia University in New York, completing all residential requirements for her doctorate degree. Citations and Medals of Merit for outstanding professional work were awarded to her in 1956 and 1958 by the United States Department of the Interior. Scholastic organizations recognized her high attainments. She was a member of Lambda Delta Sigma, an honorary scholastic fraternity; Sigma Delta, honorary society of agriculture; Kappa Delta Pi, honorary fraternity of education; and Phi Gamma Mu, honorary fraternity of social sciences.

Not only for her educational and professional attainments was Miss Lewers admired by her associates but her civic work was recognized as attested by ten Presidential Citations for outstanding service to the American Red Cross. The Indians particularly appreciated her work in their behalf as was stated by Reverend Frank Belvin when he said: "Our Indians are the better for her having passed this way".

The First Christian Church of Eufaula has established the Eva Lewers Memorial Flower Fund—a perpetual fund. Annually, on the Sunday nearest Thanksgiving, flowers are placed in the church in her



EVA ZERLINE LEWERS

memory. This church has also dedicated its new Youth Center to her memory. This spacious and beautiful addition to the church is officially called The Eva Lewers Youth Center and Fellowship Hall. The large bronze tablet, unveiled when the room was dedicated, bears the following inscription:

This Youth Center and Fellowship Hall
is dedicated in loving memory of

MISS EVA LEWERS

Superintendent of Eufaula Indian Boarding
School for over twenty-one years, prominent
educator, brilliant student, and an outstanding
friend of young people everywhere.

May 4, 1958

York, Pennsylvania

—By Aileen Langston

LOU IRION CLARKE

1865-1958

Mrs. Lou Irion Clarke was born in Indianola, Iowa, in 1865, the eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Irion. She received her early education in the schools of Indianola where her father was engaged in the practice of law. Before her marriage she was employed in newspaper work in Iowa and Nebraska. She was married to Sidney Clarke, Jr., September 3, 1886, in Holt County Nebraska. She died in Shawnee, Oklahoma on September 15, 1958.

Mr. and Mrs. Clarke came to Oklahoma at the opening, in 1889, and settled at Anadarko for a time, but later came to Shawnee, where they established their home, and he went into business. In 1903, Mr. Clarke organized a feed and seed business. This was later a partnership with the late William Keller, which prospered as The Clarke-Keller seed store for many years. In 1936 Mr. Clarke sold his interest in the business and retired from business, but retained his interest in the community in which he had taken prominent parts, as councilman, and as a member of civic and fraternal organizations. He died at their home, March 19, 1951.*

The debt that a community owes to its pioneer women is difficult to calculate. They came when the country was unsettled, all kinds and classes of people had flocked here to gather the benefits a new country might offer, their ideas being "to get" rather than "to give" or help in the development of a community. It was the stable earnest pioneers who actually organized and worked tirelessly to establish and keep social standards and bring order out of chaos. Most of this work fell to the lot of pioneer women. Such a woman, such a worker was Lou Clarke!

Mrs. Clarke brought courage, and strength of character to this work, and an abiding interest in the upbuilding of the community through religious and social progress. Her idea of charity extended to human behavior, as well as providing for the body needs, and comforts of unfortunate people, and many young people came under her guiding influence and became upright citizens—who might have taken a different route. Seeing the need of organized charity she helped organize the Shawnee Provident Association, which was a forerunner of the Red Cross in its humanitarian work, and the present Community Chest.

Mrs. Clarke was a former member of the Shawnee Park board, which worked to beautify the city, and was instrumental in preserving historically interesting places and objects. One notable example of her work being the preservation of the picturesque old log cabin, the first home of a white woman in the city, which now stands in the woodland park.

Mrs. Clarke's church affiliation was with the First Presbyterian Church, but her religious interest extended without prejudice to all the organized Christian work. She was a consistent member of "The Ladies of the Round Table" one of the oldest study clubs in the city. She was a member of the Shawnee Country Club, and attended the family night parties there regularly until her last illness. She was also an ardent sports enthusiast, and seldom missed a baseball game.

The Clarke's only son, Ross Clarke died in 1951. Their only daughter is Mrs. Tom Douglas. Other survivors include two grandsons, Sidney Ross Clarke, Jr., Shawnee; H. T. Douglas, III, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and seven great-grandchildren.

Shawnee, Oklahoma

—Florence Drake

* Mr. Sidney Clarke, Jr., was the son of Hon. Sidney Clarke, former Congressman from Kansas, active in the movement to open the Oklahoma lands to homestead settlement in 1889, and a prominent resident in Oklahoma City.—Ed.



LOU IRION CLARKE

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING,
THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING
JANUARY 28, 1960

With President George H. Shirk presiding, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in regular quarterly meeting, in the Historical Society Building, at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, January 28, 1960.

The roll was called by the Administrative Secretary, Elmer L. Fraker, with the following present: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Judge R. A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Dr. James D. Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and George H. Shirk, Absent: Henry M. Bass, Kelly Brown, Exall English, T. J. Harrison, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Anna Korn, R. G. Miller, R. M. Mountcastle, and Judge Baxter Taylor.

It was moved by Mr. Milt Phillips and seconded by Judge Hefner that the absentee members be excused. The motion was put and carried. It was also moved by Mr. Phillips, with a second by Miss Seger, that the minutes of the previous quarterly meeting be approved. The motion carried.

It was announced by the Administrative Secretary that two new life members and seventy-three new annual members had been gained by the Society during the past three months. He further stated there had been a considerable number of gifts and donations to the Society. Mr. Curtis moved that the new members be approved and that the gifts be accepted. This motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and adopted by the Board.

Attention was called by Mr. Fraker to exhibits on display in the Board of Directors room. These consisted of pioneer materials that had been given by Mr. W. H. Williams of Tonkawa, including a large copper coffee pot said to have been used on the Chisholm Trail; a collection of Cheyenne Indian clothing, given by Millar W. and Joseph O. Hickox of Mt. Wilson, California; and a collection of original Acee Blue Eagle pictures, given by Mr. Leslie McRill of Oklahoma City.

The Treasurer's report was made by Mrs. George L. Bowman who listed total receipts for October at \$674.55, with disbursements of \$364.60; and total cash on hand \$1,547.20. For November, total receipts were \$1,777.29 and disbursements \$310.23, showing cash on hand at the end of the period \$3,014.26. The December receipts were listed as \$691.75, disbursements \$259.23, and cash on hand \$3,446.78. President Shirk observed that the finances of the Society were being handled in a most businesslike way and that Mrs. McIntyre, Chief Clerk, was doing an excellent job of keeping the financial records. He further observed that the bookkeeping for the Society had become more involved and complicated with the establishment of the Central Purchasing Agency and the procedures pertaining thereto.

It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Judge Clift that easement recorded in Book 160, Page 680, covering real estate in McCurtain County, Oklahoma, described.

SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 3, Township 2 South, Range 25 East

and easement recorded in Book 276, Page 373, covering real estate in Choctaw County, Oklahoma, described

The N $\frac{1}{2}$ of the SW of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ and the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 23, Township 6 South, Range 20 East of the Indian Base and Meridian

and Special Use Permit No. 2710 from the United States of America, dated January 20, 1960, covering real estate in LeFlore County, Oklahoma, described

N $\frac{1}{2}$ of Section 25, Township 4N, Range 22E
be accepted. The motion was adopted unanimously.

That through the efforts of the Navy League there has been tendered to the Oklahoma Historical Society the anchor from the USS Oklahoma, was reported by President Shirk. He said the League would bring the anchor from New Orleans to Oklahoma City and place it on permanent display in Civic Center. The League wishes the technical title to be vested in the Oklahoma Historical Society, but all installation costs to be borne by the League. A motion to accept the offer of the anchor, under the aforementioned provisions, was made by Dr. Harbour, seconded by Judge Clift, and adopted by the Board.

Dr. James B. Shaeffer of the Archaeological Department of the University of Oklahoma was presented by President Shirk for the purpose of explaining a proposal he was making to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Shaeffer furnished a written summary of his proposal and explained the objectives. Briefly, the proposal was that the Oklahoma Historical Society assist in financing archaeological excavations at either Devil's Canyon, Battle of the Washita location, or Fort Washita. Dr. Shaeffer expressed the viewpoint that the Fort Washita site was the one most likely to produce worthwhile results. He stated that any materials that might be secured through the joint sponsorship of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the University of Oklahoma, would be divided equally between the two.

Dr. Harbour observed that past experiences had shown considerable difficulty usually arose when time came for the division of artifacts between two institutions. She suggested that any agreement that might be worked out between the Oklahoma Historical Society and the University of Oklahoma be written in definite form so that no misunderstanding might arise during the excavations, or at time of dividing the recovered artifacts.

Mr. Phillips moved that the Board express appreciation to Dr. Shaeffer for his presentation, and the Board express its keen interest in participating in the proposed project, and that it further be recommended to the Historic Sites Committee that serious consideration be given to Dr. Shaeffer's proposal. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion which was carried when put. Dr. Shaeffer expressed appreciation to the Board for the courtesy that had been extended to him and to its consideration of the project he had proposed.

After some discussion concerning the time of the annual meeting, it was moved by Miss Seger and seconded by Mr. Phillips that said annual meeting be held at 9:30 a.m. on April 28, 1960, in the

auditorium of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. The motion was unanimously adopted.

President Shirk said that pursuant to previous action by the Board, he was ready to announce the appointment of a committee of five to prepare a list of rules and regulations concerning the acceptance of portraits by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Those named by the President were Judge Hefner, Chairman; Dr. Harbour; Judge Busby; Miss Seger; and the President.

At this point President Shirk said the portrait committee had submitted the name of Admiral Marc A. Mitscher whose portrait might be placed in the gallery. Miss Seger made and Judge Clift seconded a motion that the family of the late Marc A. Mitscher be invited to place his portrait in the gallery of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Due to the absence of Mr. R. G. Miller who was ill, the report of the Tour Committee was made by President Shirk. He said that Mr. Miller's committee had completed much work on the tour which had been set for June 2, 3, and 4. The committee had decided that the tour would be so arranged, that both nights would be spent in Guymon. The first day was to be spent on the way to Guymon, the second day in the area of Cimarron and Texas Counties, and the third day on the return route to Oklahoma City. Mr. Phillips moved that the committee's report be approved. This was seconded by Miss Seger and adopted unanimously by the Board. President Shirk requested that the motion include the provision that the previous arrangements concerning expenses of staff members while on the tour be continued. This was agreed to by the Board.

In making the report of the Microfilm Committee, Chairman Phillips related the good fortune in securing materials from the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa that would enable the Oklahoma Historical Society to have on microfilm the first volumes of the Cherokee Advocate which began publication in 1844. He said that Mr. Morton Harrison of Tulsa had assisted him in securing the materials for microfilming.

From a financial standpoint, Mr. Phillips said that the microfilm department was in good shape. He expressed the hope that in the not too distant future sufficient money could be had to build a microfilm vault on the premises of the Society. Such vault would be for the use of housing and filing negative films, which are now kept at Dallas, Texas. Judge Hefner moved that appreciation be expressed by the Board to Mr. Phillips and the members of the Microfilm Committee for the splendid work they have accomplished in this phase of the Society's business. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and unanimously adopted.

The filling of vacancies existing on the Board of Directors was brought up for consideration by President Shirk. He remarked that two wonderful and distinguished men, Judge Redmond S. Cole and Judge Edgar S. Vaught, both members of the Board of Directors, had passed from this life within recent months. He further said that the time had come for filling the vacancies that had thus been created. It was pointed out by the President that the Executive Committee had directed the official ballot be published in *The Chronicles* for filling the expiring terms of the five Board members. He pointed out that inasmuch as Judge Vaught's term would have expired in January of 1960, some one should be nominated for inclusion on the ballot in his stead, to appear along with the names of the other four members whose terms were expiring. The proper procedure, he said,

for filling Judge Cole's place on the Board would be for the Board to name some one for the unexpired term in accordance with Section 8, Article IV of the Constitution.

President Shirk then submitted the names of persons who had been suggested to him for membership on the Board, pointing out that no nominations had been made as provided by Section 3 of Article IV of the Constitution and the notice that appeared in the autumn issue of *The Chronicles*. The names presented for consideration were: Hiram Impson, McAlester; John Doolin, Alva; Mrs. Clarence Robison, Shawnee; Joe McBride, Oklahoma City; Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Tulsa; former Governor William J. Holloway, Oklahoma City; and Mrs. John Frizzell, Oklahoma City.

Mr. Muldrow moved that the Board vote on these names, with the one receiving the highest number of votes being placed on the ballot for Judge Vaught's place and the one with the next highest number of votes to be selected by the Board to replace Judge Cole, providing that each receive a majority. This motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and adopted. Mrs. Bowman and Miss Seger were appointed as tellers by President Shirk. A tally of the votes indicated that Mr. Jones had been chosen for a place on the ballot. It was pointed out that this was tantamount to election along with the four members of the Board whose terms expired in 1960, because there were no nominations from the membership. Upon a final vote it was shown that Mr. McBride had been elected to fill the vacancy expiring January, 1964.

Judge Busby brought up the topic of encouraging school children to visit the exhibits of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He said that many schools did not like to take the responsibility of bringing children in buses, because of highway hazards. Mr. Fraker said that thousands of school children visited the Historical Society each spring, but one of the difficulties encountered by such groups was finding a place to park school buses. He suggested that an article in the *Oklahoma Teacher* telling the hours when the Historical Society Building is open and offering guided tours to any school groups that might so request, be prepared. It was moved by Judge Johnson and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the Administrative Secretary proceed with the preparation of such article. The motion was adopted.

The distinguished service award made by the Oklahoma State Writers organization which had been presented to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* was passed around for all Board members to see. Mr. Curtis moved that Miss Wright be commended for her editorship that had contributed so greatly to the winning of this award. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Bowman and unanimously adopted.

The report of the special committee to secure information regarding the methods used by historical societies in investing their surplus funds, was made by Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Chairman of the committee. He reported that questionnaires had been submitted to thirty-one state historical societies and that twenty-six had replied. From these replies it had been learned that life memberships ran from \$50.00 to \$1,000.00, with South Dakota offering a \$20.00 life membership. One state had three classes: \$150.00 life, \$500.00 patron, and \$1,000.00 for benefactor. Mr. Muldrow stated that most historical societies invested in mutual funds and government bonds. He said he was turning the information he had gathered to Mr. Fraker so that it might be placed in proper form for a report and that when this had been done his committee would make specific recommendations.

President Shirk stated that the work on the stage coach was progressing quite well. He said that approximately \$1,000.00 had been

spent on the work, but some exterior work is yet to be done. He pointed out that where any pieces had replaced old ones in the coach, such new ones had been exact replicas of the pieces displaced. He said the stage coach committee plans to move it to a place in the First National Bank Building lobby where it will remain for a time. He said that it was his belief that the coach when completed will be worth \$35,000.00, there being only four others like it in the world.

Attention was called by President Shirk to the fact that Dr. Chapman is preparing a brochure of Civil War folk songs and ballads the details of publication having been assumed by an organization in Stillwater. He said that Dr. Chapman would like the copyright to be in the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Chapman briefly described the brochure and said that he would be most happy to have it copyrighted by the Society. Miss Seger moved, and Dr. Harbour seconded a motion that the offer of Dr. Chapman be accepted. The motion was adopted.

Announcement was made by President Shirk that he was appointing Mr. Fisher Muldrow to fill the vacancy on the Executive Committee caused by the death of Judge Vaught.

Judge Clift brought up the matter of securing a parking lot back of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. Judge Busby voiced the opinion that a parking lot was badly needed for those visiting the Historical Society and for the staff. Judge Clift moved that the President appoint a committee of five members, none of whom is to be a member of the Board of Directors, for the purpose of approaching the proper authorities relative to making a parking lot east of the Historical Society Building. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and carried.

Judge N. B. Johnson invited all members of the Board to attend a meeting to be held in the Blue Room of the Capitol at 10:30 a.m. on Saturday, January 30, where ways and means were to be discussed relative to the unrealistic way American Indians have been portrayed by television. He said that the heads of eleven different tribes would be present at the meeting.

Miss Seger presented to the Society two merchandise tokens that had been issued by her father at the old Seger General Merchandise Store in Colony, Oklahoma. President Shirk thanked Miss Seger for the gift.

Mr. Muldrow called the Board's attention to the death of Mrs. Mary Wright Wallace, aunt of Miss Muriel Wright and daughter of Chief Allen Wright. Judge Busby moved that Mr. Fraker draw a resolution of condolences from the Board of Directors to Miss Wright. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and adopted.

Mrs. Bowman announced that she and Miss Wright had been in touch with the family of the late Mary Agnes Thompson, well known Oklahoma author, regarding the original manuscripts of her writings. She said that she expected the manuscripts to be presented to the Society within the near future.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the meeting, Judge Johnson moved and Miss Seger seconded a motion for adjournment. The motion was put and carried at 12:00 noon.

George H. Shirk
President

Elmer L. Fraker
Administrative Secretary

RESOLUTION IN MEMORIAM

Whereas, Mrs. Mary Wright Wallace departed this life on January 26, 1960, and

Whereas, Mrs. Wallace had lived a long and fruitful life of ninety-seven years in Oklahoma, having been born at Boggy Depot April 5, 1863, and

Whereas, she was the daughter of Rev. and Mrs. Allen Wright, prominent members of the Choctaw Nation, and

Whereas, she, along with other members of this eminent eastern Oklahoma family, had contributed much to the cultural and religious backgrounds of her native state, now

Therefore, be it resolved that we the members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, convened in regular quarterly session on this 28th day of January, 1960, do hereby extend to our co-worker, Miss Muriel Wright, niece of Mrs. Mary Wright Wallace, and to the other members of the Wright family, our most sincere expression of sympathy and condolences.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

(Seal)

Gifts presented during Quarter ending January 27, 1960:

LIBRARY:

10 rolls microfilm: 1820 census of Ohio

Donor: William Rives Chapter, Colonial Dames of the 17th Century, Oklahoma City.

10 rolls microfilm: 1800 census of Pennsylvania

Donor: Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, Oklahoma City.

Photostatic copy of a letter from Julien C. Monnet to Judge W. R. Wallace

Donor: Judge W. R. Wallace, Oklahoma City.

Year Book of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, 1959

Donor: Society of Indiana Pioneers, Indianapolis, Indiana.

14 copies of *The National Geographic Magazine*

National Trust Report, 1958-1959

Humor of the Old Deep South

The Countryman Book

Hawkers and Walkers in Early America by Richardson Wright

Eyes on Russia by Margaret Bourke-White

"The Management of Small History Museums" by Carl E. Guthe

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Genealogical and Ancestral Notes, Series II by William H. Edwards

Donor: Colonel William H. Edwards, Meriden, Connecticut

Kentucky Pension Roll of 1835

The Kentucky Genealogist, 1959

Donor: Mrs. David E. Phillips, Chandler, Oklahoma.

History of Dodd City, Texas, by Millard Doan Brent

Donor: Mrs. John N. Booth, Oklahoma City.

Sheet Music: "Oklahoma, That's For Me" and "The Everlasting Hills of Oklahoma"

Picture of Gerald M. Van Dyke

Donor: Mrs. Cecile De Wees, Oklahoma City.

Plat map of Amber, Oklahoma

Indian Territory button, 1896

First grade Teacher's Certificate, 1916

Picture: "Fred's Chop House, Chickasha, 1913"

Donor: Miss Beatrice Oliver, Boonton, New Jersey.

The Jews in Minnesota by Gunther Plaut

Donor: American Jewish Historical Society, New York City

Speech delivered by H. Ernest Crow at the dedication of the marker to Stella Friends Academy, October 25, 1959

Donor: H. Ernest Crow, Wichita, Kansas.

Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1959

Donor: Dr. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Millspaugh-Milspaw Family by Francis C. Millspaugh

Donor: Francis C. Millspaugh, Swampscott, Massachusetts

"A Vindication of of Macbeth" by Somerlied MacMillan

"The Clan MacMillan Magazine of North America"

Donor: Ralph Hudson, Oklahoma State Library

"The American Sketches of Franz Holzhuber"

Donor: University of Kansas Library, Lawrence, Kansas

Group of legal forms from Tillman County, Oklahoma

Donor: Carl M. Lightner, Grandfield, Oklahoma

"Prospectus of the Bolivian Colony" prepared by William H. Murray

Donor: Mrs. Mary McDonald Axelson, Miami, Florida

"Bulletin of the Central Texas Genealogical Society", Vol. I, II

Donor: Mrs. Dayton Royse, Oklahoma City

The Oil Business as I saw It by W. L. Connelly

Who's Who in Government, Volume I

Constitution and Enabling Act of Oklahoma

The Namic Philosophy by John Embry

Presidential Elcctions by Cortez A. M. Ewing

Oklahoma and the Mid-Contincnt Oil Field

Charles Bismarck Ames, In Memoriam

The Montgomery County Story, 1776-1957 by Charles W. Crush

Log of the 45th by Walter M. Harrison

Leonard Shoun and His Wife Barbar Slcmp of Johnson County, Tennessee

Economic Survey of Oklahoma, 1929

Men of Affairs and Reprsentative Institutions of Oklahoma

James Joseph McGraw, A Memorial

Who's Who in Oklahoma City, 1931

Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of Dick T. Morgan

Field, Forest and Stream in Oklahoma, 1912

History of the 90th Division by Major George Wythe

"The Butterfield Overland Mail in Arkansas" by Lemke and Worley

"A Proclamation for Settling the Plantation of Virginia, 1625"

"A Partial History of the Atkins Family" by Edgar S. Vaught

"A Partial History of the Vaught Family" by Edgar S. Vaught

"Address of the Honorable Edgar Sullins Vaught delivered at the Commencement Exercises of Oklahoma City University, May 29, 1929"

"Amending the Constitution by Judicial Decree" by Edgar S. Vaught

"Achievement Day, 1951, University of Oklahoma"

"Literary Address Delivered at the Commencement Exercises of Emory and Henry College, June 9, 1936" by Edgar S. Vaught

"Address Delivered Before the Graduating Class of Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City, Tennessee, May 11, 1934" by Edgar S. Vaught

"Unveiling the Portrait of Judge Edgar S. Vaught, May 31, 1949"

"Address by Edgar S. Vaught Delivered at the California Club, Los Angeles, California, February 12, 1937"

"An Address by Edgar S. Vaught Delivered at the Redlands, California Lincoln Anniversary Exercises, February 14, 1937"

Donor: Estate of Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City

"Missionary District of Oklahoma, 1930"

"Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians" 1914

4 issues of *The American Indian Magazine*

"Report of the U.S. Indian Inspector for Indian Territory, 1907"

"The Dawes Commission and the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory"

Group of 46 Almanacs from 1873 to 1950

The Natural Government of Mankind by Hunter L. Johnson

Republican Text-Book for the Congressional Campaign, 1910

Petroleum Facts and Figures, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930

Hostetter's Almanac 1890-1910

5 Democratic Campaign Books, 1924

League to Enforce Peace

Group of League of Nations Pamphlets

Donor: Mrs. Redmond S. Cole, Tulsa, Oklahoma

MUSEUM:

Pictures:

Judge John Clapp

Judge Frederick H. Smith (five pictures)

Lee M. Boyer

Judge Clapp, Frederick Smith and others

Power Plant at Okmulgee in 1905

Donor: Mrs. Julia Boyer Reinstein, Cheektowaga, New York

C. C. Brady

David Henry Cox

Hudson Bay Fort

Frontiers Man

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn T. Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

Baseball Team, Garfield School 1909-10

Faculty at Garfield School

Mrs. Belle Hedlund

Mrs. Belle Hedlund and Group

Anton Classen (three photographs)

Chris Madsen

Men's Non-denominational Bible Class

Panorama Picture, Banquet at National Republican Convention, 1924

Donor: Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City

Photograph of Arapaho Bank Note

Donor: Chase Manhattan Bank, New York

Framed picture of the Callixylon Tree at East Central State College, Ada

Donor: Judge Orel Busby, Ada, Oklahoma

Exhibits:

Kiowa Moccasins

Donor: Dr. H. E. Thompson, McPherson, Kansas

Shoulder and Trouser Straps, worn by J. R. Thomas in Spanish American War

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn T. Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

Ribbons and Badges, Oklahoma State Fair, 1910

Garfield School Pennant

Silver Loving Cup won by Garfield School in 1910

United States Flag used in Judge Vaught's Court Room during Urschel's Trial

Donor: Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Oklahoma City

Cookie Jar, with Dewey's Flagship "Olympia" and date May 1, 1898

Donor: Mrs. Alice Riley, Oklahoma City.

Bust of Senator Robert L. Owen

Donor: Fred H. Jorgensen, Administrator of Dorothea Owen Estate, New York City

Oklahoma License Tag, 1959

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

WAC Uniform, coat, shirt, hat, tie, purse, merit badge

Donor: Mrs. R. L. Merritt, Norman, Oklahoma

Navy Uniform Spanish American War, trousers, shirt, hat
 Donor: Mrs. Bernard P. Harlow, Oklahoma City

CONFEDRATE MEMORIAL ROOM

Small framed picture. copy of "General Order No. 11"
 Roster of "Surgeon John Cravens Camp United Confederate Veterans
 No. 912, Callatin, Missouri, 1906"
 Engraved invitation to Independence Mann, June 4, 1914
 Program of UDC Convention of 1931, Jacksonville, Florida
 Program of UDC Convention of 1935, Hot Springs, Arkansas
 Booklet, excerpts from "Christ in the Camp" by Chaplain J.W. Jones
 Booklet, Farewell Address to the Senate of the United States by
 Jefferson Davis
 Newspaper clipping and picture from Richmond Times, June 21, 1932
 Donor: Mrs. T. F. Gorman, Oklahoma City
 Confederate States Almanac of 1862
 Donor: Dr. Elizabeth Chamberlain, Bartlesville, Oklahoma
 Framed photograph "The Real Daughters of Jefferson Davis Chapter
 UDC"
 Donor: Jefferson Davis Chapter UDC
 Book "Story of Shiloh" by Delong Rice
 Donor: Miss Ella White, Oklahoma City

UNION MEMORIAL ROOM

Framed copy of New York Herald, dated April 15, 1865
 Pictures of Lincoln's assassination from various volumes of New York
 Herald
 Donor: Mrs. Louis C. Binda, Oklahoma City

INDIAN ARCHIVES

Carbon copy of letter written in June, 1908, by W. A. Ledbetter to
 Hon. Charles A. Culbertson, Senate Annex, Washington, D. C.
 Donor: Eugene P. Ledbetter, Oklahoma City
 Affidavit of Indian Depredation Claim for forty-eight horses stolen
 by Comanche Indians in Chickasaw Nation in 1864
 Donor: Col. Bob Sammons, Ada, Oklahoma

NEW MEMBERS FOR THE QUARTER OCTOBER 29, 1959 TO JANUARY 28, 1960:

NEW LIFE MEMBERS:

Jackson, Joe C.	Edmond, Oklahoma
Dietrich, Mrs. Ira J.	Tulsa, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS:

Emory, Mrs. James H.	Ada, Oklahoma
Shelton, Barbara	Altus, Oklahoma
Southern, Mrs. L. O.	Alva, Oklahoma
Buzbee, The Reverend Glenwood	Anadarko, Oklahoma
Henderson, Mrs. Dora	" "
Cannon, Mrs. H. D.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Roark, Mrs. Jack T.	" "
Brown, Q. L.	Bristow, Oklahoma
Banks, Ronald J.	Broken Arrow, Oklahoma
Mason, G. A.	Caddo, Oklahoma
Jordan, Bert O.	Cleveland, Oklahoma
Stratton, George C.	Cookson, Oklahoma
Payne, Gladys	Duncan, Oklahoma
Pettigrew, Lynn	" "

Frazier, R. W.	Durant, Oklahoma
Tabor, Pauline Edwards	" "
Anderson, P. K.	Gotebo, Oklahoma
Hanes, Bailey C.	Guthrie, Oklahoma
Swanson, James D.	Haskell, Oklahoma
Stanton, Mrs. Clyde	Marlow, Oklahoma
Allison, Lonny L.	Medford, Oklahoma
James, Bill Y.	Miami, Oklahoma
Ryan, Mrs. Grady	Norman, Oklahoma
Shaeffer, James B.	" "
Biby, Hazel L.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Bishop, Leora	" "
Booth, Mrs. John N.	" "
E. & H. Production Co.	" "
Harrah, Cal	" "
Haugherty, Hugh	" "
Markwell, Mrs. Mardell	" "
Miller, Paul J.	" "
Mills, Austin E.	" "
Mitchell, Dwight, Jr.	" "
Nelson, Donald Charles	" "
Purcell, George Roy	" "
Ridings, Dr. G. R.	" "
Robertson, Mrs. P. B.	" "
Weaver, J. E.	" "
McDonald, J. G.	" "
Quillian, H. A.	Shawnee, Oklahoma
Lester, Anna S.	Spiro, Oklahoma
Fletcher, Mrs. Edith	Tahlequah, Oklahoma
McGilberry, C. W.	Tishomingo, Oklahoma
Orr, Billy, Jr.	Tishomingo, Oklahoma
Allen, Wm. Harry	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Cole, Mrs. Redmond S.	" "
Curtis, Belle R.	" "
Davis, James B.	" "
Dowell, Mrs. V. B.	" "
Lane, Joseph Howard	" "
Mayor, Paul H.	" "
Meagher, Mrs. Thomas F.	" "
Monnet, Burford D.	" "
Sweet, H. L.	" "
Westbrook, Roy R.	" "
McCoy, Jimmie	Vian, Oklahoma
Epple, Jess C.	Warner, Oklahoma
Morrison, Donald J.	Waurika, Oklahoma
Clark, Nora T.	Clarksville, Arkansas
Qualls, L. M.	Fort Smith, Arkansas
Froug, William	Los Angeles, California
Harrison, Clarence O.	" "
Lippert, Mrs. Bertha Clark	" "
Walker, D. Marshall, Jr.	" "
Clark, LeRoy	Pasadena, California
Johnson, Rodney	Sherman Oaks, California
Mettler, Grover S.	Temple City, California
Oliver, Miss Beatrice	West Orange, New Jersey
Dunaway, Mary Jo	Staten Island, New York
Elliott, Leo A.	Borger, Texas
Storm, Willis	Fort Worth, Texas
Hackbusch, Franklin M., Sr.	San Antonio, Texas
	Wichita Falls, Texas

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

R. G. MILLER

H. MILT PHILLIPS

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

JOE W. MCBRIDE

ELMER L. FRAKER

Summer, 1960

Volume XXXVIII

Number 2

CONTENTS

Charles Newton Gould: "Covered Wagon Geologist"	126
By Mildred Armor Frizzell	
Rock Mary Report	130
By the Committee	
Lieutenant Simpson's California Road through Oklahoma	154
By Robert H. Dott	
The Battle of Chustenahlah	180
By Arthur Shoemaker	
Oklahoma's Missing Link	185
By Robert E. Cunningham	
Perry's First Doctor	191
By Clarence Cullimore	
Charles Page	196
By Mrs. Walter Wood	
Notes and Documents	202
Sugar Loaf Mountain Resort	
Air Conditioning in the Oklahoma Historical Society	
Removal of the Great Seal from Guthrie to Oklahoma City	
In Memory of Acee Blue Eagle, Indian Artist	
Note from General Douglas MacArthur	
Oklahoma Historical Markers and Monuments	
Annual Tour 1960	
Book Review	224
Minutes	
Annual Meeting, 1960	226
Quarterly Meeting, April 26, 1960.....	229

Cover: This view of "Rock Mary" is from the sketch by H. B. Möllhausen, German Artist, who crossed Oklahoma in 1853, with the Pacific Railway Survey under the command of Lieut. A. W. Whipple. The original sketch is in the Whipple Collection of the Historical Society, and bears the title "Natural Mounds near the Termination of the Cross Timbers." A copy of this sketch with a few alterations by the delineator appears as a wood cut illustration with the title "Rock Mary," in the Pacific Railway Survey Report published in Washington, 1856. The location of this natural mound on the route of the California Road in Caddo County, is given in the "Rock Mary Report" in this issue of *The Chronicles*.

CHARLES NEWTON GOULD:
"COVERED WAGON GEOLOGIST"

By Mildred Armor Frizzell*

The *Covered Wagon Geologist*¹ is the autobiography of Dr. Charles N. Gould, one of Oklahoma's early geologists, as he wrote it in 1946, three years before he died at the age of seventy-eight years. Looking back over the past Dr. Gould created a delightful word counterpane from the highlights of his family life and geological career—as homespun in style as the coverlets used by his mother, in the "little log cabin, with clapboard roof and open fireplace" on Duck Creek, Eastern Ohio, where he was born on July 22, 1868. He was the son of Simon Gilbert and Anna Arvilla (Robinson) Gould.

Lured by "the hope of better things to be" the Goulds moved west to Kansas in April, 1887 and settled on a farm in Kingman County, near Ninnescah². Like most of their happy and hopeful friends, the Goulds lived in a dugout. Although it leaked when it rained, still they found it to be a comforting and warm protection from Kansas winter blizzards and a cooling and refreshing relief from the blistering summer winds.

The heartbreak of seeing the results of a year's labor in the fields burnt to a crisp by the searing Kansas summer sun, in-

* Mildred Armor Frizzell (Mrs. John Frizzell) is former editor of the *Shale Shaker*, Oklahoma City Geological Society magazine, and continues as a contributor of articles to this and other publications that have a bearing on history in this part of the country. She was a teacher of geology at Oklahoma City University (1928-36). Mr. and Mrs. John Frizzell are widely known in historical and philatelic circles for their activity and fine contribution to the centennial celebration of the Butterfield Overland Mail Stage that carried the first transcontinental U. S. mail overland (1858) between Missouri and California. Exactly 100 years later (1958), the Frizzells took their own old Concord stagecoach (beautifully restored) and their own horses (2 teams and a spare) with them in the caravan of cars that made the entire trip overland (a route of 2,795 mi., 1858) to celebrate the Centennial, from Tipton, Missouri to San Francisco, hitching up and driving the coach on the actual ground of the Butterfield Trail for programs held at many different towns along the way in Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. In this achievement, Mildred and John Frizzell made real history in 1958.—Ed.

¹ *Covered Wagon Geologist*. By Charles N. Gould. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1959. Pp. xi, 268. 16 Ills. 2 Maps. \$4.00).

² Mr. and Mrs. Simon Gould later bought a farm, a few miles east of town on the South Fork of the Ninnescah river where the old "Cannon Ball" Green's stage road forded the river. The Concord stagecoach owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society once belonged to Mr. Green.

fluenced young Charles to turn to teaching. Charles like his ancestors was religious, frugal, ambitious and persevering. At the age of nineteen, he realized that although he had only the equivalent of an eighth grade education, obtained from country schools, he was as well qualified to teach school as most teachers in his community. After attending the summer Normal Institute at Kingman, he was granted his first certificate to teach in the Hardscrabble District during the winter of 1888-89.

The thrilling conversion of Charles Gould to geology came the following summer. It was the geologic story of two slabs of red ripple-marked sandstone, from the banks of the Ninnescah River, as told by Professor L. C. Wooster, to a group of aspiring young teachers attending Normal Institute. Although he heard the word geology for the first time, on that hot July night, it became the "polaris" of his life.

Charles experienced many hardships and privations, as a boy from the "raw" frontier plains of Kansas, trying to obtain geological training but he endured them all happily, with the loving help of his devoted family. Following graduation from Southwestern at Winfield, Kansas, Gould attended the University of Nebraska in 1900 when he received his Masters' degree and again in 1906 for his doctorate. Dr. Gould once said that he had set his goal early in life:

I set for myself three tasks, three objectives, to be attained. First, I resolved that I would some day occupy the chair of Geology in some state university; second, I hoped to become state geologist of some state; and third, I determined to know as thoroughly as one might know, in the course of his life, the geology and mineral resources of the southern part of the Great Plains and the Southwest.

Within ten years of graduation, I had achieved the first two of these ambitions. I had organized the Department of Geology at the University of Oklahoma and had been appointed state geologist of Oklahoma. The third objective, to know the geology of the great Southwest, has occupied my best endeavors for more than forty years.

Gould taught the first class in geology at the University of Oklahoma the fall of 1900 when the University consisted of "one lone building in a forty-acre field, with rows of little trees, waist high." What the University lacked at that time in the way of tradition and ivy-covered towers, was more than compensated for by the optimism, enthusiasm and dedication of the thirteen teachers of the University staff.

Dr. Gould drew up the instructions that "have served as the constitution of the Oklahoma Geological Survey" and handed them to Governor Haskell on the morning of July 25, 1908 following his appointment as the first director of the new Oklahoma Geological Survey which he guided and nurtured it for the next three years.

He tells with more than a tinge of sadness, of his resignation from the Oklahoma Geological Survey in 1911 and his ensuing thirteen years as a consulting geologist. Although Dr. Gould entered the consulting practice at a thrilling and opportune time, when there were many known anticlines in Oklahoma waiting to be drilled, still he was unfortunate in that the structures he drilled found only a "show" of oil, while some of the structures he mapped for his clients (for a small fee) made millions of dollars.³

At the suggestion of Mr. Frank Buttram, of Oklahoma City, Dr. Gould returned to the Survey in 1924 to serve a second "hitch" as director. Once more he struggled with the perennial financial crises that haunt a survey as well as the research and publications, until 1931 when Governor Murray vetoed the survey appropriation.

Following the death of his beloved wife, Nina in 1935 he joined the National Park Service, serving in the Southwest. This gave him an opportunity to pursue his third great objective of life until he retired in 1940. A student to the last—he spent his final years reading on the average of a book a day and visiting the families of his two affectionate and gifted children, Lois and Don.

Dr. Gould is known in history as "the Father of Oklahoma Geology," and his life story is long past due. Among other early geological contributions, he made the first geological reconnaissance trip across Oklahoma in a covered wagon, as provided by the Oklahoma Territorial legislature; he published the first article on the general geology of Oklahoma Territory, in the Oklahoma Territorial Geological and Natural History Survey (the first scientific publication issued by the University of Oklahoma); he started the first University field trips in geology to the Arbuckle Mountains; he started the underground water resources study of Oklahoma in 1903, and was the fourth geologist to enter the consulting practice in Oklahoma.

Dr. Gould became a prolific author, acting on the early advice of Professor S. W. Williston who said, "Whatever you do or do not do, Gould, begin early to publish. . . . It is the scientific damnation of any young person starting out in a scientific career to go five years without publishing." He published 251 geological reports for the National Park Service during his five years with the service from 1935 to 1940.⁴

³ It was through the generous contributions of some of the early geologists whom Dr. Gould had helped that the publication of his memoirs was possible.

⁴ Dr. Carl Branson, Director of the Oklahoma Geological Survey has published a bibliography of Dr. Gould's works.

Coming to Oklahoma before statehood stimulated in Dr. Gould a keen interest in Oklahoma history. He never missed an opportunity to weave some Oklahoma history into his scientific articles and field trips. Perhaps his most widely read book was *Oklahoma Place Names*, now a rare book which is to be republished soon by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Geologists and historians in years to come will note with increasing regret that those of us who knew and loved Dr. Gould, allowed so many of his experiences to remain in "his inkwell."

ROCK MARY REPORT

By the Committee

May 1, 1960

To Oklahoma Historical Society:

Pursuant to our instructions, this Committee has completed its investigation and determination of which of the buttes, or natural mounds, in northern Caddo County in the vicinity of Hinton, is the renowned Rock Mary. Since the days of the gold rush of 1849, Rock Mary has occupied a most interesting and romantic place¹ in Oklahoma history, and is of sufficient historical importance to warrant definite determination of its exact location and identity. There has been considerable confusion in modern times as to which of the buttes is in fact the one that the early emigrants named so euphoniously and relied upon as a land mark on the long journey to the West.

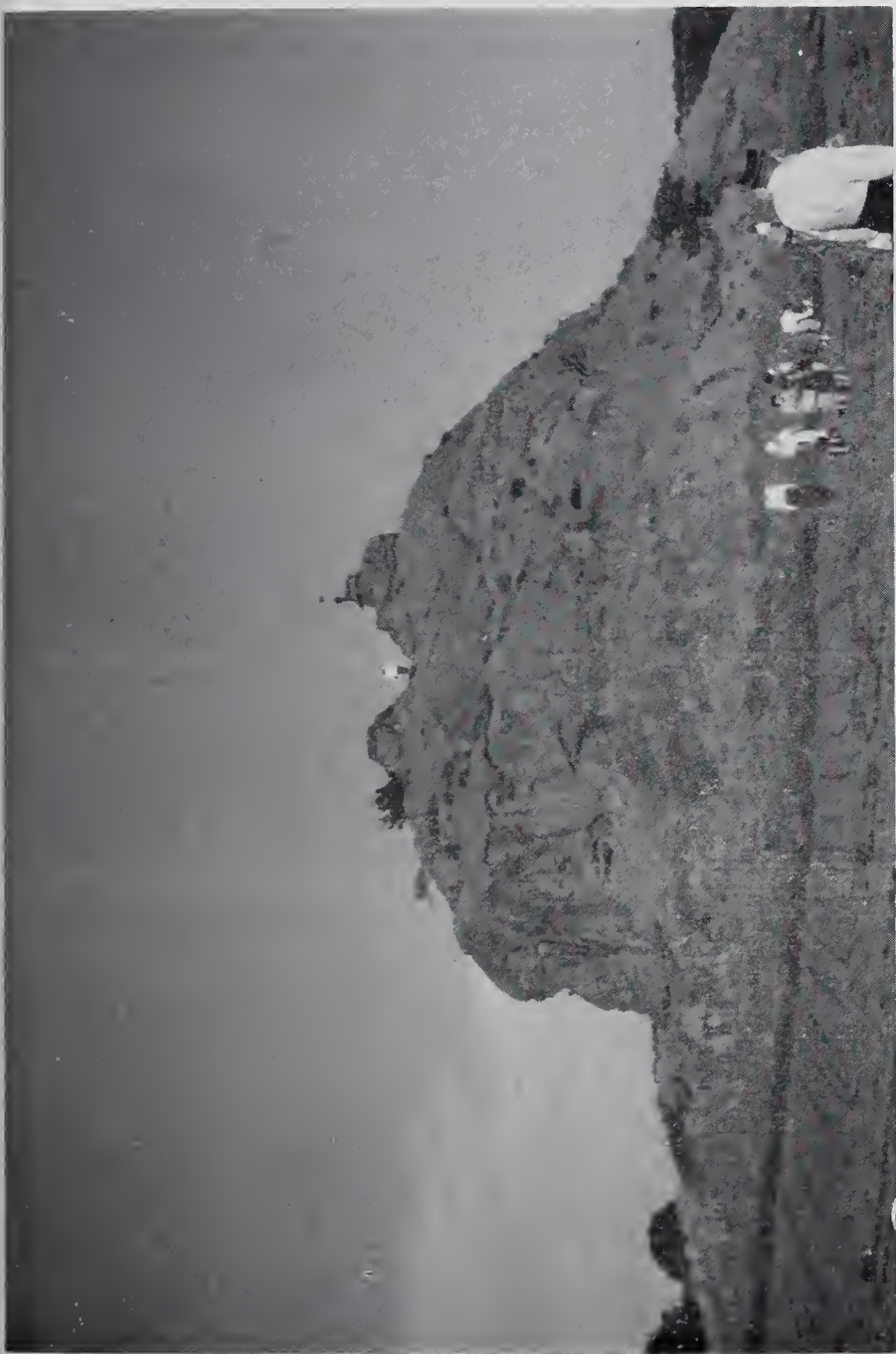
The origin of the name and its first appearance in print is in the report² of Lieutenant James H. Simpson, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, who was on the staff of Captain R. B. Marcy at the time he commanded an escort of an emigrant party from Fort Smith traveling in 1849 to the West. He wrote in his report:

Starting from Rock Mary, the road runs through a series of natural mounds, of which Rock Mary is one. These mounds, on account of their novelty and Indian-lodge shape, having already, some miles in rear, engaged the attention of the traveler. I extract from my journal as follows, in regard to these mounds:

"Camp No. 34, Wednesday, May 23.—Proceeding on about a mile, some hills of singular shape make their appearance, for the first time, bearing north 70° west; several have very much the appearance of immense Indian lodges. Nearing the first of these singularly formed hills, and it appearing more oddly shaped than any of the others, I started off alone to ascend it—reaching it just in time to scare up a wild turkey; and tying my horse to a black-jack tree at its base, I scrambled up to its summit. The novel character of the hill; its contorted appearance; its sudden emergence from the plain around it; my having reached its pinnacle; it being an object of interest to beholders in the distance;—all this had its complex influence upon me, and I felt correspondingly elated. Captain Marcy seeing me near the apex, suggested to me to unfurl (what I was about to do) a flag, and give it to the breeze. This I did, and soon I could see one person after

¹ Illustrative of the wide popular interest, see the entire column devoted to Rock Mary in *The Daily Oklahoman*, "The Smoking Room" Sunday Nov. 15, 1959.

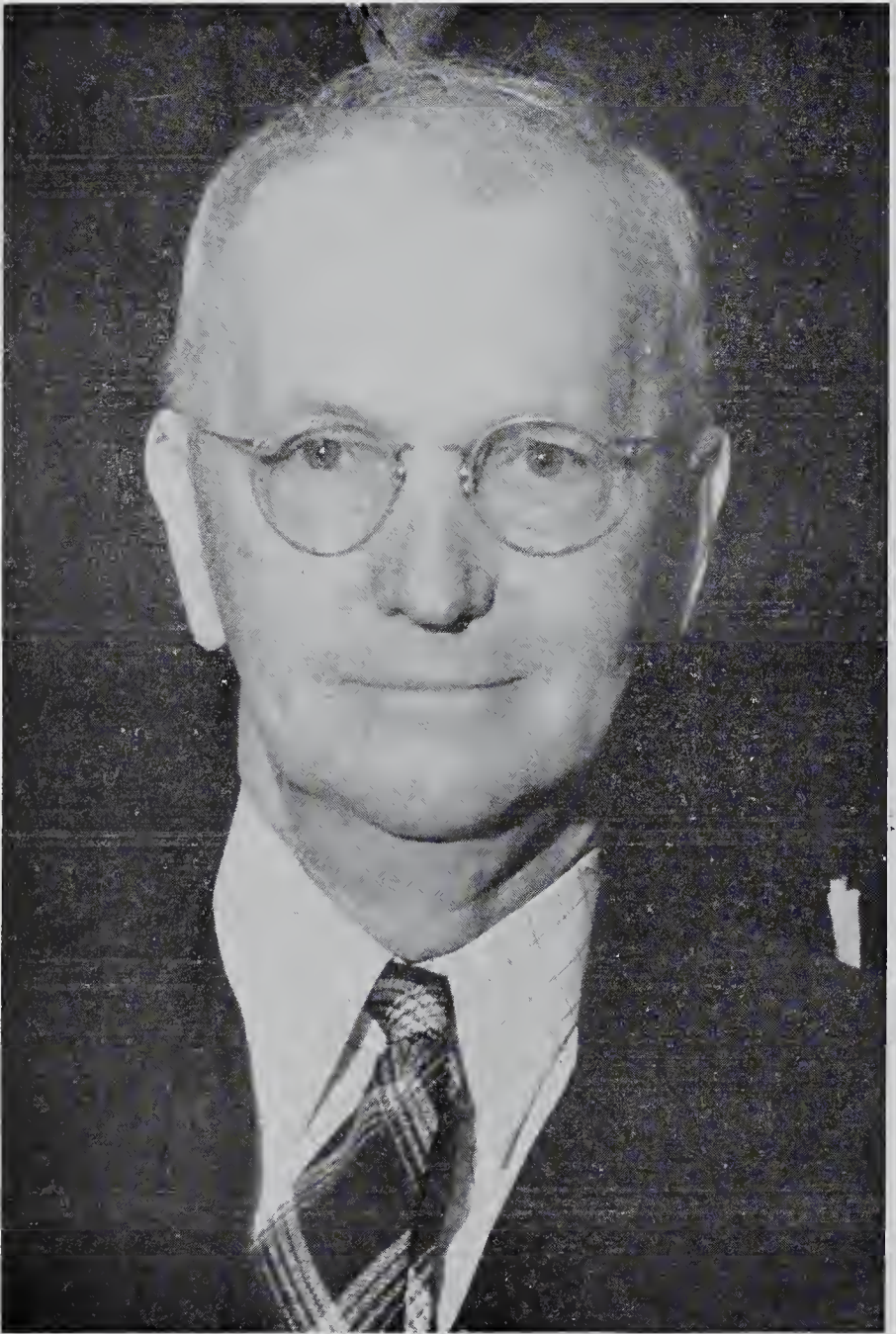
² *Executive Document No. 12*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, is the Report of the Secretary of War, Jan. 4, 1850, transmitting the *Report* and maps made by Lieut. J. H. Simpson.



(Photo by Mary Jeanne Hansen)
June 4, 1960

ROCK MARY

West side view of Rock Mary. Visitors on the Annual Tour 1960, Oklahoma Historical Society



CHARLES NEWTON GOULD



(Photo by C. N. Gould, 1900)

"CADDO COUNTY BUTTES"

View from Camp of First Oklahoma Geological
Survey Party, 1900.



(Photo by C. N. Gould, 1909)

Mode of Travel on Oklahoma Geological
Survey, 1909.



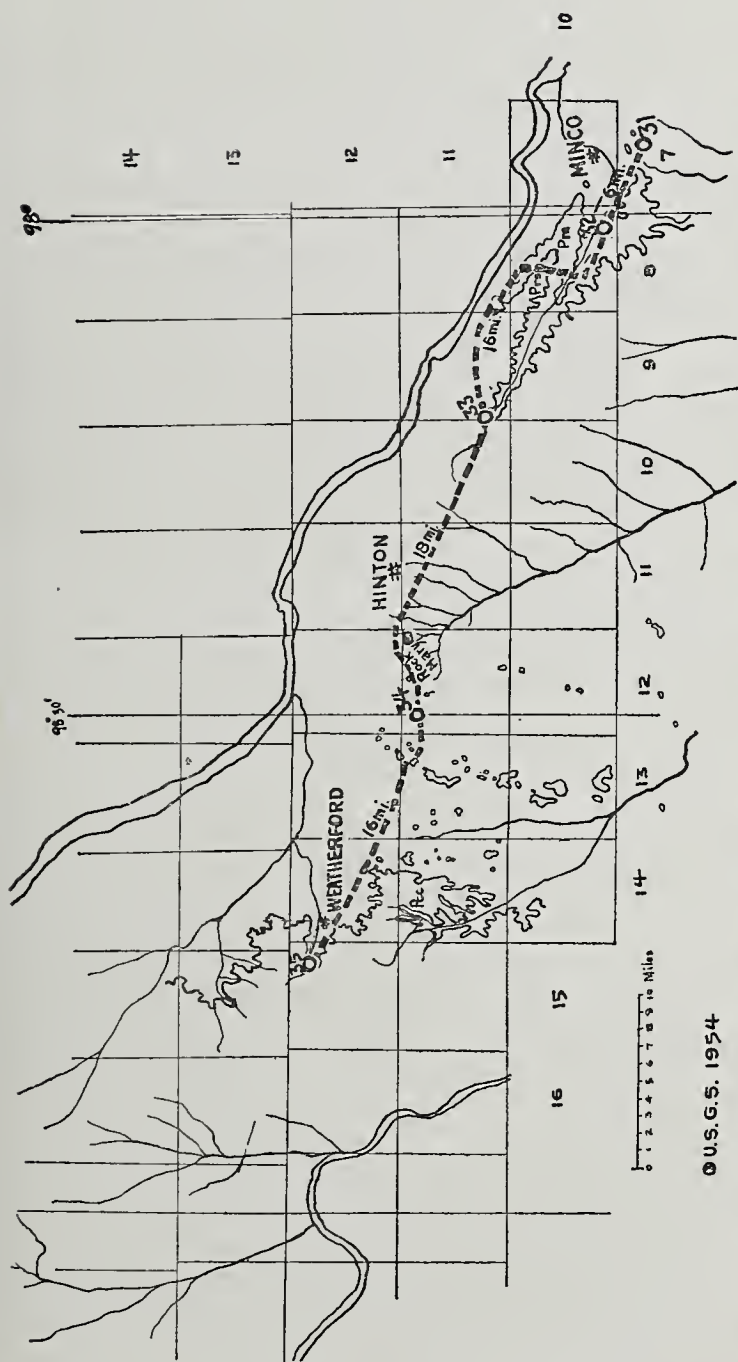
(Photo, April, 1960)

GHOST MOUND
One of the Natural Mounds, Caddo County



(Photo, April, 1960)

In Red Rock State Park, South of Hinton, left to right: Mrs. Robert Dott, Muriel Wright, Mr. Dott, Mildred Frizzell, John Frizzell, George H. Shirk, members Rock Mary Committee, 1960.



Parts of Grady, Canadian, Caddo and Custer counties, showing interpretation of route of Marcy's California Road, and location of Rock Mary. Base and geology from *Geologic Map of Oklahoma*, U. S. Geological Survey, 1954. Pm=Marlow formation; Prs=Rush Springs sandstone; Pec=Cloud Chief formation. Figures 31, 32, etc., are camp sites. Scale 1 inch=12.6 miles.

another, Lieutenant Harrison and Dr. Rogers among them, leaving the train to get a look from its summit. A person present suggested that it be named after an Arkansas young lady, (as much esteemed by the emigrants with whom she is in company, as she is by the officers,) I immediately fell in with the suggestion, and thereupon, with waving flag, proclaimed it to all concerned, that thenceforth, in honor of the said lady, the rock should be known as Rock Mary. Rock Mary, then, is the name of this fantastic formation—at least until it can be authenticated that some prior explorer had assumed the prerogative to call it something else. The rock is situated solitarily in a prairie plain; its height some sixty feet; its base some two hundred feet in diameter. In form it is like a pound-cake well puffed up and partially broken at its centre. Two turret-like projections are seen protruding from its top. In substance it is an unstratified sandstone, of a red color. In surface it is spirally corrugated, and, in places, somewhat gnarled, owing to the degradation caused by atmospheric and aqueous agents. During the latter part of our journey, a number of these hills have been seen. Besides the one just mentioned I ascended two others, one of them being about one hundred feet high. These two last have calcareous rock in association with red sandstone. One of these, of abutment shape, I noticed amorphous red sandstone to be the basis rock; next in the ascending series, 5 feet of red shale, finely shistose; next 3 feet of arenaceous limestone; and lastly, crowning the other formations, calcareous rock of massive character, containing crystals of carbonate of lime. I collected specimens of the lime formations."

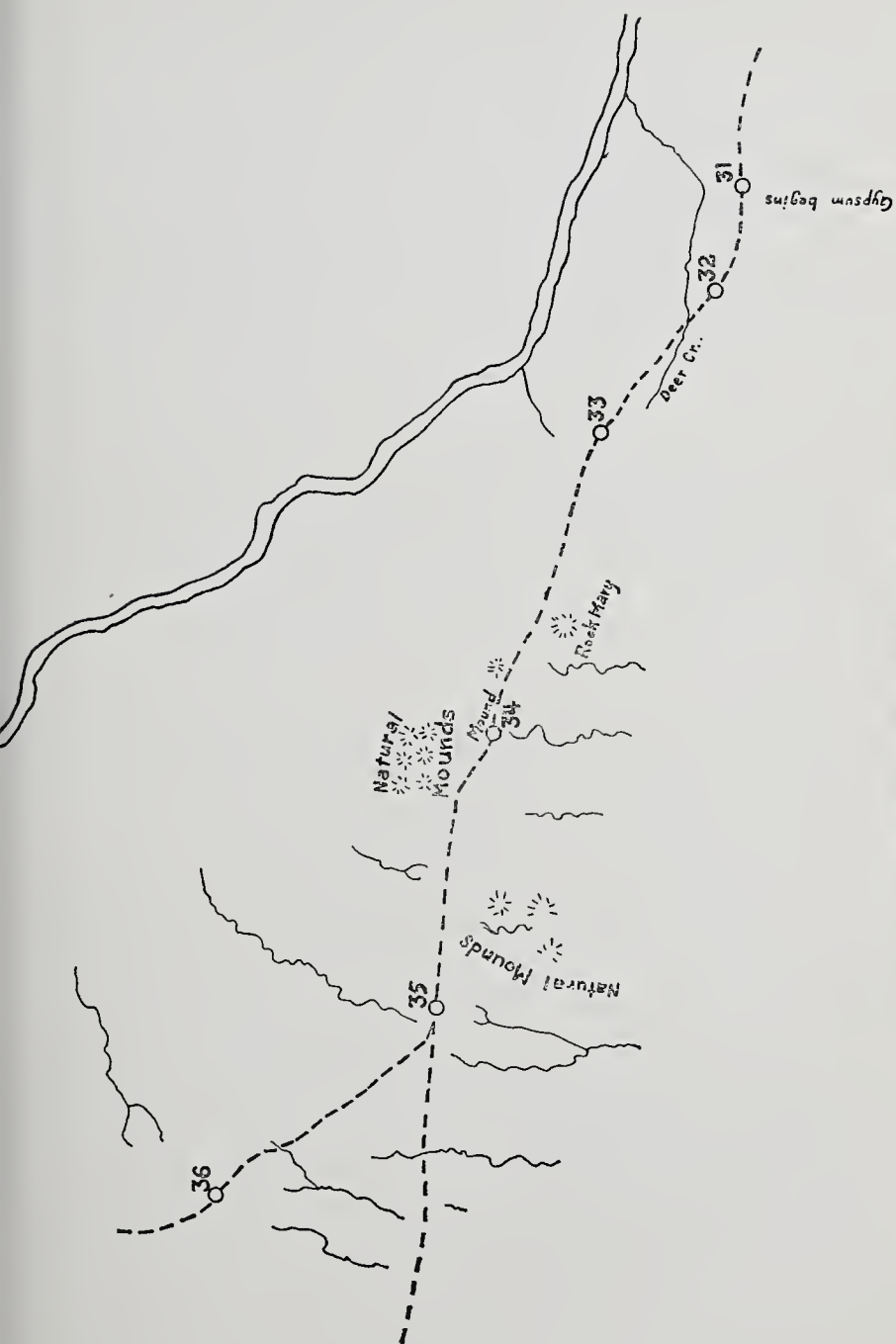
With the Simpson report is an excellent map (for the time and circumstances) which will be referred to by this Committee as the "Simpson Map." In his report, Lieutenant Simpson makes frequent reference to his "Journal" and efforts of the Committee to locate the original of the journal in the National Archives have been unsuccessful.

Lieutenant Simpson explained the incompleteness of his map due to shortness of time available because of a change in his orders when he reached Santa Fe. He wrote:

The instructions having in view, upon the completion of the map and report, my entering upon a new expedition, which should be concluded before winter, I have been correspondingly hurried in their preparation, and this must be considered in connection with any defect that may be found to attach to them. The maps, however, I am inclined to believe, will be found full and complete in relation to every want which the emigrant or traveller might reasonably expect to have gratified.

In regard to the details of latitude and longitude, as well as the minute description of the route from day to day as we traveled it—all of which is necessary for a full expression of the country, physical and geographical, and as it affected the emigrants and the troops—this it is in my power to give; but, on account of the short notice at which I have been instructed to furnish the maps and report, they must necessarily be deferred till after I return from the new exploration upon which I am ordered.

The whole distance from Fort Smith to Santa Fe having been measured by a chain (Gunters chain or surveyor's chain is 4 rods or 66 feet and each link is 7.92 inches) and the bearings taken as far as Topofki Creek, by Captain Dent, and under my direction, every mile



Simpson's Map of Marcy's Route.
Reduced to same Scale as 1954 Base Map (1 inch = 12.6 mi).

for the balance of the way, the data furnished by these means, in connection with a knowledge of the magnetic variation which my observations from time to time enabled me to obtain, have, with the occasional interpolation of an astronomical result, afforded me the means of getting up a series of maps which, I trust, will not be without their value to the emigrant and traveler.

The maps, four in number, have been plotted upon the large scale of ten miles to the inch.

The Marcy Expedition also used a viameter, an instrument attached to the wheel of a wagon, and by counting the revolutions of the wheel and multiplying that sum by the circumference of the wheel the distance could be determined, though less accurately than the chain method.

INTRODUCTION

The appellation given this land feature on Wednesday, May 23, 1849, by Lieutenant Simpson and his friends became widespread in its use, and the name Rock Mary appears in a number of subsequent reports and writings. These were all examined by the Committee to obtain as much background information as possible, and were all searched for possible clues to aid in the identification.

Captain Marcy, Lieutenant Simpson's commanding officer, although present at the time, did not find it of sufficient interest to include the name in his own report³ and journal of the expedition. He wrote of the buttes in general:

Continuing on this "Divide" for thirteen miles we passed several high mounds of a very soft red sandstone, rising up almost perpendicularly out of the open table land, and can be seen for a long distance before reaching them. At the base of the southern mound, following an old Indian trail, it led us down into a deep ravine, where there is a fine spring of cool water, with wood and grass.

Notwithstanding the absence of any reference by Captain Marcy to the name Rock Mary, the Committee found it most important to turn to the Marcy report, as supplemented by Lieutenant Simpson, for the necessary preliminary information concerning the route prior to reaching Rock Mary, the camps, the character of the topography, and the other natural features needful as introductory to the location of the specific terrain feature in question.

The earliest sketch or drawing of the remarkable land features generally referred to as "the Natural Mounds" was done

³ *Executive Document No. 64*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, is the *Report of the Secretary of War*, transmitting the *Report of Captain R. B. Marcy*, Nov. 20, 1849

on October 1, 1845, by Lieut. J. W. Abert, also of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, upon his journey from Bent's Fort, Colorado, to Fort Gibson. He sketched the buttes from a vantage point on the north side of the Canadian, and from some eight miles away, with such accuracy that, based upon the location of Rock Mary as determined by our field investigation this Committee is satisfied that Rock Mary was located too far to his left to have been included in Lieutenant Abert's drawing.⁴

The Committee examined the detailed reports of the explorations of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple and his party who in 1853 traversed Oklahoma surveying a possible railroad route to the Pacific. These reports,⁵ known generally as the *Pacific Railroad Reports*, are very complete and comprehensive. In the section captioned *Itinerary*, Whipple reports:

August 29—Camp 29. Have travelled to-day nineteen miles, passing "Rock Mary" and other mounds accurately described by Simpson and others. The first part of the march was over a pleasant country, with occasional springs, and a view of the Cross Timbers to the left. But entering among the remnants of mesas called "natural mounds" we found ourselves in the midst of a desert of sand. The mounds looked like the evil genii of an evil place, and we became impatient to reach the end of this dreary waste. At length, after going about ten miles, grass began to appear, and a rivulet was found, affording a place for camp.

The "Itinerary" portion of the *Railroad Reports* was that used by Dr. Grant Foreman⁶ in editing his volume, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest*, and has been widely studied. At this page of the "Itinerary" appears the woodcut entitled "Rock Mary," which is the picture so often used. It should be noted that this woodcut has many differences from the original Möllhausen drawing in the Oklahoma Historical Society's Whipple Collection.⁷ This circumstance will be alluded to later in this report.

The "Itinerary" is followed by a further report by Lieutenant Whipple, "Report on the Topographical Features and Character of the Country." In this section (at page 11) Lieutenant Whipple writes:

Leaving Deer Creek, we again crossed a series of plains intersected by small arroyos; the Cross Timbers being visible upon our left until we reached "Rock Mary", one of the so-called natural mounds,

⁴ *Executive Document No. 438*, 29th Congress, 1st Session, in the Report of the Secretary of War, June 12, 1846, transmitting the *Report* and maps of Lieut. J. W. Abert, dated August 9, 1845.

⁵ *Executive Document No. 78*, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session. Volume III of the series is Lieut. A. W. Whipple, *Report of Explorations for a Railway Route near of Thirty-fifth Parallel of North Latitude, from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean*. Report dated June 30, 1855 (Washington, 1856).

⁶ Grant Foreman, *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (Norman, 1941).

⁷ For details of the Whipple Collection, see "Itemized List of the Whipple Collection," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950) p. 231.



Blake's Map of Whipple's Route. Scale: 1 inch = 18.4 miles.

which are from seventy-five to one hundred feet in height. These are horizontally stratified, and appear to be isolated remnants of the mesa formation which once covered this region. Beyond, the surface is level, sandy, and covered with extensive beds of gypsum of the best quality.

The stream referred to by Lieut. Whipple as Deer Creek is identified as Spring Creek in Captain Marcy's report, and is today known as Boggy Creek.⁸

⁸ This stream appears as Spring Creek in Marcy's Report and as Deer Creek in Whipple's Report. At present it is known both as "Boggy Creek" and "Buggy Creek." Remarkably, on State Highway 37, both names are used by the Highway Department at different crossings. The U.S. Geological Survey (1898-99) Map shows this creek as "Buggy Creek." There is a tradition that the creek was named for one "Boggy" Johnson whose family had cattle ranches in this area after the period of the Civil War. Montford Johnson, a prominent Chickasaw rancher and stockman, bought out an old ranch at Silver City (2 miles north of Tuttle) in 1878 and another, 5 miles west, near Minco, in 1883, both in this "Boggy Creek" region. His father, Charles Johnson, better known as "Boggy Johnson," has been reported living in this region before his son, Montford, operated his ranches here.

Charles Johnson, an Englishman, was appointed U. S. Agent to the Chickasaws and came with them from Mississippi to serve at their first agency in the Indian Territory (1838), referred to as the Depot on the Boggy. This place became noted as Boggy Depot, located on Clear Boggy Creek in Atoka County. Because of his work at Boggy Depot, Charles Johnson was called "Boggy" Johnson. He married a Chickasaw, and his son, Montford, was born at Boggy

This "topographical features" section is followed by a report by William P. Blake, a geologist of the office of the U. S. Pacific Railroad Survey, captioned "Report on the Geology of the Route." Mr. Blake (page 17) refers to Rock Mary: "Rock Mary is of similar origin. This is a well-known land mark, and is a striking and interesting object to the traveller on the monotonous plains. Rock Mary owes its name to Lieutenant Simpson, who described it in his report of 1850." Blake then quotes the portion of Simpson's report on the naming of Rock Mary.

With the Blake report is an excellent map of the route showing some pertinent geology. This map gives the location of Rock Mary and an enlarged portion of the map is attached. The Committee will hereafter refer to this as the "Blake Map."

As Section Two of the Blake portion of the *Railroad Reports* is a report by Jules Marcou, a noted geologist who accompanied Lieutenant Whipple. The text is in French, with the editorial note: "This paper is a copy of Mr. Marcou's field-book, and is an exact transcript of the original rough notes as they were taken on the road or in camp." Jules Marcou (p. 130) wrote:

We followed the same very fine, red, argillaceous sandstone. The strata are horizontal, and beautiful exhibitions of denudations by water are seen. The first example near Spring Creek is composed of from eight to ten cones, having a height of about ten feet, of which Mr. Campbell made me a drawing. Afterwards, at Rock Mary, we saw eight or ten great cones truncated at the summit, and being from sixty to one hundred feet in elevation. The strata are horizontal, and thick strata of red sandstone predominate with alterations of red shales, more argillaceous and separating thin leaves. Two or three beds of siliceous limestone occur at the upper part, of a white grey color, very hard, and which have preserved the lower strata from denudation; forming natural mounds.

The Quartermaster of the Whipple Expedition was Lieutenant David S. Stanley. In his personal diary,⁹ not intended by him as a formal or official report, he wrote:

Monday 29th. Left the head of Deer Creek and marched twenty miles on the slope of the Canadian. The first part of the road hilly and the last few miles of the march level. We passed today the natural mounds of Marcy and the Rock Mary. These mounds are very curious in their appearance, some of them presenting the shapes of sugar loaves and others pyramidal shapes as you approach them. They are made up of fragments of sandstone and must at one time have been a high range which the action of the elements has worn down in parts, leaving these natural mounds, which appear more strange, rising as they do from the level surface of the prairie.

Depot. The Chickasaw agency was moved to near Fort Washita in 1844, and the agents were changed but Charles "Boggy" Johnson remained a well known figure and inter-married citizen of the Chickasaw Nation for many years. He moved over to the western part of the Nation about the time of the founding of Fort Arbuckle (1852).

⁹ Lona Shawyer, "Stanley Explores Oklahoma", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1944) p. 266.

In addition to the foregoing formal reports of Lieut. Whipple, and his staff, his long hand field notes are extant, and form the basis of the Whipple collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society. In his original notebook,¹⁰ prepared no doubt on the spot and at the time of his visit, he wrote: "*Monday Aug. 29th.* Got a late start but traveled 19 miles to Camp 29. Passed today Rock Mary and other hills similar to Simpsons description. Water courses frequent to the right and left. Encamped on fine spring flowing rapidly toward the Canadian. Water and grass yet abundant."

With the Whipple Expedition as botanist and artist was Baldwin Möllhausen. His own published account¹¹ of his famous journey to the Pacific makes these references to Rock Mary:

Where heavy rains have laid bare the ground, you see a reddish loam, crossed by white streaks of gypsum, which broaden as they proceed westward, until they reach the enormous bed of gypsum that begins at Fort Mary (*sic*) and the Natural Mounds (p. 133).

We made a good day's march from the point where Deer Creek is crossed, to the spot where you first catch sight of Rock Mary and the Natural Mounds, a group of bold steep hills in the thenceforward treeless plain. Up to this point no particular change in the character of the scenery is perceptible; there is the same juicy green in the prairies, the same low gnarled oaks in the woods, the same level road over which waggons and horses proceed at the same steady pace (p. 141).

Mile after mile was passed, and the sun was sinking in the west when our train of waggons passed Rock Mary to the northward, winding among the hills, westward of which our camp was to be pitched for the night, near a brook whose vicinity had long been manifested by the presence of cotton-wood trees. The Natural Mounds, the chief of which bears the name of Rock Mary, are a chain of conical hills, lying separate, but scattered in a direction from north-west to south-east; they are all about equal in height, namely, about eighty feet, and covered with a horizontal stratum of red sandstone. They appear to be the remains of a former elevated plain, which has been preserved from complete destruction by the upright masses of rock contained in it; and this seems the more probable, because on the flat plains to the west, you find what looks like a range of columns; consisting of blocks of sandstone lying so regularly one upon another, that it is not easy at first to be convinced that these—not perhaps imposing, but certainly surprising structures, have been formed solely by the hand of nature, or left thus after a comparatively recent convulsion (p. 153).

¹⁰ The original Whipple Journals were edited and published by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, "The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950) p. 276.

¹¹ Heinrich Baldwin Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific*, translated by Mrs. Percy Sinnett (London, 1858) 2 vols. The Oklahoma portion of the *Diary* has been edited by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, "Artist Möllhausen in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (Winter 1953-54) p. 392.

It is important to understand that Möllhausen was writing in German, and the translation into English was done in England by a translator unfamiliar with the local situation or physical facts.

In the fall of 1858 Lieutenant Edward F. Beale was directed to survey a route from Fort Smith along the Canadian River to the Colorado. He passed along by Rock Mary, and reports:¹²

Nov. 29—Travelling over a magnificent prairie nine miles, with abundant timber in sight and occasional herds of buffalo, we passed the Rock Mary, a singular sandstone butte with forked summit, about two miles to our left, and soon after encamped near some curious sandstone buttes, which I called after the commander of my escort, "Steen's Buttes." From the one nearest us, which I ascended, the view was magnificent. Off to the south sixty or seventy miles the Wichita Mountains were in plain sight, and also many wooded lines marking water-courses and ravines leading to the Washita. To the west the boundless prairie spread out before us, and to the north the timber of the Clear Creek could be traced to its mouth in the Canadian, the line of which latter stream was well defined by its timber and banks.

The name Enoch Steen is important in the history of Oklahoma, and the Committee feels it most appropriate that his name survives in our state in this manner.

In 1860 the Abbé Em. Domenech published in London¹³ a report on his experiences during seven years of missionary and religious work in the Southwestern United States. He writes of Rock Mary (Vol. I, p. 159) either from personal observation or from a careful reference to Lieutenant Simpson:

On the right bank of the Canadian, and at a short distance from the river, is to be seen a series of natural tumuli, and of columns of sandstone, varying from sixty to ninety feet in height, which resemble the gigantic pillars of a colossal temple. Among the most curious of the tumuli we must cite the Rock Mary, which looks like an observatory, similar in form to a sugar-loaf, and is surmounted by two turrets of singularly graceful effect. These earthly masses appear to be the remnants of a geological formation, superior to the actual soil and decidedly more ancient. In all probability they were caused by the powerful action of the great inundations of the deluvian epoch, rather than by the slow effects of rain and time. Be this as it may, it is evident that an upper crust, composed principally of red sandstone, covered all this country many centuries ago; this crust has been ploughed up and almost entirely carried off by the floods; there now only remain a few vestiges of it scattered over the surface of the ground, but still erect, as if to invite science to penetrate the secrets of the wilderness.

¹² *Executive Document No. 42*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Lieut. E. F. Beale's Report of a wagon road from Fort Smith to the Colorado River. The Oklahoma portion has been reprinted in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 1, (March, 1934) p. 89.

¹³ The Abbe Em. Domenech, *Seven Years' Residence in the Great Deserts of North America*, London, 1860 (2 vols.).

Facing this page in his narrative, the Abbé has inserted a colored lithograph of a mound with two turrets and appearing somewhat like the Möllhausen drawing. This picture is captioned "Natural Hill" and it may be that the Abbé intended this to be a representation of Rock Mary. However, after careful study and comparison, this Committee believes that it is more likely a copy of a colored lithograph captioned, "A Conical Hill, 500 Feet High, Standing in the Valley of Laguna Colorado," appearing in the Blake portion of Volume III of the *Railroad Reports* (p. 25).

With these citations to the historical references to this land feature, the Committee then turned its attention to a preliminary investigation, prior to the trip to the field, of the possible locations of Rock Mary and means for its identification.

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION

The conspicuous buttes pictured by Abert, and referred to in all the reports, are composed of shale and capped by the resistant Weatherford dolomite, which occur in the lower part of the Cloud Chief formation in this area, and are underlain by the Rush Springs sandstone. All these rocks are of Permian age. Marcou described the rock now called Weatherford dolomite as "beds of siliceous limestone . . . of a white grey color, very hard, and which have preserved the lower strata from denudation; forming natural mounds."

The Rush Springs sandstone in this area is of fairly uniform character and thickness, and is one of the principal sources of ground water in western central Oklahoma. Consequently, the area of its outcrop abounds with springs and constant-flow streams, and is further characterized by a dense growth of black-jack oak—the "Upper Cross Timbers" of Marcy and others. Perhaps the most conspicuous character of the Rush Springs sandstone is the large-scale cross-bedding or false-bedding, in which laminations inclined 20° to 30° from the horizontal extend through a thickness of five to forty feet, separated by horizontal strata six inches to two feet thick. The surface of the Rush Springs sandstone has been extensively dissected by erosion into a rough terrain, with numerous small, and a few moderately large, buttes rising above the general surface.

The Committee is indebted to Dr. Carl C. Branson, Director of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, for making available the aerial photographs of the area. With the help of Dr. William Ham and Mrs. Mildred Reeds of the Survey, the Committee was afforded a close and excellent examination of the region, and the viewing of each of the terrain features with the stereoscopic aids was most valuable.

It was at once apparent to the Committee that the first step should be a correlation and adjustment between the Simpson and Blake maps and, in turn, both to modern maps of the area. The U. S. Geological Survey geologic map of 1954 and the Binger Quadrangle (15" series) topographic sheet were utilized. By photographic reproduction the Simpson, Blake and geologic maps were rendered to the same scale and compared by over-lays.

The Committee agreed upon the following ties between the three maps:

1. Near Minco (Township 10 North, Range 7 West) :

- a. All three maps are in close agreement on the big bend of Boggy Creek. Correlation was assumed by the Committee.
- b. Marcy's Camp 31 is two miles south of this big bend.
- c. Whipple's Camp 26 is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles southeast of the big bend (Blake map) and would be about at the northwest corner of Section 13.
- d. The Marlow formation contains some gypsum and crops out in this vicinity. This would correlate with "Gypsum begins" of the Simpson map and "We have seen detached pieces of gypsum today" of Marcy.
- e. The Canadian River on Blake map is in fair agreement with modern maps from Township 12 North, Range 10 West all the way to Township 10 North, Range 6 West.
- f. Southward flowing streams south of Camp 26 (Blake map) could be forks of Salt Creek south of Minco in northern Grady County.

2. Near Weatherford :

- a. From Camp 34 to Camp 35 (May 24), along a road on the divide between the Canadian and Washita Rivers, Marcy reported: "We are now passing through a country where gypsum is found in great quantities at our encampment tonight we have water that is bitter and unpalatable." This is the first mention of gypsum since Camp 31; and Marcy reports Gypsum in the next four day's travel. They are thus traveling on the outcrop of Cloud Chief formation.
- b. At Camp 35, Simpson map shows small streams flowing north and south from the divide, which have resemblance to drainage on modern maps in Weatherford area.
- c. The hachures on Blake map between Whipple's Camps 29 and 30 must represent the escarpment of Cloud Chief gypsum. The position is in close agreement with outcrops and outliers in Townships 11 and 12 North, Ranges 13 to 15 West on modern maps. Whipple reports an abundance of gypsum. The gap in escarpment through which Whipple passed (Blake map) is certainly near Weatherford; and seems close to Marcy's Camp 35. Correlation was assumed by the Committee.
- d. The Washita River and its north tributaries shown on Blake map in Townships 12 and 13 North, Ranges 17 and 18 West match quite well with modern maps.

The Committee made every effort to correlate the route of Simpson and Marcy and the route of Whipple with modern maps. The following correlations were deemed important:

1. Location of Camp 33:

- a. Marcy on May 22 continued up the south side of Boggy Creek three miles (from Camp 32), crossed to the divide between Spring [Boggy] Creek and the Canadian River one mile from the latter; continued same distance from the river to the head of Spring [Boggy] Creek to Camp 33. Simpson map shows Camp 33 six or seven miles from the Canadian River. It is necessary to locate this camp about four miles from the river to fit all subsequent ties.
- b. Marcy on May 23 turned slightly to left and after two miles struck the main divide between the Canadian and Washita Rivers. This divide is narrow and may be precisely located on modern maps, and the Committee believes that the route for May 23 may thus be determined exactly.
- c. Simpson wrote that from Camp 33 the party proceeded about a mile and saw hills of singular shape North 70° West. If his bearing was correct and at the time he was located on the main divide, his bearing was from a point of observation somewhere near the center of Township 11 North, Range 10 West. The Committee determined to survey this area in the field and try and locate a vantage point for an observation as described by Simpson.

2. Location of the mounds:

- a. Leaving Camp 33, Marcy turned left and after two miles struck the main divide; and then continued on the divide for thirteen miles and passed several mounds. At the base of the southern mound he reported an Indian trail leading to deep ravine and spring. This could be either the hill in Sections 8 and 9, Twp. 11 North, Range 12 West; or the "Lone Mound" in Section 3; or the easternmost mound located in Section 1. The Committee was unable to determine which mound Marcy called the southern mound.
- b. Simpson's map shows Camp 34 southeast of a stylized group of six mounds, four miles west of another mound north of the road, and about seven miles northwest of Rock Mary, which is shown south of the route. Rock Mary is shown on the Simpson map as eleven miles west of Camp 33.
- c. The route may be plotted on modern maps, but the distances from Camp 33 to the mounds are about three miles too great when compared with Simpson's map and Marcy's journal.
- d. The mounds shown on the Simpson Map do not fit the modern geologic map. The Committee assumed that the group of six are those prominent mounds in the south-east portion of Township 12 North, Range 13 West, but if so they are shown by Simpson about six miles too far northeast. Also they fail to correlate with the Blake map by about the same distance.

- e. On the Blake Map the eastern mound fits with the mounds in the southeast portion of Township 12 North, Range 13 East.

After the completion of the foregoing preliminary correlation of the three maps, the Committee met for the evening of Friday, March 25, 1960, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Frizzell, and entered upon a study of the material and the initial correlation of the maps in order to adopt the tenets, limiting factors and other principles required before any given mound meets the tests required for Rock Mary:

After a discussion of all of the foregoing, the following were considered by the Committee, and became a part of the necessary tests required for Rock Mary.

1. Simpson wrote, "Nearing the first of these singularly formed hills, and it appearing more oddly shaped than the others. . . ." This establishes Rock Mary as (a) the easternmost, and (b) most oddly shaped.
2. Simpson wrote Rock Mary is "situated solitarily in a prairie plain. . . ." This establishes that Rock Mary is by itself and not in a group of other mounds.
3. The dimensions are given by Simpson as 60 feet in height and 200 feet in diameter.
4. To qualify the rock must at least resemble the woodcut in Whipple's report and the Möllhausen drawing.
5. Both the Simpson and Blake maps agree essentially on the general position of Rock Mary, but place its location in about the center of Township 11 North, Range 11 West, in Sugar Creek Valley and five miles south of the divide between the Canadian and the Washita.

As any location such as in Sugar Creek Valley (necessary if the maps are to be relied upon literally) would require rejection because that would not be in a prairie plain, and furthermore, anything in such a location would be difficult or impossible to be seen by a stranger travelling for the first time along the divide between the two rivers. In view of this the Committee agreed to place the map locations as shown by Simpson and Blake secondary to the written descriptions, but also agreed that the maps would be of primary use in locating the general area of investigation.

Comparison of the maps of Simpson and Blake with modern maps shows a fair general agreement, and thus locates Rock Mary within a four mile circle immediately southwest of Hinton. Considering the quality of their mapping, together with the probability that features not in immediate and close proximity to their routes were sketched in, rather than measured and plotted, perhaps no closer exact ties could be expected now, over 100 years later. The stylized mapping by hachures of the six mounds northwest of Camp 34 on Simpson's map indicates by way of example the degree of sketching and improvisation.

Having confirmed the location of Rock Mary in the area southwest of Hinton, the identity of the particular hill sought to be established as Rock Mary would be established to the satisfaction of the Committee if it (1) is easternmost of the conspicuous mounds; (2) stands by itself and can be seen from the divide between the Canadian and Washita Rivers; (3) at least resembles the woodcut in the Whipple's report and the original Möllhausen drawing; and (4) answers Simpson's vivid and detailed description.

With an agreement on the essential tests required for the rock to qualify as Rock Mary, the Committee agreed to depart for the field the following morning and to check carefully each and every mound and terrain feature in the area, and upon application of the above tenets, to determine if the true Rock Mary is capable of identification.

Other spots of historic interest along the necessary route were not to be overlooked, and thus the itinerary of the Committee included places of historical interest not related to the subject at hand, but which will be included in the Committee report in the cause of completeness.

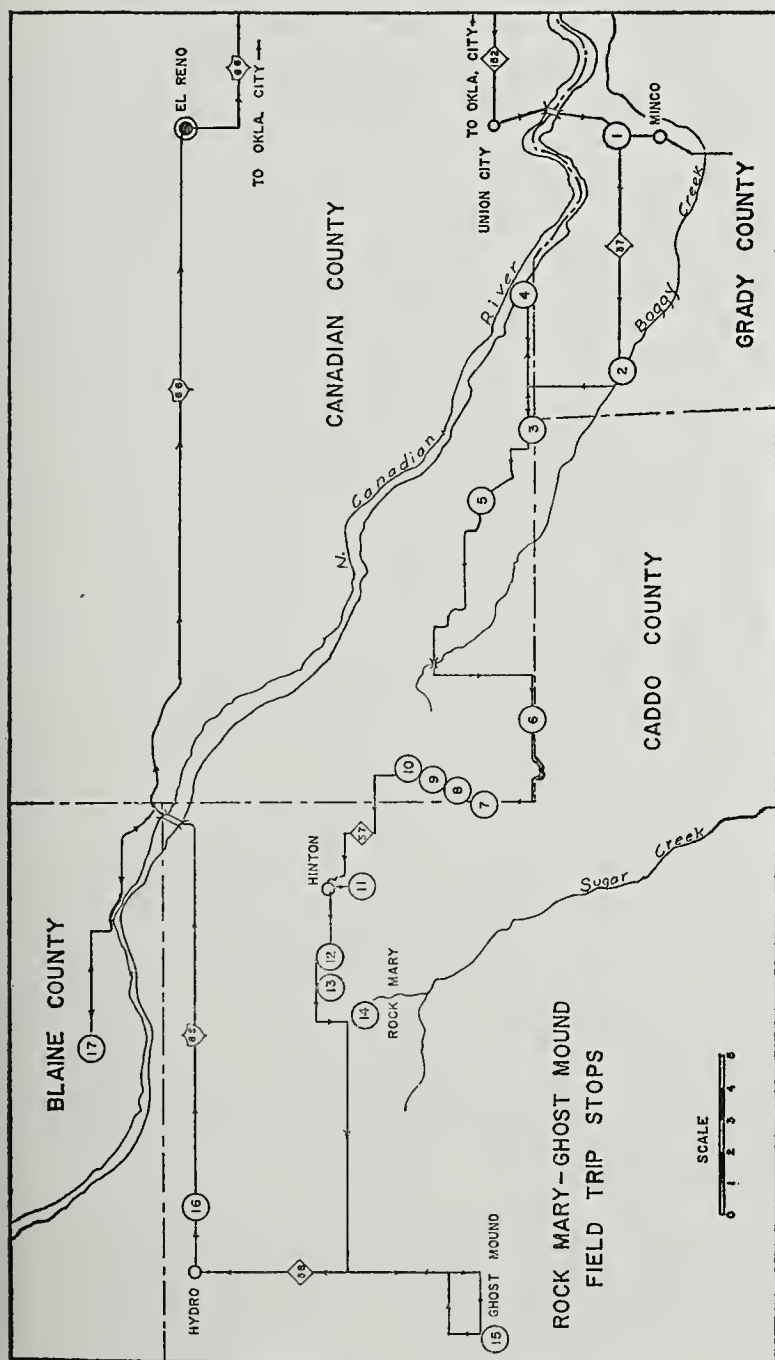
ITINERARY 1960

Stop 1. The Committee made its first stop about two miles south of the Canadian River, at the intersection of highways U.S. 81 and State 37, in northwestern Grady County. From this point the approximate location of Marcy's Camp 31 (Sec. 10, Twp. 9 N., R. 7 W.) could be seen, located south of Mineo and south of Boggy Creek. This is near the big bend of Boggy Creek where it changes the direction of its course from the southeast to northeast, flowing into the Canadian River.

Stop 2. Taking Highway 37 west from Stop 1, the Committee stopped briefly at the crossing of Boggy Creek. The Committee believes that Marcy and his emigrant train crossed Boggy Creek within a few hundred yards of the present highway bridge in Section 20, Twp. 10 N., R. 8 W.

Stop 3. To follow Marcy's route, the Committee turned north on the section line road west of the Boggy Creek bridge and proceeded north and west up onto the divide, with a stop on the township line along Section 6. From this point there is a beautiful view of the Canadian River and the site of the ford on the old military road from Darlington to Fort Sill.

Stop 4. The Committee retraced the route a few miles east, down to the south bank of the Canadian River to visit the site of the home of Major George Washington, a prosperous Caddo Indian who owned a large ranch on the south bank of



Itinerary of the Rock Mary Committee, Field Trip 1960

the river at the time of the Civil War. George Washington, Caddo Chief, was made commander of the frontier guard, "Caddo Battalion," with the rank of Major. The Guard was organized during the summer of 1864 by the Confederate military authorities to prevent raids by the Comanches and other western tribes on the frontier settlements of the more civilized Indians to the east. He accepted this responsibility with the understanding that under no condition was he to lead his band in combat against the white man. Nothing today remains of "Caddo" George Washington's once pretentious home place.

Stop 5. The Committee proceeded west past the three county (Grady, Caddo and Canadian) corner and turned northwest onto State Highway 37. At this point the highway follows closely the divide between the Washita and the Canadian watersheds. The divide is but a few feet wider than the right-of-way. Here at Stop 5, the Committee noted with great interest the extreme narrowness of the divide and that today's Highway 37 is certainly on the exact trace used by the early wagon trains.

Stop. 6. After crossing Boggy Creek near its head in Canadian County the Committee turned south on the section line road past Highland School (NE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 29, Twp. 11 N., R. 10 W.) to the Caddo County line and there turned west. Following it west as the road dips south into Caddo County and climbs up onto a divide, the Committee made Stop 6. It was from this location (NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 5, Twp. 10 N., R. 10 W.) that the Committee had the first glimpse of the Natural Mounds, some twelve miles to the northwest. A few feet south of the road at this point is a U.S.G.S. bench mark, giving the elevation as 1,631 feet. The Committee was searching the area for a view of the mounds that would comply with Simpson's bearing of "N. 70° W." although it was recognized that Stop 6 was located too far to the south.

Stop 7. The route took the Committee through Kiekapoo Creek canyon, where the route turned north on the Caddo-Canadian County line. Stop 7 was on the range line between Sections 25 and 30, Twp. 11 N., and Ranges 10 and 11 West. From this divide the Lone Mound in Section 3 was clearly visible and possibly the top of the lower mound in Section 1 (Twp. 11 N., R. 12 W.).

Stop 8. Following the dirt county road with its turn to the east, after a short distance the Committee stopped for another view of the mounds, halting on the section line between Sections 19 and 30.

Stop 9. The Committee turned north across Section 19, Twp. 11 N., R. 10 W. and followed the county road north and east to the point where it again joins Highway 37. This loop drive afforded a number of views of the mounds, but was too far

west to encircle the location of Marcy's Camp 33, believed to be somewhere in Section 30, Twp. 11 N., R. 9 W. A short distance north (between Sections 18 and 17) from the highway intersection, the Committee stopped at the 1,700 foot elevation contour for a further view of the mounds. From Stops 6 to 9 the Committee was endeavoring to find where Simpson could have been on Wednesday, May 23, 1849, when he recorded: "Proceeding on (from Camp 33) about a mile, some hills of singular shape made their appearance, for the first time, bearing north 70 degrees west; several have very much the appearance of immense Indian lodges." It is recognized that Stop 9 is more than "about a mile" from the suggested location of Camp 33, but the exact locations given by Marcy and Simpson may not today be precisely resolved.

Stop 10. Continuing farther north of Highway 37, the Committee stopped for another view from the 1,720 foot contour. Here again the divide between the two rivers narrows to approximately 100 feet, so it was evident that the point of Stop 10 was on the trace of the Marcy Expedition.

Stop 11. Noon came in the vicinity of Hinton, a modern town on the route along which the early emigrants passed. Although the day started cold, damp and overcast, by noon the sun was bright. A picnic lunch was enjoyed with the beauty of the canyon of Red Rock State Park and the protection it afforded from the north wind.

LOCATING ROCK MARY

Hinton, in Section 34, Twp. 12 N., R. 11 W., is situated exactly on the divide between the Canadian and the Washita Rivers. So located, the trace of the Marcy route passed over the present townsite. The Committee determined to depart from Hinton, keeping by the use of country roads on the crest of the divide, and to determine in this manner the most easterly of the mounds. If such a mound met the other tests, and none of the other mounds offered possibilities by reason of one or more similarities, then the Committee could materially narrow its search.

The road on the half-section line due west from Hinton follows quite well the divide in question; and upon reaching its termination at the section line between Sections 31 and 32, it was realized that the divide was moving to the north due to the northward-reaching fingers of the branches of Sugar Creek. From the highest ground in the Northeast Quarter of Section 31, there suddenly loomed into view approximately two miles to the southwest a most singular feature, resembling on the horizon a barn or other farm structure, with two projections on the top

somewhat like modern ventilators often seen on better type barns.

As the Committee proceeded west along the north line of the Section, the view became more startling; and after making the comparison to the farm building, the Committee reflected that now, one hundred years later, we were making the same comparison as did Lieutenant Simpson, each referring to a man-made structure in common understanding at the time.

Without doubt the location of the Marcy route would follow very closely to the north section line of Section 31, probably through north half of the section. In the east half of Section 36 (Twp. 12 N., R. 12 W.) is an area of high ground rising above the 1,700 contour ring; and from such a vantage point the natural feature first sighted more than a mile to the east, appeared most prominent.

Inspection revealed that the mound in question is located in The Northwest Quarter of Section 1, Twp. 11 N., R. 12 W., and it was this mound that the Committee finally determined to be the renowned Rock Mary. A deep and wooded ravine runs due north from the main thread of Sugar Creek across the center of Section 1 and north into Section 36; and so, if in fact Lieutenant Simpson caught his first glimpse from a point on or near the divide, he most certainly was in Section 36 at the moment.

The Rock is located upon the farm of Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Ballou (Box 152, Hinton). They came to the region in 1901, and their son, Frank, who now farms the place, was born on the farm in 1905. Having lived there all of his life, Frank Ballou talked with much interest of the earlier history of the area. As far as he knew, although he had long heard of "Rock Mary," no one locally had assumed that the feature on his parent's farm was Rock Mary. It has always been assumed, he reported, without localizing the rock in question, that Rock Mary was one of the more prominent land features farther to the west.

Rock Mary is located in an amphitheater shaped depression, on a slight divide formed by two small tributaries of Sugar Creek, but the base of the rock is lower than the surrounding terrain on the north and west. This circumstance makes the visibility from the north and east rather tricky, and it would have been possible for Lieut. Simpson or the others to have passed nearby and missed the view entirely. The fact that it was seen as described by Simpson makes it inescapable that the Marcy route was across Sections 31 and 36, as mentioned above.

The rim of the depression is farmed close down to the base of the rock. To reach the location, one is required to walk down across the slope of the amphitheater for a distance of several hundred yards from the Ballou barnyard. Upon reaching the site, the Committee was impressed by the accuracy of Lieutenant

Simpson's description, which is as apt and fitting today as though it had been recently penned. The size, area, character of rock, even to being "spirally corrugated" (cross-bedded) and other features were carefully checked by the Committee, and no inconsistencies were evident. A comparison of the woodcut appearing in the *Railroad Reports* and the original Möllhausen drawing of the Historical Society indicates that the Möllhausen drawing is the more accurate and probably was sketched, if made on the location, from the northwest. The delineator preparing the Whipple woodcut (it is signed "Roberts SC") in using the customary license, worked changes that are evident when both are compared on the site with the original subject.

The surface of the rock is deceptive, appearing easy of ascent, when in fact the opposite is true. The sandstone is spalling badly; and the rock is steep, with almost sheer faces 10 to twenty feet high. Actually, the ascent is quite dangerous. George Shirk and Minette Frizzell made the climb to the "two turret like projections . . . protruding from the top." For want of a flag to unfurl, they removed their coats, which while wildly whipped about by the wind became the subject of photographs from below. The south turret is higher and larger, with a flat top of several square feet, and it is not without interest to assume that it was from that perch of the two that Lieutenant J. W. Simpson proclaimed his elation. As there is not space on the south turret for two people, perhaps the second arrival found the north turret for his perch.

The use of soft soled shoes is urged for anyone wishing to make the climb, and the Committee urges that the ascent is harder than it looks. On the north turret, in a protected place, is a well defined and wind eroded carving reading *J. T. Johnson 1885*. Mr. Frank Ballou reported remembering without question seeing the carving as a boy, and there appears no reason why it should not be taken at its face value. The rock contains many other initials and names, carved here and there, but none appeared noteworthy.

After an investigation of the other candidates for Rock Mary, it was realized that all must be eliminated. Were it to be assumed that Lieutenant Simpson could have missed completely the feature in Section 1, then the very prominent Lone Mound in Section 3, which could not have been missed under any circumstance, would have been the "first of these singularly shaped hills" that he saw, and so the possibility that any other of the buttes to the west could be Rock Mary is thus eliminated. Lone Mound can be excluded because it is more than 100 feet high, compared with Simpson's figure of 60 feet, it is flat-topped and without turrets, and in all other particulars fails to answer Simpson's detailed description.

The Committee reached a final determination that the unusual land feature on the Ballou farm in the Northwest Quarter of Section 1, Twp. 11 N., R. 12 W. is in fact the celebrated and famous Rock Mary. All of the tests or requirements laid out previously by the Committee had been met, and the feature fits in every detail.

The Committee gave attention to locating some spot or place on the surrounding terrain from which a view identical to that of the Whipple woodcut or the original Möllhausen drawing (Oklahoma Historical Society) would be possible. There appears to be no such location. The Möllhausen drawing does not bear the caption Rock Mary, which title has been added in the printed Whipple report. To this there appears little significance. The Committee concluded that as the original Möllhausen drawing in the Society's collection is on clean, unworn and unsoiled paper, it must have been made by the artist at a studio or similar location, using perhaps rough sketches made at the time of his visit and later lost. At such time, Möllhausen no doubt exercised the artist's prerogative of adding features for the sake of a pleasing design. The delineator Roberts when he prepared the drawing for the woodcut in the Whipple Report, never having seen Rock Mary personally, used further and additional license, even to the extent of adding a third Indian rider in the foreground.

GHOST MOUND

While in the region, the Committee wished to locate Ghost Mound, a terrain feature of importance in Indian lore like Lover's Leap (Medicine Bluff No. 3) of the Medicine Creek locality. The section line road just north of the Ballou quarter-section is open to the west, passing to the north of Lone Mound (Section 3) and to the south of the six buttes in Twp. 12 N., R. 13 W., to its junction with State Highway 58. Four miles south of the junction, the Committee turned west and located Ghost Mound in the Northwest Quarter of Section 30, Twp. 11 N., R. 13 W., just east of the Washita County line. The feature is quite interesting in appearance, and presents a difficult climb for the hearty. There is much local legend and lore connected with Ghost Mound, and the Committee hopes that its exact location will continue a matter of permanent record and that it becomes more widely known.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS¹⁴

The Committee concludes and recommends:

1. That the natural feature in the Northwest Quarter of Section 1, Twp. 11 N., R. 12 W. is Rock Mary. This is not subject to serious challenge when the facts are analyzed in detail and with care.

2. That the Möllhausen drawing of the Society is more accurate than the woodcut in the *Railroad Reports*, and was apparently sketched from a point northwest of the mound, although there may be some point east of Rock Mary, from which a view could be secured resembling the background of the Möllhausen drawing.

3. That the foreground appearing in both drawings is inaccurate, and was added for artistic effect without regard for literal accuracy.

4. That two on-site (Type B) markers be placed at Rock Mary. One should be at the base, facing west, telling of the Rock; and the other, without concrete pedestal, placed directly on the north face of the south turret, giving recognition to Lieutenant Simpson's romantic exploit on Wednesday, May 23, 1849.

5. That the present road side (Type A) marker now on U. S. Highway 66 be moved to a location on the south edge of the town of Hinton, and no change in text or directional wording would be required; and that an additional Type A marker, devoted to Rock Mary, be placed south of Hinton in connection with Red Rock State Park. It is realized that Rock Mary may not be seen from such location, but as State Parks always contain sight-seers and others with leisure time, such a location would reach the greatest number of people.

6. That a new Type A marker to be denominated "Steen's Buttes" be prepared for a suitable location along U. S. Highway 66 near the Hinton junction.

7. That a Type B marker be placed north of the Canadian River, at a suitable location on high ground, to indicate the site from which Lieut. Abert paused on October 1, 1845, to sketch the buttes to the south.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert H. Dott, Chairman
Mildred Armor Frizzell
John D. Frizzell
R. G. Miller
George H. Shirk
Muriel H. Wright

¹⁴ Enclosures: The Committee adds as Annexes which are found here in this report:

- a. Map of Committee's itinerary.
- b. Simpson map enlarged to 1:300,000 scale.
- c. Blake map enlarged to 1:300,000 scale.
- d. U.S.G.S. Binger Quadrangle (15' series) 1951.
- e. Overlay of U.S.G.S. geologic map, 1954.
- f. Collection of photographs taken by the Committee March 26, 1960.

APPENDIX

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

Aerial photographs (taken from airplanes at high altitudes) of the earth's surface are beneficial to the historians as well as the geologists and countless other science.

The exact culture of an area may be seen on an aerial photograph. A geologic map shows only those landmarks considered essential by the maker of the map.

The relief of the surface as seen on aerial photographs is in complete detail. This is most helpful in locating old trails and natural landmarks.

Aerial photographs are completely objective. This is a quality essential to all fields of research.

The photos (stereo pair) reproduced here are from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Commodity Stabilization Service, Western division, Salt Lake City, Utah. A set covering the entire state of Oklahoma is available and would be a great asset to the Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

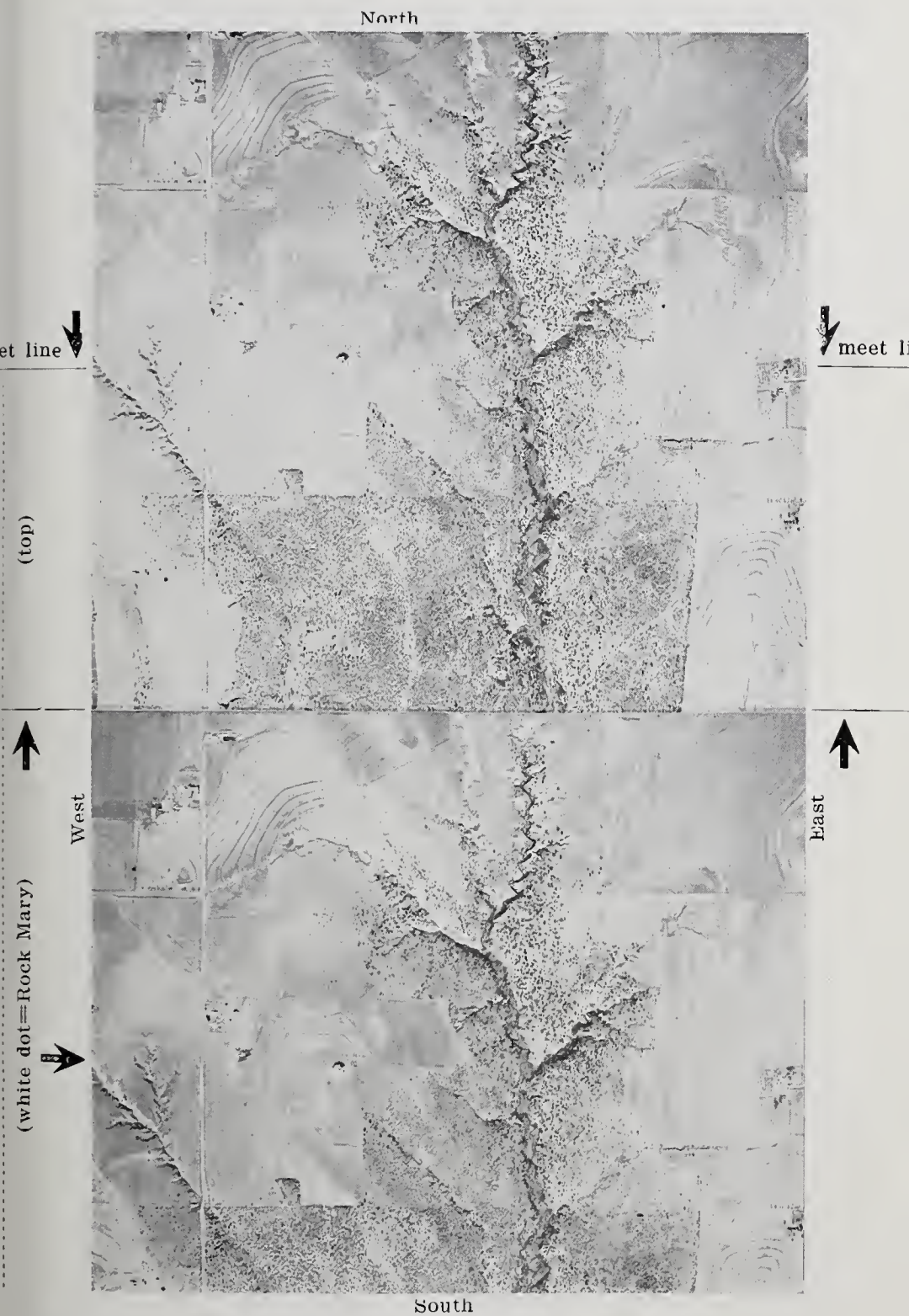
The relief of the surface appears flat on these aerial photographs, therefore it is necessary to use some means of bringing out the relief to get the full benefit of these photos. This can be accomplished by viewing the pictures through a stereoscope which is an optical apparatus that gives relief to the aerial photographs.

This same stereoscopic effect can be obtained by viewing simultaneously a pair of overlapping aerial photographs which present different viewpoints of the same area, in such a manner that the view of each eye is restricted to a single photograph.

We have reproduced for study, the stereo pair of Rock Mary and vicinity. Rock Mary is the small light colored dot seen in the west or top half of each photograph.

A conscientious study of these photos will bring out two conditions necessary for the formation of natural erosional remnants similar to the natural mounds. First, soft easily eroded formations capped with a more resistive rock; and second, rapidly eroding streams such as Sugar Creek and its tributaries, seen in the foreground of these photos.

By placing a hand lens over Rock Mary after it is in stereoscopic focus, one can see the two turrets on top that are composed of a more resistive rock which has helped to form this natural



mound. It is evident from this aerial photograph that Rock Mary is in the edge of the original Cross Timber region. Near the turn of the century, the land was cleared for cultivation. The aerial photograph reveals these facts and considerable subsequent erosion of high land around Rock Mary.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR STEREOSCOPIC EFFECT

1. Cut the page free along the dotted line.
2. Fold free part of page along fold line.
3. Make a pleat in the page by bringing the arrow point on the fold line (left or south photo) over (on top) to meet arrow point on top of right photo. This will bring the fold line to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch of Rock Mary on the right or north photo.
4. Hold the page (west side at top) about six inches from your eyes. Fix your eyes on this page as if you were staring into infinity.
5. *Relax and Slowly* extend your arms to your normal reading position. The relief will jump out at you when the proper distance has been reached for your vision. Unless you are skilled in the study of stereoscopic pairs it will be necessary to repeat this procedure many times before your eyes adjust to this technique. Here patience, practice and perseverance will pay off in a thrilling experience when the photos go into focus and reveal the relief of Rock Mary and vicinity.
6. After the photos are in perfect stereoscopic focus, slowly open out the pleat of the page and widen your vision to cover an area approximately one mile square.

(M. A. F.)

LIEUTENANT SIMPSON'S CALIFORNIA ROAD ACROSS OKLAHOMA

By Robert H. Dott

United States history is replete with periods of territorial expansion. That of the Mid-Nineteenth Century, if not the most significant, certainly involved the greatest distances and the greatest areas.

Texas was annexed in 1845, Oregon was acquired in 1846, New Mexico and California in 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase was made in 1853. The Nation extended from coast to coast; its "manifest destiny" had been realized.

These Mid-Nineteenth Century acquisitions added approximately 1,200,000 square miles of territory. This is an area greater than the total ownership of the thirteen original states—the area east of the Mississippi River, except Florida—or the Louisiana Purchase, which were 723,000 and 865,000 square miles, respectively.

These outlying regions immediately began to fill up by emigration from east of the Mississippi River—men and women in wagon trains crossing half a continent to reach and make their new homes.

The Santa Fe Trail from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, already was an important trade route. During this fifth decade, a wagon road was opened up the North Platte River and westward through South Pass to Utah, California and Oregon.

News of the discovery of gold in California set off a tide of migration that demanded additional routes of travel. Steamboats plied the Missouri River to Independence and St. Joseph—the jumping-off places for the Santa Fe and the California trails, respectively.

Boats also reached Fort Smith, Arkansas, which thus became a natural gateway for a route west along the Arkansas and the Canadian rivers. It was thought that this route would be as easy as the more northerly ones, and probably a little shorter.

Possibilities of this route were not entirely unknown. Traders were hauling goods 100 miles from Fort Smith and Van Buren, Arkansas, and Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, to North Fork Town (near present Eufaula), a Creek village at the junction of the Canadian and North Canadian rivers; and on another 60 miles to Edwards' Store at Little River settlement adjacent to Old Fort Holmes and the Seminole Agency. In 1835, Colonel

Auguste Pierre Chouteau had taken a stock of goods to near present Lexington in Cleveland County, 50 miles west of Edwards' Store, for trade with the Comanches and other Plains Indians assembled for a conference with U.S. Commissioners. Chouteau's route was north of the Canadian river.

In 1839, Josiah Gregg, an important figure in early Santa Fe trade, transported a \$25,000 cargo in wagons from Van Buren to Santa Fe over a route that crossed the Arkansas at Webber's Falls, above the mouth of the Canadian; thence to the crossing of the North Canadian, a few miles east of North Fork Town, and on out to Edwards' Store, following the divide between the Canadian and North Canadian rivers beyond the boundaries of present Oklahoma. Gregg returned in 1840, along the south side of the Canadian River which he crossed near present Fay, southeastern Dewey County, and from there picked up his own outbound route.¹ In 1845, Lieutenant James W. Abert, a member of Fremont's third expedition in the west, traveled eastward along Gregg's route from Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River (in eastern Colorado), on a reconnaissance into Northern Texas.

Congress instructed the War Department to find a suitable route south of the Canadian River, from Fort Smith to Santa Fe and on to California. The assignment was given to Captain Randolph B. Marcy who started out from Fort Smith with his command on April 5, 1849, to establish such a road and, also, to escort a large party of California "gold seekers" who cared to travel with him.

Evidently traffic over the California Road was comparable to that on the Santa Fe Trail, for the Seminole Indian Agent reported that 1,500 to 2,000 emigrants passed his Agency (near present Sasakwa, in Seminole County) during the month of June, 1849.² Popularity of this route must have waned for a time since the report of the Pacific Railway Survey under Lieutenant A. W. Whipple traveling the same route four years later makes no mention of California emigrants. After the Civil War, however, it was a main traveled road west in the Indian Territory for many years.

Railroads had crossed the Alleghenies, and were nearing the Mississippi River; and expansionists were clamoring for a railroad to the Pacific when Congress in 1853 authorized three surveys to find the most feasible route: (1) between the 47th and the 49th parallels, near the border of Canada, (2) along the 38th and the 39th parallels west from Independence, and (3) near the 35th parallel, west from Fort Smith.

¹Max L. Moorehead, Editor, *Josiah Gregg's Commerce of the Prairie* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1954), p. 327.

²Grant Foreman, *Marcy & the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939), p. 51.

Lieutenant A. W. Whipple was given command of the 35th Parallel survey, and left Fort Smith July 14, 1853, the survey adhering closely to the California Road which Marcy had established. Descriptions of the California Road of both the Marcy and the Whipple expeditions were published as United States Executive documents, by the Senate and the House of Representatives in 1850 and 1856.³ The text of the Whipple Expedition appearing in this Government document was adapted and modified for this publication from the original journals kept by Lieutenant Whipple on the Pacific Railway Survey in 1853. There are twenty-four of these original journals in the Whipple Collection, one of the most valuable collections in the Oklahoma Historical Society. The complete text of four of these original Whipple journals covering the Oklahoma section of the Railway Survey of 1853 (35th Parallel) was published with annotations and original illustrations in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in 1950.⁴

The two government reports of 1850 and 1856, describing the California Road—Marcy's report, supplemented by a wealth of material gleaned from newspapers and other contemporary sources, and the "Itinerary" portion of Whipple's published report—have been reprinted by the University of Oklahoma Press in two works edited and annotated by Grant Foreman, entitled *Marcy & the Gold Seekers* (1939) and *A Pathfinder in the Southwest* (1941). Dr. Foreman's notes in these two volumes have been a great help in preparing this paper for publication in *The Chronicles*.

Among the materials used by Dr. Foreman in *Marcy & the Gold Seekers*, supplemental to Marcy's report, is a noteworthy report by Captain Frederick T. Dent to General Mathew Arbuckle. Captain Dent was ordered by General Arbuckle to proceed with a detachment of troops, to open up a road from Fort Smith as far west as the site of Chouteau's old trading post (north of present Lexington, Cleveland County) over which the Marcy Expedition could travel. Captain Dent left Fort Smith on March 14, 1849, to make the preliminary examination of this route.⁵ His report describes the features of the country along the route in considerable detail, and that portion devoted to the California Road between Fort Smith and Delaware Mount

³ Lieut. A. W. Whipple, "Itinerary," *Report of Explorations for a Railway Route, Near the 35th Parallel of North Latitude, from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, Vol. III, Part I, 33d. Cong., 2d Sess., House Ex. Doc. 91, S. Ex. Doc. 78 (Washington, 1856); and Randolph B. Marcy, "Report of the Route from Fort Smith to Santa Fe," 31st Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 64 (Published, 1850).

⁴ Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, "The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950), pp. 235-83.

⁵ Foreman (1939), *op cit.*, p. 132.

(present Ada, in Pontotoc County) is of more interest, historically, than the descriptions of this part of Road given in the other reports.

Lieutenant James H. Simpson, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, a member of Captain Marcy's command in 1849, prepared a report which was published as an Executive Document by the Thirty-first Congress in 1850.⁶ This report has never been reprinted except for excerpts used by Dr. Foreman in his *Marcy & the Gold Seekers*. In addition to Simpson's published report of 1850, the Oklahoma Historical Society has secured from the National Archives a photostatic copy of a handwritten report of progress in letter form, by Lieutenant Simpson of his chief, Colonel J. J. Abert, with the heading "Camp, 12 miles west of old Fort Holmes, South side of Canadian River, May 15, 1849."⁷ This camp was near present Purcell, in McClain County. In the following pages here in *The Chronicles*, parts of Simpson's report are omitted, and parts of his letter substituted for some portions of the itinerary, as Simpson's letter is more detailed and is written in more colorful and exuberant language.

Appended to the Simpson papers reprinted here, is a map specially made for this article, showing the California Road plotted on a modern base. The route shown is transcribed from Simpson's map, utilizing all possible ties afforded by references in the texts of both the Marcy and the Whipple reports. Greatest reliance in preparing this map has been placed on recorded compass bearings and distances; topographic features and roads shown on old topographic sheets (1895-1898); a military map of Indian Territory (present Oklahoma except the Panhandle, published in 1875);⁸ and geological data as recorded, compared with modern, detailed maps and checked by field observations. In footnotes, certain prairie and timbered areas are identified with outcrops of specific shale and sandstone formation, respectively; such correlations are well known to geologists who have done field work in Oklahoma.

In the following series of footnotes to the Simpson papers, landmarks are located in terms of modern usage and referred to the land surveys of Oklahoma, insofar as possible, by section, township, and range. Testimony from the reports is interpreted to provide a better understanding of its significance, and to justify and substantiate the conclusions reflected in the details

⁶ Lieut. James H. Simpson, "Report and Maps of the Route from Fort Smith to Santa Fe, in *Report from the Secretary of War* (1850), 31st Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 12*.

⁷ Letter, Lieut. James H. Simpson to Col. J. J. Abert, May 15, 1849, photostatic copy from National Archives in Oklahoma Historical Society.

⁸ Lieut. E. A. Ruffner, Enineers, *Military Map of the Indian Territory*, Department of the Missouri, Brevet Maj. Gen. John Pope, Commanding.

of the map. Land forms, the result of geological processes, for one reason or another, attracted the attention of early explorers venturing on uncharted courses. Most of these features are unchanged to this day, but their significance and their worth as evidence of historical value often are overlooked.

The California Road across Oklahoma offers exceptional opportunities for applying geology as an historical tool because both the Marcy and the Whipple expeditions included, in addition to their leaders, considerable talent for observing and recording geological data. With Whipple in 1953 was a native French geologist, Jules Marcou, whose notes were translated from French and collections studied by geologist William P. Blake(author of the "Report on the Geology of the Route" in Whipple's published report of 1856.^{8a} These writers left numerous clues bearing on the details of their route.

It is hoped these clues as interpreted in the footnotes and the map, on the following pages, will prove of interest to historians and others who may want to know about the California Road. Not all the route is located here with equal satisfaction but, if the present study stimulates interest, additional evidence from whatever source will be welcomed by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

SIMPSON'S REPORT

Santa Fe, New Mexico, August 13, 1849.

Sir: By a letter of instruction from the bureau, under date of 13th of March last, furnished me at Washington, I was ordered to repair as soon as practicable to Fort Smith, Arkansas, and report for duty to General Arbuckle, as the engineer officer of the expedition to be fitted out at that place. This expedition had in view the escorting of a number of California emigrants, and at the same time the exploration, survey, and construction of a wagon road from that post to Santa Fe, by way of the south side of the Canadian river. As instructed, I did report to General Arbuckle, and by his direction joined the military escort under the command of Captain R. B. Marcy, 5th Infantry, 26 miles from Fort Smith. On the way I received additional instructions from the bureau, informing me that I would continue my exploration all the way through to California, in company with the emigrants and a relief escort to be obtained at Santa Fe. On the 28th of June I reached this city, in part fulfilment of the duties which had been assigned me. Immediately on my arrival

^{8a} William P. Blake on Jules Marcou in "Report on the Geology of the Route," *Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, Vol. III, Part IV, 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *House Ex. Doc. 91, Sen. Ex. Doc. 78* (Washington, 1856).



PLATE B

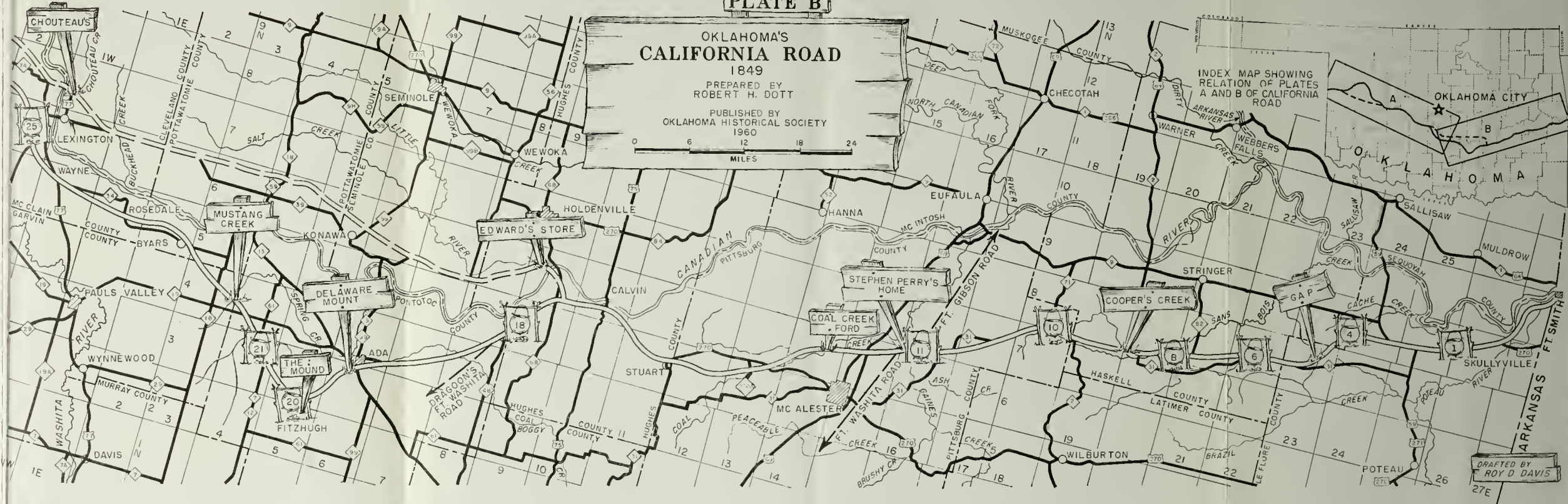
OKLAHOMA'S
CALIFORNIA ROAD
1849

PREPARED BY
ROBERT H. DOTT

PUBLISHED BY
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1960

0 6 12 18 24
MILES

INDEX MAP SHOWING
RELATION OF PLATES
A AND B OF CALIFORNIA
ROAD



DRAFTED BY
ROY D. DAVIS
27E

I commenced fitting out for a continuation of my explorations, as instructed, to California. A military escort was directed by Colonel Washington, the commanding officer of this department, to be ready for me at Albuquerque, and preparations were commenced by the quartermaster's department to place me and my command in a state fit for so long a journey. On the 2d of July I received counter instructions from the bureau, under date of May 9th, from which I extract as follows: "Your destination has been so far changed that you will stop with your party at Santa Fe, from which place you will without delay send to this bureau a report and plan in reference to the road from Fort Smith to Santa Fe, in which you will include all circumstances bearing upon this route as a good route, military and commercial, particularly reporting upon its facilities in grass, wood, and water.

"From information in this office, there are but two routes deserving notice from Santa Fe to California, within United States limit. These are—

"1st. The route pursued by General Kearny. Of this route we are well informed from the report of Major Emory.

"2d. The route from Santa Fe, through Cañada and Albuquin, (see Abert's map 2d expedition,) and from thence to St. Joseph's spring (see Frémont's map 2d expedition). From St. Joseph's spring to Los Angeles the road is represented as practicable for wheel carriages. The part between St. Joseph's spring and Albuquin is comparatively unknown; but as it is called the caravan route from California to Santa Fe, there is reason to believe it to be a good route. It is, however, represented as a summer route only, being replete with difficulties during winter. It is this route of which the department is anxious to have accurate knowledge, and, with the approbation of General Brooke, you are directed to make an examination of it.

"Should this expedition be made, it may be proper to remark that able guides should be engaged, and that it should be so timed as to enable you to return to Santa Fe before the inclemency of winter. The distance is about 400 miles, which, at the rate of fifteen miles a day, would occupy, with a large allowance for delays, less than four months in going and returning."

In accordance with the above instructions, I immediately went to work on the map and report of the route from Fort Smith to this city, and herewith enclosed is the result of my labors. The instructions having in view, upon the completion of the map and report, my entering upon a new expedition, which should be concluded before winter, I have been correspondingly hurried in their preparation, and this must be considered in

connection with any defect that may be found to attach to them. The maps, however, I am inclined to believe, will be found *full* and *complete* in relation to every want which the emigrant or traveller might reasonably expect to have gratified.

In regard to the details of latitude and longitude, as well as the minute description of the route from day to day as we travelled it—all of which is necessary for a *full* expression of the country, physical and geographical, and as it affected the emigrants and the troops—this it is in my power to give; but, on account of the short notice at which I have been instructed to furnish the maps and report, they must necessarily be deferred till after I return from the new exploration upon which I am ordered.

The whole distance from Fort Smith to Santa Fe having been measured by a chain, and the bearings taken as far as Topofki creek, by Captain Dent, and under my direction, every mile for the balance of my way the data furnished by these means, in connection with a knowledge of the magnetic variation which my observations from time to time enabled me to obtain, have, with the occasional interpolation of an astronomical result, afforded me the means of getting up a series of maps which, I trust, will not be without their value to the emigrant and traveller.

The maps, four in number, have been plotted upon the large scale of ten miles to the inch; and as every stream, hill, and other accident of ground along the route, and every item of information needful for the emigrant to know—such as where wood, water, and grass can be found; their respective quantities; the several camping places of the troops; their position, distances apart; how unnecessarily long marches can be avoided; how wood and water can be had every night—are minutely laid down upon the map, it is believed that a chart has been prepared which no person of ordinary intelligence can fail to comprehend and make available for all the purposes of a comfortable and successful journey across the plains.

As regards the style in which the maps have been got up, I think it proper to say, that, starting off as I did from Washington with the idea which my orders then justified, that I was to return to that place to make out my maps and report, I did not take care to provide myself with the drawing paper and other appliances necessary to enable me to plot my observations in the finished form I would be pleased to present them; by being called upon unexpectedly to furnish a map and report, I have of necessity been obliged to make use of such means as were at hand, (and poor I have found them,) and concentrate within a month the labor which, with more time at command, I would prefer to have extended through several months.

Having made these preliminary remarks, I enter upon the discussion of the route in question.

And first, in regard to its location, politically considered, (see map) the starting point of the route, Fort Smith, being situated directly upon the western boundary line of the State of Arkansas, which line is also the line of demarcation between said State and the district occupied and governed by the Choctaw tribe of Indians, lying immediately upon its west, said route runs clear through the breadth of this district, south of west, to Gaine's [*sic*] creek; this creek, the east branch of the south fork of the Canadian, and the south fork of the Canadian, limiting the district in that quarter, Thence, it runs generally westward through the *Ceichasaw* [*sic*] district, which is conterminous to the Choctaw district, to its utmost western limit, the one hundredth degree of longitude or most northern and eastern boundary of Texas; and thence still westwardly, through Texas, at the same time over the ranging ground of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes of Indians, and thence across the eastern limits of New Mexico to Santa Fe.

Secondly, the physical characteristics of the country traveled, and route.

SIMPSON'S LETTER

From Fort Smith to Delaware Mount

Camp. 12 Miles West of Old Fort Holmes

South Side of Canadian River, May 15, 1849

Col. J. J. Abert)
Comd'g Corps Top. Engineers,)
Washington, D. C.)
Sir:

I have the honor to avail myself of the return of Mr. Chisolm,⁹ a Cherokee, to Little River Settlement, to report to you briefly the results thus far of the Expedition upon which I have been ordered.

I left Fort Smith with a small party, as I reported to you from that place I would do, on the 11th of April. On the 14th I joined the Dragoons and Infantry escort, Lieuts. Harrison and Buford, and Capt. Marcy Commanding, constituting the officers. Lieut. Updegraff has joined us within a few days. Since then, on account of unusually heavy and constant rains, we have been enabled to get no farther than our present camp, a distance of 212 miles.

⁹ Jesse Chisolm was the noted Cherokee trader among the Plains tribes. —Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, p. 210.

Our route has been entirely on the South side of the Canadian, as follows: direct from Fort Smith to the Choctaw Agency, thence nearly direct to the north bend of the Canadian at Little River Settlement, or Edwards' and thence conformably to the curve of the river from Edwards to old Fort Holmes (see Lt. Abert's map) to our present camp. Between the point opposite Edwards and a point about 5 miles this side of Delaware Mount, the road may be shortened and over favorable ground 10 or 12 miles. The streams we have crossed have been, in the order in which they were traversed; first, the Poteau, second, Camp Creek,¹⁰ an affluent of Cache Creek; third, Coon Creek¹¹ a branch of the San Bois; fourth, San Bois; fifth Coopers Creek, flowing into the San Bois; sixth, Gaines Creek, the east branch of the South fork of the Canadian; seventh, Coal Creek, Bituminous coal abounds along this (Coal) Creek, and indeed from all I can learn it exists plentifully over a large section of the country we have traversed, the west branch of the fork just mentioned; eighth, a number of affluents being the head waters of the Boggy, a tributary of the Red River; ninth, Topofki Creek; tenth, Mustang Creek; and eleventh, Sandy Creek, an affluent of the Washita. All these streams, excepting those mentioned as emptying into the Red and Washita Rivers, are affluents of the Canadian, the Poteau being the most copious of all. The respective distances of these crossings from Fort Smith, intermitting [omitting] the head waters of the Boggy, are, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile, 26, 38, 47, 52, $76\frac{1}{2}$, 88, 159, 165 and 174 miles.

FROM THE REPORT

The Poteau, at Fort Smith—width between 400 and 500 feet, depth at the time we crossed it about twenty-five, current swift, banks low—is crossed by *ferry*. Forty miles further the Sans Bois is met at its *ford*.¹² This creek, notwithstanding its named (without wood,) ¹³ is well timbered, of clay color, about 100 feet wide, two deep, of rapid current, and rock bottom. Five miles further is Cooper's creek, a *fordable* stream, fifty feet wide, three deep, of rapid current, and gravelly and rock bot-

¹⁰ Present Coal Creek. Camp 4 was near the common corners of Ts. 8 & 9 N., Rs. 23 & 24 E., perhaps in Sec. 31, T. 9 N., R. 24 E., LeFlore County.

¹¹ Present Mule Creek. Camp 6 was near present McCurtain, Haskell County.

¹² The village of Sansbois, Haskell County, grew up near the ford on Sansbois Creek. Marcou (Blake *op. cit.*, p. 125) reported coal east of Sansbois Creek. This is the Stigler Coal which has been extensively mined in Haskell County (M. C. Oakes and M. M. Ketchell, "Geology and Mineral Resources of Haskell County, Oklahoma," *Oklahoma Geological Survey Bulletin* 67, Pl. I [1948]).

¹³ The name was derived from the mountains to the south, which, as Blake states "... rise to a height of about 2,000 feet, above a heavily timbered plain; and, as their name indicates, are nearly or quite without trees" (1856, p. 14). These mountains now are heavily timbered to their crests.

tom.¹⁴ Twenty two miles further is Gaines's [*sic*] creek, or east branch of the south fork of the Canadian. At the main crossing is a *ferry*; and about one-third of a mile, a *ford*. At the ferry the creek is about 100 feet wide, eight deep, and of rather rapid current. At the ford we found it two and a half feet deep, of tolerably swift current, and sandy and gravelly bottom. In consequence of an ugly intervening ravine,¹⁵ or affluent of the creek, which made the ford almost inaccessible, we crossed at the ferry. Some of the emigrants, however, passed over at the ford. Eleven miles further brings you to Coal creek, so called on account of the coal which is found upon it.¹⁶ This creek, a west branch of the south fork of the Canadian, is of a clay color, forty feet wide, two and a half deep, of tolerably rapid current, and of high and steep banks, their elevation being respectively twenty and thirty feet. This creek we *forded*, and so it may be generally; but after heavy rains it becomes swollen, and then the emigrant must either await its subsiding, or—what, on account of its narrow width and the material which he finds at hand, he may readily do—make a raft and waft himself and wagons over.

At all the streams I have mentioned excepting the Potcau—and here there was no necessity—the banks had to be worked on by the troops, and in some instances causeways laid to make them practicable. The troops, therefore, had to be detained for a greater or less period at each of these places, but the emigrants who followed us had comparatively but little difficulty.

¹⁴ Present Beaver Creek. The crossing was probably in Sec. 6, T. 7 N., R. 20 E., one mile south of Kinta, Haskell County. According to Dent: "Leaving the ford [of Sansbois Creek], my course lay up the creek . . . for some fourteen miles. Here the Sans Bois again intersects it a second time, passing between the bend of the stream and a range of mountains on my right."—Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, p. 135. Marcy's Camp 10 was at this location, two miles west of present Quinton, in Sec. 3, T. 7 N., R. 18 E., Pittsburg County.

Dent continues: "Emerging from this pass. I came into a large prairie, which continues, affording a good road to the south fork of the Canadian. . . ." (*ibid.*). This "south fork of the Canadian" is now Gaines Creek. Marcy says (*ibid.*, p. 156) "30° south of west to the divide, thence to the South Fork of the Canadian 20° south of west." Whipple speaks of this stream as Gaines Creek ("Journal" in *The Chronicles* [1950], pp. 257-8). Oklahoma State Highway 31 coincides with the California Road between Quinton and Featherston.

¹⁵ Camp 11. April 15. Simpson's "ugly intervening ravine" is Whipple's "La Honda" (Spanish for "deep"); Whipple crossed La Honda, and a quarter of a mile beyond, forded Gaines Creek (Foreman [1941], p. 44). Some modern maps show this as Ash Creek, others as Jones Creek. The Gaines Creek crossing is located in Sec. 32, T. 7 N., R. 16 E., Pittsburg County, and will be inundated with the filling of the Eufaula reservoir.

Simpson's map shows the Fort Gibson-Fort Washita Road crossing Gaines Creek at the same place, and coinciding with the California Road for some three miles west before forking to the south.

¹⁶ Northwest of present McAlester.

THE SHAWNEE TOWN SOUTH OF
LITTLE RIVER

Simpson is silent concerning the next thirty-seven miles to Shawnee Town, through a part of the country which includes the passage of the rough Shawnee Hills between present McAlester, Pittsburg County, and Atwood, Hughes County. However, Dent, Marcy and Whipple have considerable to say about their difficulties in this area though it is impossible to follow the route closely from their reports. Much of this distance, the California Road undoubtedly lay close to the present routes of the C. R. I & P. Railway, U. S. Highway 270, the K. O. & G. Railway and Oklahoma State Highway 12. All three reports refer to a Shawnee village which Simpson's map shows as 14 miles and Whipple gives as 8.5 miles east of Shawnee Town. Evidently the Indian settlements here as well as in the village consisted of small farm establishments separated from each other by a few hundred yards to one-half mile, or more. This is illustrated by Whipple's remarks concerning Shawnee Town:¹⁷

A few miles from camp we left on our right the road leading from Little River, and soon afterwards were in a labyrinth of trails. We inquired of an Indian for the right road, but gained little satisfaction. . . . Upon inquiring of our host the direction to Shawneetown he seemed nonplussed. After a while, however, he made us understand that we might already consider ourselves within its precincts. The numerous paths are, as it were, streets uniting various houses of this extensive, if not populous place.

Dent proceeding west near Coal Creek intersected a "trail called the 'Shawnee Trace'." He says:¹⁸

This trace which I followed for some distance, comes to Coal Creek above the bend which ?, and runs on the best ground for passing through the small range of mountains that here obstruct the way; winding through them on a firm road, I came to a large prairie, running several miles directly on my proper course. At the far side of this prairie . . . is a small mountain, of conical shape, which I have taken the liberty of naming . . . "Little Coal Mountain," for this reason: Its foundation is Bituminous Coal.

The "large prairie" seems to be the outcrop of the Stuart shale near present Stuart, eastern Hughes County. "Little Coal Mountain" has not been identified but would be capped by sandstone in the upper part of the Stuart shale or lower part of the overlying Senora formation. There are two difficulties: (1) Distances and bearings from previous and subsequent points of reference would place it farther east; and (2) there is no coal in the Stuart shale, though there is black shale in the power part. Marcou¹⁹ refers to "black marly shale" near Camp 14, east of

¹⁷ Foreman (1941), *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁸ Foreman (1939, *op. cit.*, p. 1939.

¹⁹ Blake (1856), *op. cit.*, p. 127.

the Shawnee village.²⁰ Marcy refers to what is presumed to be the same hill as "Little Cedar Mountain, 100 miles from Fort Smith." The high hills west of this prairie are composed of massive sandstones in the Senora formation.

Whipple noted this rough country:²¹

August 8, Camp 14, Learning that there was an exceedingly bad hill a mile or two ahead, we accompanied [a Shawnee guide] to examine it. The report was not exaggerated. A long ridge, five hundred feet in height, called the Shawnee Hills, was found, extending southwest from the Canadian. Upon a spur of this ridge the road ascended at an angle of elevation varying from thirty to forty-five degrees, over rocks and ledges of sandstone [in the Senora formation]. The guide knew no way of avoiding it, but had been told by Shawnee hunters that it could be turned by traversing the forest south.

The Shawnee Hills could have been avoided had Whipple's party taken a course S. 40° W. from the site of present Stuart, following the outcrop of the Stuart shale twelve miles to the present small community of Non, in Hughes County (Sec. 34, T. 4 N., R. 10 E.). Here the Stuart shale is intersected by an old channel of the ancestral Canadian River formed when, during the Pleistocene or Ice Age, the river flowed at an elevation several hundred feet higher than the present Canadian. This old channel is marked by sand and gravel called "Gerty Sand" on the Geologic Map of Oklahoma.²² It extends in this area from Allen through Gerty and Non to Ashland, thence northeast to Haileyville. A route on outcrops of the Stuart and Gerty formations should have reached Shawnee Town (near present Allen) with little difficulty.

Dent says of his approach to Shawnee Town:²³

In this prairie, the road forks, the right hand leading to Edwards' Trading Post, which latter place is near Little River, a tributary of the Canadian on its north side. Edwards' is on the west side of Little

²⁰ Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, p. 157.

²¹ Foreman (1941), *op. cit.*, p. 46. The entry in Whipple's "Journal," *The Chronicles*, *op. cit.*, p. 259, states:
"August 8th 1853

"Left Camp 13 & soon came upon bad hills, Got upon my mule & rode mile south near branch of Coal Creek then turned summit & got over pretty well. Guide—

"Es-Man'-en-eh' Chickasaw lives on hdwaters Coal Creek. 41 yrs old, his son 17 yrs. Came from Miss 16 yrs ago.

"Shawnee Guides name Wen-the-eh-beh'. His son name Jim. Keenoan Kumseh. Traveled about 10 miles to middle branch of Coal Creek where formed Camp No. 14. Here found Shawnee Guide. Went on to examine bad hill ahead. Rises, the road, high ridge, steep & rocky. Wagons & survey."

²² Hugh D. Miser, *Geologic Map of Oklahoma*, U. S. Geological Survey. Scale 1:500,000.. (1954)

²³ Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, p. 139.

River, some three miles from the Canadian, and five miles below the ford on the same river. Opposite to the point of entrance into the last mentioned prairie, is Shawnee Town, 125 miles from Fort Smith, a village of Shawnee Indians. The inhabitants, like those of the same tribe lower down on the Canadian, show strong proofs of rapid advancement in civilization. Here, again, we found an abundance of provisions, corn, etc.

Judge Orel Busby of Ada, Oklahoma has made considerable study of historical landmarks in this area, and locates this Shawnee Town in the broad valley extending from Atwood to Allen. Whipple's description cited above indicates the considerable extent of this settlement. Judge Busby has also located portions of an important military trail, the Dragoon Trail that passed through this valley from north to south, extending from Fort Gibson to Camp Washita near the mouth of the Washita River. This road was opened by the Dragoon Expedition, under the command of General Henry Leavenworth, in 1834, and in the same year, Fort Holmes was established on the east side of Little River, a few miles east of Edwards' Store. This post was known as old Fort Holmes, and was not the same as Camp Holmes (sometimes referred to as Fort Holmes) from which Simpson wrote his letter of May 15, 1849.

According to Simpson's map, the Marcy route joined the Dragoon Trail opposite the mouth of Little River, and left it a few miles southwest of Shawnee Town, probably at about the crossing of Muddy Boggy Creek. According to Judge Busby, the Dragoon Trail passes close to some large springs in Pontotoc County (in Sec. 35, T. 5 N., R. 8 E.). This area is underlain by Gerty sand,²⁴ and undoubtedly springs issue from the sand and gravel of this formation.

Shawnee Town on the California Road, described by the Marcy and the Whipple expeditions, was a settlement of a band of the Shawnee tribe, known as the Absentee Shawnee that had migrated southwest from the Ohio country a few years before 1800. The Delaware, a related tribe, also came southwest from Ohio about the same time, and the two tribal groups were always friendly in their relations before and after crossing the Mississippi to the West. A band of Delaware under the leadership of Black Beaver was closely associated with the Shawnee settlements on the California Road, and the two groups had a part in the early history of the Choctaw Nation in this region.²⁵

²⁴ Miser, *op cit.*

²⁵ A part of the Absentee Shawnee band, if not all, began settling on the north side of Red River about 1808-12, in present McCurtain County where their community of farms and log cabin homes extended, some years later, several miles along the river. The general area became known as Shawneetown, a place name that is still seen on the map a few miles southwest of Idabel. This region was assigned the Choctaws in 1820, and when they came west from Mississippi and settled here (1832-34), the Shawnee farm improve-

Dent says when he left Shawnee Town:²⁶

The right hand road to Edwards' Store is the route which was taken by a large portion of the emigrant trains; a step they soon had cause to regret, as they left a good road for a boggy, broken, and much longer one. My course is on the left hand road, I bore well to the south in order to pass around a bend in the river, and for some miles, the course varies but little from 20 deg. W. of S., crossing a branch of the Boggy [Muddy Boggy], passing which I commenced the ascent of the much talked of Delaware Mountain, 146 miles from this Post [Fort Smith]."

According to Marcy, "On the 1st of May we left our camp, opposite Edwards' taking a course almost south, gradually turning to the west to pass around mountains which border the Canadian, until we reached the Delaware mountain. . . ." ²⁷ From Shawnee Town to Delaware Mount, the road followed up the valley of Muddy Boggy Creek, but references are too vague for the precise location. This road has been platted on the map to follow the route of Oklahoma State Highway 12, from Allen to within a few miles of present Ada.

ments—cultivated fields, rail fences and log cabin homes—were purchased by Robert M. Jones, a prominent Choctaw planter. Most of the Absentee Shawnee moved west in the Choctaw Nation, making their settlement in the Chickasaw District near the Canadian, south of Edwards' Store which was established about 1835. Another group of the Absentee Shawnee crossed Red River into Texas where they were allied with the "Texas Cherokees" when the latter were defeated in battle with the Texans and expelled from this country in 1839. This Absentee Shawnee group then returned north from Texas into the Choctaw nation, joining their kinsmen near the Canadian River. In 1844, an act of the Choctaw Council permitted certain Shawnee leaders, including Black Beaver (the Delaware), to remain in the Choctaw Nation and make their homes. The Absentee Shawnee remained in the Shawnee Town settlement on the Canadian until about 1857 (or after the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty of 1855) when they moved over into the Creek Nation, to a new location on the North Canadian River, a mile or so west of present Tecumseh, in Pottawatomie County. This community also became well known as "Shawneetown," on into Oklahoma Territorial days. This region was in the Potawatomi-Shawnee Reservation from 1867 until the opening of the surplus lands to white settlement in 1891. The name of the ancient Shawnee tribe is now perpetuated in the City of Shawnee, Pottawatomie County, about two miles north of old "Shawneetown" on the North Canadian.—M.H.W.

²⁶ Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 195. (The Delaware Mount marked the settlement of Black Beaver's band of Delaware, that had come here soon after the Choctaw Council's Act of 1844, from a location in the hills north of present Wapanucka, Johnston County, where the name of Delaware Creek perpetuates that of this tribe. The Delaware band had settled along present Delaware Creek about the time of the Dragoon Expedition of 1834, their location being just a few miles east of the Dragoon Trail. This location was about 12 miles northwest of Boggy Depot where Robert M. Jones, the Choctaw planter, had a store about 1839. It was undoubtedly through his acquaintance with the Absentee Shawnee and Black Beaver's Delaware band and his influence with the Choctaw Council that the Act of 1844 was passed permitting the leaders of the two bands to remain and settle their families and associates in this country.—(M.H.W.)

FROM THE LETTER

As far as the Choctaw Agency, the only portion of the route which is coincident with an *old* road, our teams found little or no difficulty. Thence to within a few miles of the bend of the Canadian opposite Edwards' the soil . . . , both on the ridges and prairies, being in spots of a quick character, and the hills several of them steep and hilly, they lobared with a great deal of difficulty; and thence to this encampment we had a fine hard road.

It is proper for me however to remark, that the rain which has fallen in prodigious quantities during the past six weeks, has doubtless been the chief cause of the roads miring; that all new roads mire more or less until they can become consolidated by use; and that the very steep rocky hills we have crossed, can either be turned or made more practicable by being worked. From this point onward, as we shall soon be ushered on the boundless prairie, we anticipate little or no difficulty.

But the chief characteristic of the route we have followed, is, the *unrivalled beauty of the scenery* which is every where being presented to you. No where in the country have I seen, neither do I believe has anyone seen, either at home or abroad, more charming landscape views than those we have from time to time been favored with. On recurring to my journal under date of April 16th I find the following faint attempt at describing one of these views.²⁸ "Today again I have been charmed by the continued series of lovely prairie and mountain views I have been beholding all day on my left. To describe these scenes it is not in the power of tongue or pen to do. The graceful undulations of the mountain heights beyond, the sweetly smelling surface of the prairies below, presenting curves of beauty which Hogarth might envy, the delicately shaded tints of the green velvety ground, the beautifully irregular clumps of trees all around, here sparsely scattered, there more profusely, here forming as it were a hedgelike enclosure, there presenting a park like appearance; all these objects I have been contemplating today, but it is not in my power to describe them as they exist in all their rich and varied combination."

And again, under date of May 2nd I extract the following. "Today we have been journeying over a very fine road, the face of the country being commingling of prairie and woodland, the prairie predominating. At four several points, two of them highly elevated, we were regaled with views that amply repaid us for all the toil of the march. My field notes briefly described

²⁸ On April 16 they travelled 5 miles west from the Gaines Creek crossing, 5-6 miles north of present Krebs. Simpson was viewing the hills and prairies east and southeast of present McAlester, with the high Pine Mountain as a back-drop, 15-20 miles away across the basin occupied by the headwaters of Gaines Creek.

these views as follows: Again presented from a prairie height with a magnificent prospect of prairie hills, wooded heights, broken heights, green groves, far distant blue mountains, fringes of trees, solitary trees, cattle, green ravines, fantastic ridges, single horsemen, foot soldiers, and white topped wagons all in beautiful irregularity. . . . About 6 miles from last night's camp, ascended with Captain Marcy another prairie mountain top to get a sight of the glorious prospect which we felt assured would be unfolded to us.²⁹ 'Did you ever see any thing finer?' burst from our lips, as we reached the summit. Arranged in amphitheatre order, stretching from the North West to the left nearly around again to the point of beginning, were prairie upon prairie, woods in thick masses covering miles of area, or skirting with fringe like effect numerous rivulets coursing in various direction, sweetly embosomed prairie retreats, or glades, giving you the idea of peace and retirement, dark masses of shadow moving athwart wood and prairie, a group of cattle grazing on the plain below you attended by herdsman with rifle in hand, Dragoons wending their way to the woods beyond, the train of white topped wagons laboring with slow but steady pace, all these make up a picture of which my pen fails to give any adequate conception." But these scenes, beautifully grand as they were, sank into comparative insignificance when I ascended Delaware Mount.³⁰ Here I found two piles six feet high of

²⁹ This view point probably is just east of the East Central State College, in Sec. 36, T. 4 N., R. 6 E., Pontotoc County, on the height of land between the headwaters of Muddy Boggy Creek and its tributary, Sincere Creek, Clear Boggy Creek, and Little Sandy Creek. Muddy and Clear Boggy Creeks drain into the Red River, Little Sandy flows into Sandy Creek (Topofki of the California Road reports), a short distance above its junction with the Canadian River.

³⁰ In collaboration with Judge Busby, the point of ascent has been determined to be in the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec. 5, T. 3 N., R. 6 E., Pontotoc County, near the southwest corner of the city of Ada, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east of the Latta School.

Delaware Mount was a very important landmark on the California Road, mentioned by all writers, all of whom were much impressed by the view. There has been uncertainty as to its exact location and what sort of feature it was. Simpson's map shows it, by hachures, as an escarpment or bluff, trending northwest-southeast, facing northeast; and by similar symbol, shows a crescentic feature 5 miles southeast, labeled "Fine View," facing southwest. He also shows a line of hachures near the Canadian River, west of Shawnee Town.

Marcou (Blake, 1856, p. 128) says "The direction of Delaware mountain is S.S.W. (or 30° west) to N.N.E." From Dent we get what seems to be the clearest concept: "This mountain [Delaware mountain] projects in a lofty cliff, almost to the Canadian, softening off to the south in beautiful prairie slopes. Over these slopes the road passes, and it is a source of regret to me that we were so soon over the mountain, as I did not remain long enough on it to sufficiently admire the gorgeous scenery which in every direction is here unfolded to view."—Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, p. 139.

The Delaware Mount or Mountain, referred to as the high dividing ridge between the headwaters of Muddy and Clear Boggy Creeks and the valleys of Sandy Creek and the Canadian River, extends in a northeasterly direction from

rock,³¹ placed doubtless by the Indians as conspicuous beacons to be seen a great way off. I again draw from my notes taken on the ground, expressive of my views of this scene. "About 11 miles from last camp ascend Delaware hill, from 150 to 200 feet in height. Looking back in the direction we have come—to the East—a still more extended and beautiful view presents itself than any we have yet seen. Within a range of more than 180 degrees, prairies, woods, and mountain hills be mingled together in the most rich and sweet profusion, and for a great distance off. On my right at the distance of about a mile I see a couple of horsemen tending towards a still higher point to catch a grander view of the scene: To describe the view as it now lies before me, it is impossible for me to do; suffice it that on every hand I hear the most profuse terms of surprise and delight. Lieut. Harrison who was in the City of Mexico says it surpasses any thing *in extent* he saw in that vicinity. From the hill in question I started for the second and higher one where I had seen the horsemen. But I have already stated my inability to describe the climax of all! All I can do is to say that I gazed on it with wonder, admiration and praise!"

FROM THE REPORT

The geological formation of the country between Fort Smith and Delaware mount, being a red, friable argillo-arenaceous, sedimentary rock, the soil resulting therefrom partakes of the same character. This soil, generally tillable along the streams and in the bottoms of some of the prairies, is fertile, and though

the vicinity of Fitzhugh to near Allen. In its southwestern portion, it softens, as Dent expressed it, into "beautiful prairie slopes," the "plateau crest of the high prairie," according to Simpson. The travelers were most concerned with Delaware Mount at the place where their road ascended, and the next 6 miles to where Delaware Mount forms the east edge of a high plateau. From it they could look many miles east over the basin occupied by Muddy and Clear Boggy Creeks; and almost as far to the west, across the valley of Sandy (Topofki) Creek.

³¹ Simpson's remarks here are confusing, and a better understanding can be obtained from Dent. Continuing the preceding quotation from Dent (foot-note 30): "Still on a firm prairie, I descended in a finely watered valley, thence up a prairie ridge, at the extreme summit of which, is one of two mounds, upon both of which the Indians have piled stones, serving as land marks . . . , as they are seen from a long distance on the plains beyond the Washita. . . ." (Foreman, 1939, pp. 139-40). Undoubtedly Simpson's reference is to the pile of rocks on the "mound," for his map shows a "Natural Mound," and the added information "Magnificent Prospect from this Mound." This feature is locally called "Chimney Hill," and on it the U. S. Geological Survey established a triangulation station called "Double Mound," in 1895, re-established in 1920 by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, and called "Mound." The "Mound" is located at the common corner of Secs. 2 & 3, T. 2 N., R. 5 E., and 34 & 35, T. 3 N., R. 5 E., Pontotoc County. (The Osage began coming to this region around 1802, on their annual hunts. They are known to have placed piles of stones, like those found on the "Mound" [Chimney Hill] by Dent, at strategic places on their hunting trails southwest.—(M.H.W.)

superior for grazing purposes, has been found good for corn, wheat, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, and, in some localities, for rice. Tobacco has also been tried, and, I am informed, has done well. The peach also thrives here; the apple not so well.

The river and creek bottoms, as also those of the rivulets, are generally luxuriantly and variedly timbered—the ridges and the prairies more sparsely; the growth on the prairies being either solitarily or in orchard like groves, and on the ridges generally of a stunted character. Post-oak, red-oak, beech, birch, elm, basswood, ash, and cotton-wood, are found along the water-courses, and post-oak and black-jack on the prairies and ridges.

* * * *

From Delaware Mount To Cross-Timbers

Ascending Delaware mount, you immediately get on a very high prairie, of an extent only limited by the horizon beyond you. This prairie, grandly rolling, is but seldom dotted with a tree, except upon the water-courses and ravines, the latter of which are very frequent. Its formation, of a mixed character, is both calcareous and arenaceous; the sub-rocks of this character occasionally commingling in their outcrop, and furnishing by their disintegration the rich soil with which, as far as within a mile or two of Sandy creek, it is covered. Beyond this limit, and as far as the commencement of the Cross-timbers, just beyond camp No. 26, a distance commensurate with the extent of the prairie, the sub-rock being an argillo-arenaceous character, the soil partakes of the same characteristics. This sub-rock being of a deep red color,³² the soil of the prairies and the silt of the ravines and streams necessarily partake of the same hue. Indeed, this red or vermillion color will be found by the traveller to be catching his eye in every direction, in the shape of denuded escarpments of deep ravines or of abutment hills.

The road has continued fine nearly all the way, the only exceptions being in crossing some of the streams, the worst of which is Sandy creek,³³ which the emigrant would do well either to make more practicable, or, what would probably be better, find a crossing place where the bottom would be less miry. The largest creek, and indeed the only one of any size met with after Delaware mount, is Topofki creek, an affluent of the Canadian.

³² The easternmost outcrops of red beds along the California Road are in the Vanoss formation, of Upper Pennsylvanian age, which crops out in western Pontotoc County. From here westward to beyond the Texas border, the road continues on red beds of upper Pennsylvanian and Permian age.—Miser, *op cit.*

³³ This is not present Sandy Creek which Simpson and others called Topofki. Simpson's map shows Sandy Creek as an affluent of the Washita River, and it probably is Peavine Creek, of present usage, in northeastern Garvin County.

Its bed, which at the time we crossed it was much silted up with clean gravel—a commixture of silicious feldspathic and calcareous particles—is 140 feet wide, and was then but 2 feet deep, its waters having receded to a breadth of but 25 feet. It evidently, however, is a stream which at times must be greatly swollen; but as it doubtlessly, from the indications presented, expends itself very quickly, it will never be any obstacle of any considerable moment to the emigrant's progress.

Buffalo wallows—places where buffaloes have wallowed—appear just west of Mustang creek for the first time along the route. Mustang Creek³⁴ derives its name from its being called the limit, eastward, of the range of the Mustang. Old Fort Holmes, or, as it is more frequently called, Chouteau's trading-house, nearly opposite camp 26,³⁵ is at this time a locality with a name, but no habitation. The emigrant, therefore, will not depend upon this last vestige of civilization as a source from which to make up any deficiency in his supplies.

Grass, wood, and water were found by us sufficiently abundant along this section. When following the ridge, the water is to be found to the right and left in the ravines. The well defined and isolated grove³⁶ of trees about five miles to the eastward of old Fort Holmes, and which is marked on the maps, will be found a capital landmark to show the emigrant his whereabouts.

FROM THE LETTER

The number of California emigrants in advance and in rear of us is believed to be quite 1500. They with us have been required to exercise a great deal of patience and perseverance on account of wet weather and miry roads; and so far as I have witnessed, they have done so generally with a good deal of philosophy. As far as we have gone, wood, water and grass have been abundant.

I regret to inform you that the barometer of which I took as much care between Washington and Fort Smith as a mother would have taken of her nursing, was no sooner put into the hands of an employee, with injunctions of care, than it was broken. The very first night I extricated it from its double case, I found that that day, of course in some unaccountable way, which as usual the perpetrator could not explain, one of the syphon tubes had been crushed. I regret this the more, as I assured Col. Graham, who was kind enough to loan it to me from his supply of instruments belonging to the Boundary Survey,

³⁴ Identified as Spring Creek in northwestern Pontotoc County.

³⁵ Near present Purcell.

³⁶ Not identified.

that I would restore it to him unharmed. Be pleased to convey to him these my regrets. The instrument has been sent to Acting Asst. Qr. Master Burns at Fort Smith, with directions if possible to forward it to Washington; and if not forwarded, to be held subject to the order of any competent authority.

The Indian guide we have with us, Beaver, who is well acquainted with the country lying between the Red River and the head waters of the Trinity and Brazos Rivers, and beyond the Rio Grande, assures us that the shortest and best route which exists between the old States and our newly acquired Mexican territories is one starting from Fort Washita, on the Washita River; thence to a point on the Red River some 30 miles above Coffee's old trading post, where you cross that river, and thence on the south side of said river across the head waters of the Brazos, to a point, probably El Paso, on the Rio Grande, some 250 miles below Santa Fe. He says a good level road can be made on this route, and that grass, wood and water would abound along it. Mr. Chisolm, who happens to be with us and who is probably one of the best guides for this portion of the country that can be found, states the same thing. I mention this for the consideration of the Department, not knowing what instructions I am to receive to govern me on my return from California and Santa Fe to Washington. It may be also proper to remark that Capt. Marcy has it strongly in contemplation to return with his command to Fort Smith, via the route I have mentioned.

The detailed instructions which I was led to believe by an endorsement on a copy of an order sent by the Adj. Genl. to Genl. Arbuckle, I would receive, have not yet come to hand.

I am Sir very Respy

Yr. Obt Servt

J. H. Simpson

1st Lieut. Corps Top. Engrs.

P.S.: Since writing the above, Mr. Chisolm has given a modification of the route proposed by Beaver, which brings it near relation with a portion of the road we have travelled over. He suggests that the road be made to start from the Delaware Mount, a point on our road, 142 miles distant from Fort Smith—thence by a Kickapoo trail, to the mouth of Mustang Creek³⁷ an affluent of the False Washita where the latter is crossed—thence up Mustang Creek for a distance, striking off at the proper point a S.W. course to cross the Red River between the mouth of the Little and Big Washita—thence between these rivers to the head of the lesser one (Little W)—thence across

³⁷ Wildhorse Creek, of modern maps, joins the Washita River, from the west, near Davis, Garvin County.

the head waters of the Brazos till you reach the main head—thence along the north side of this main head until you get to the canyon—thence by a wagon road to a town on the Pecos called Bosque Grande, and thence probably to El Paso. He says however that the officer surveying this route should have a good escort.

J. H. S.

FROM THE REPORT

The Cross-Timbers

The above section traversed, the emigrant, after getting two or three miles beyond camp No. 26, finds himself in the region of the celebrated Cross-timbers;³⁸ these timbers skirting the road, which continues on prairie ground on its left, and being seen ranging parallel to his course on the north side of the Canadian to his right. These timbers continue for a distance of about sixty-six miles,³⁹ as far as within a mile or two of Rock of Mary, which may be looked upon as terminating them in this direction.

An argillo-arenaceous soil, generally of good quality, prevails here; that upon Walnut and Deer⁴⁰ creeks, the only considerable ones in this section, being very fertile. Both these afluentes of the Canadian, as also Spring creek,⁴¹ are exuberantly timbered—black-walnut, hackberry, chinquopin, elm, cottonwood, and post-oak, being found upon them. As the region of good timber for axle-trees and other portions of the running gear of the wagon terminates with these streams, the emigrant is here cautioned to supply himself with such extra material as, in his providence, he may think necessary. The Cross-timbers being a growth of the black-jack and post-oak, both dwarfish and not unfrequently unsound at the core, it is only the *sylva* of the streams that can be depended upon for wood suitable for such purposes.

³⁸ "Lower Cross Timbers" according to Marcy.—Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, p. 201. This would refer to timber growing on the outcrop of the Duncan sandstone in western McClain and eastern Grady Counties.

³⁹ On the contrary, Marcy says "We found that the Divide turned south into the Cross Timbers, was very circuitous in its course, and extended some fifteen miles before it came out upon a prairie west of the 'Timbers'."—Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, pp. 201-202. They found the "Upper Cross Timbers," growing on outcrops of the Rush Springs sandstone, at Camp 31, near present Minco, northern Grady County, 41 miles west of Camp 26.

⁴⁰ Shown thus on Simpson's map, and called Deer Creek by Whipple and on Blake's map accompanying the Whipple report; Marcy called it "(Spring Creek)." Foreman (1939), *op. cit.*, pp. 212-14. Subsequently the name "Deer Creek" was transferred to another stream which rises in Custer County and joins the Canadian River between Hydro and Bridgeport, in Caddo County. Simpson's Deer Creek is now called Boggy Creek.

⁴¹ Simpson's map shows "Spring Creek" as a short tributary entering the Canadian from the south, 15 miles upstream from the mouth of "Deer Creek."

The road continues good through this section—wood and grass abundant, and water amply sufficient. It will be perceived that the route through this section, as it did in the last, chiefly follows the ridge dividing the waters of the Washita from those of the Canadian. The commencement of the gypsum formation in this section, (see map),⁴² will not fail to attract the attention of the traveller.

From the Cross-Timbers To Santa Fe, Generally

The Cross-timbers traversed, the country again becomes prairie—this characteristic holding good to within a few miles of the very entrance of the city of Santa Fe, a distance of 550 miles. Throughout this whole extent the prairie is, very frequently, highly rolling, sometimes moderately so; but never a plane surface, except on the *Llano Estacado* or staked plains; and upon this the road runs but one day, or a distance of twenty-eight miles.

From Cross-Timbers To Antelope, or Boundary Hills

Starting from Rock Mary,⁴³ the road runs through a series of natural mounds, of which Rock Mary is one. These mounds, on account of their novelty and Indian-lodge shape, having already, some miles in rear, engaged the attention of the traveller, I extract from my journal as follows, in relation to these mounds:

“*Camp No. 34, Wednesday, May 23.*—Proceeding on about a mile, some hills of singular shape make their appearance, for the first time, bearing north 70° west; several have very much the appearance of immense Indian lodges. Nearing the first of these singularly formed hills, and it appearing more oddly shaped than any of the others, I started off alone to ascend it—reaching it just in time to scare up a wild turkey; and tying my horse to a black-jack tree at its base, I scrambled up to its summit. The novel character of the hill; its contorted appearance; its sudden emergence from the plain around it; my having reached its pinnacle; it being an object of interest to beholders in the distance;—all this had its complex influence upon me, and I felt correspondingly elated. Captain Marcy seeing me near the apex, suggested to me to unfurl (what I was about to do) a flag, and give it to the breeze. This I did, and soon I could see one person after another, Lieutenant Harrison and Dr. Rogers among them, leaving the train to get a look from its summit. A person present suggesting that it be named after

⁴² Simpson's map shows “Gypsum begins” near Camp 31, a few miles south of Minco, Grady County. This would be a thin bed in the Marlow formation, of Permian age.

⁴³ See Report of the Oklahoma Historical Society's Committee on Rock Mary, in this number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, p. 130.

an Arkansas young lady, (as much esteemed by the emigrants with whom she is in company, as she is by the officers,) I immediately fell in with the suggestion, and thereupon, with waving flag, proclaimed it to all concerned, that henceforth, in honor of the said lady, the rock should be known as Rock Mary. Rock Mary, then, is the name of this fantastic formation—at least until it can be authenticated that some prior explorer had assumed the prerogative to call it something else. The rock is situated solitarily in a prairie plain; its height some sixty feet; its base some two hundred feet in diameter. In form it is like a pound-cake like projections are seen protruding from its top. In substance it is an unstratified sandstone, of a red color. In surface it is spirally corrugated, and, in places, somewhat gnarled, owing to the degradation caused by atmospheric and aqueous agents. During the latter part of our journey, a number of these hills have been seen. Besides the one just mentioned I ascended two others, one of them being about one hundred feet high. These two last have calcareous rock in association with red sandstone. On one of these, of abutment shape, I noticed amorphous red sandstone to be the basis rock; next in the ascending series, 5 feet of red shale, finely shistose; next 3 feet of arenaceous limestone; and, lastly, crowning the other formations, calcareous rock of massive character, containing crystals of carbonate of lime. I collected specimens of the lime formations.”

The road, though good from the vicinity of Shawnee village, opposite Edwards, now has become *very fine; and so it continues, with some inconsiderable exceptions, all the way to New Mexico*. Indeed, so superior was it that I scarcely ever got on it, from my explorations to the right and left, without involuntarily wishing that I had a fleet horse and a light buggy, that I might skim over it to my satisfaction.

The mounds passed, the road traverses until within twenty miles of the Antelope or Boundary hills—a section of country richly characterized by the gypsum formation;⁴⁴ the evidences of which appear in outcrops all around. This mineral can here be found in almost every form—earthy, fibrous, selentic, and massive; and it is doubtless owing to it that the water of the region coextensive with it, is in many places so unpalatably nauseous.

⁴⁴ Cloud Chief gypsum, of Permian age, crops out over a wide area in Washita, Custer, and Roger Mills Counties (Miser, 1954). Marcy's route reached the outcrop at Camp 35, near present Weatherford, and continued on it to Camp 40, some 20 miles east of the Texas border. Most of the water they found in this area was highly mineralized, and “unpalatably nauseous.”

Marcy's route followed the divide between the Washita and Canadian Rivers, and made a considerable arc to the north. Simpson's map shows a cut-off used by the emigrants between Marcy's Camps 35 and 40, with a reported saving of 27 miles.

At Camp 37 Marcy picked up Gregg's 1840 return route from Santa Fe, and followed it westward across the Texas border.

Coincident with this formation, this section is characterized, physically, by the close approximation of the affluents, ravines, and larger watercourses of the Canadian and Washita rivers; they here approaching so closely, as scarcely in one place to admit the passage of a single wagon. In relation to this portion of the country, I extract from my journal as follows:

"Camp 39, May 29.—Intervening our road and the river, a confused mass of small reddish-colored hills, scantily covered with grass, have appeared for a large portion of the way. Ravines, unsightly, on account of their depth and broken character, have been on our right and left; and at the distance of seven and a half miles from our last camp, they approximated so near, as to but just admit the passage of a single wagon at a time."

And again:

"Camp 40, May 30.—The road to-day, though hard and tolerably smooth, has passed through a very uninteresting country. Short and long hills have been frequent, and on either side of it and across the Canadian, the country has been very much broken—it being a confused assemblage of hills covered with herbage, and red soil peeping through it on every hand. The ravines, both across the Canadian and on this side, are timbered, and, saving a few that are scattered along the main river, not a tree is to be seen anywhere. The soil, as far as the eye could reach, gave indications of sterility."

Wood, water, and grass found in amply sufficient quantities along this section; the water, however, not in every instance palatable, on account of its Epsom-salt taste. There were but two camps, however, where it approached intolerability—35th and 37th and these probably may be avoided.

From The Antelope Hills, Onward

The gypsum region nearly passed, just after leaving camp 39, you come in sight of the Antelope or boundary hills, the identity of which we could not fail to recognise from Lieutenant Abert's faithful drawing of them, to be found accompanying his report of his expedition of 1845. I again extract from my journal:

"Camp 41, May 31.—At half-past one, I ascended, with Lieutenant Buford and dragoons—all riding our horses—the Antelope hills,⁴⁵ of which there are six in number. Their height,

⁴⁵ The Antelope Hills are capped by a calcium carbonate formation called caliche, which is very resistant to erosion, and underlies the surface of the high, or "staked" plains. This rock belongs to the Ogallala formation, of Tertiary age. The Antelope Hills are erosion remnants, and were once connected with the high plains.

probably from 120 to 150 feet above the plain below, has caused them to be seen for the past two days—they having constantly appeared as if they were near at hand; and yet, when first seen, their distance off was underestimated by some eight or ten miles. Their form is quite regular, four appearing in the distance of an oblong shape, the two others conical, and each of them capped by a well defined terrace, or rather table of white vesicular sandstone, eighteen feet thick, and horizontally stratified. The summit giving me a fine view of the surrounding country, I jotted down the following notes: "I can see the chocolate-colored bed of the Canadian coming in from the southwest, and, sweeping around in front of me to the north, continue on to the east, where it disappears. Low oblong hills dimly appear to the south and southwest. Along the horizon, and everywhere else, the view is bounded by one continuous and level circular arc. Intervening the horizon and my point of view, nothing but green rolling prairie can be seen on every side, except where, on the opposite side of the Canadian, red escarpments, occasionally marked with white strata, show themselves; patches and fringes of timber point out a ravine or watercourse, and where, as in the present instance, a horseman is seen scouring the plain, apparently in pursuit of game. I obtained a specimen of the rock of these hills."

These hills examined, the traveller in proceeding forward will at once get into the region of buffalo grass, prairie dog villages, ponds, singly disposed and far remote from each other, but yet containing a sufficiency of water; beds of streams, some containing running water, some holding it in pools, but more frequently found dry; some being wooded, occasionally luxuriantly, more frequently sparsely, and occasionally not at all. These features, together with the occasional uprising of a conical or tubular mound, and the appearance, after reaching Dry river,⁴⁶ of deep and well marked ravines, will be found to be the chief characteristics of the country between the Antelope hills and camp No. 52, or to a point of the road where it ascends the staked plains. The attention of the emigrant is particularly called to the details upon the map in respect to wood, water, and encamping places.

⁴⁶ Red Deer Creek of modern usage, in Hemphill County, Texas. The crossing probably is a few miles upstream from present Canadian, Texas.

APPENDIX

Table of Distances from Fort Smith

		Remarks
To Choctaw Agency	14 miles	
" Camp Creek	26 "	
" Coon Creek	38 "	
" San Bois	47 "	
" Coopers Creek	52 "	
" Gaines Creek	77 "	
" Coal Creek	88 "	
" Shawnee Village	111 "	
" Shawnee Town	125 "	
" Delaware Mount	146 "	
" Camp No. 21	161 "	
" " " 22	171 "	
" " " 23	176 "	
" " " 24	187 "	
" " " 25	204 "	
" " " 26	206 "	
" " " 27	212 "	
" " " 28	217 "	
" " " 29	230 "	
" " " 30	236 "	
" " " 31	247 "	
" " " 32	253 "	
" " " 33	269 "	
" " " 34	287 "	
" " " 35	303 "	Water at Camp 35 is quite brackish
" " " 36	320 "	
" " " 37	339 "	Good water to be found in places along the road but brackish at Camp 35
" " " 38	358 "	
" " " 39	374 "	
" " " 40	387 "	
" " " 41	404 "	[Near Antelope Hills] Wood for Camp 45 [41?] got along the road same day
" " " 42	418 "	Do. 42
" " " 43	434 "	

THE BATTLE OF CHUSTENAH LAH

By Arthur Shoemaker*

Shortly before noon on December 26, 1861, Confederate troops crossed to the west side of Hominy Creek, in present-day Osage County and attacked Union Indian forces estimated at around 1,700 men.¹ Thus began the third and last battle—the “Battle of Chustenalah”²—in which the aged Creek Indian leader, Opothleyohola was to direct the soldiers of the Northern or Union faction of the Creek Nation. Allied with the Creeks were a large group of Seminoles, lead by Haleck Tustennuggee, and a representative sprinkling of other tribes.

This attack by Confederate forces under the command of Colonel James McIntosh was to have been the upper arm of a giant pincer movement that had been planned at Fort Gibson following the Battle of Chusta Talasah on Bird Creek on December 9, 1861.³

This plan called for Colonel D. H. Cooper, Commander of all Confederate forces in Indian Territory, to lead a force up the Arkansas River to the rear of Opothleyohola, while Colonel McIntosh was to take a force of 1,380 men up the Verdigris River, then proceed westward across Bird Creek to the reported stronghold of the Union Indian forces. A delay in receiving necessary supplies, forced Colonel Cooper to abandon his march up the Arkansas, but he ordered Colonel McIntosh to move westward until the enemy was engaged.

The Confederate troops reached Hominy Creek after passing south of the present town of Skiatook, Oklahoma. The Third Texas Cavalry, flanked by the Eleventh and Sixth Regiments⁴ crossed the creek on an outcropping of rock stretching from bank to bank causing ripples and a small water fall. The location is known as Hominy Falls.

* Arthur Shoemaker attended Texas Technological College at Lubbock, Texas, and taught in the Sapulpa, Oklahoma, public school system for several years. He has had articles published in *True West* magazine, and now is employed in the Comptrollers Department of Texaco, Inc., at Tulsa.—Ed.

¹ *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* Volume VIII. Series 1. pp. 22-25.

² The report of Col. James McIntosh, Second Arkansas Mounted Rifles, commanding the division of the Confederate forces in the “Battle of Chustenahlah,” refers to present Hominy Creek as “Shoal Creek” (*ibid.*, p. 22). (This battle site is in the old Cherokee Outlet lands. The name “Chustenahlah” is from the Cherokee word *u’staná li*, meaning a “natural barrier of rocks” or a shoal in a stream.—Ed.).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 8-11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.



(Photo, 1960)

Hill near Battle Creek, Opothleyahola's Stronghold at the Battle of Chustenahlah, December 26, 1861.



(Photo, 1960)

View of Battle Creek
Near Site of the Battle of Chustenahlah
December 26, 1861.

Crossing an open, level stretch of prairie the first troops were met with fire coming from the flank of a hill directly to their front. Opothleyohola had placed the Seminoles on the hill while the mounted Creeks were held in the rear as reserves. Every tree and thicket sheltered a warrior determined to repulse the enemy, but the Confederates were not to be denied. Their attack was launched with such force that they swept all in front of them. The Creek and Seminole defenders, short of arms and ammunition and weakened by protracted privations were unable to stand the fierce onslaught and fell back from cover to cover. They fell back to the north in the direction of their camp located in a small valley surrounded on three sides by rugged, brush-covered hills. A fierce sleet storm struck during the height of the fighting, which added to the suffering of the poorly clad refugees as they fled into the hills.⁵

As darkness fell, the Confederate victory was complete. The exhausted Southern troops spent the night on the battlefield. Only with the arrival, the following morning of Colonel Stand Watie and his Cherokee Regiment would pursuit continue. Following the line of retreat to the north, the Cherokee Regiment fought a short skirmish on the twenty-seventh with some enemy casualties being reported by Colonel Watie. Colonel McIntosh gave this report of the fighting on December 26:

The loss sustained by the enemy was very severe. Their killed amounted to upward of 250. Our loss was 8 killed and 32 wounded (later revised to 9 killed and 40 wounded)—We captured 160 women and children, 20 negroes, 30 wagons, 70 yoke of oxen, and about 500 Indian ponies, several hundred head of cattle, 100 sheep and a great quantity of property of much value to the enemy. The stronghold of Hopoeithleyohola was completely broken up, and his force scattered in every direction, destitute of the simplest elements of subsistence.

Three letters were found in the camp from E. H. Carruth, "Commissioner of U. S. Government." All three letters were written from Barnesville, Kansas. One was written to "Hopocithleyohola," one to the Loyal Chickasaws and Choctaws, and one to Tusaquach, Chief of the Wichitas.⁶ All reports of the battle were written to Confederate commanders.⁷ Other than that it was fought near Hominy Creek west of Skiatook, the battle site has never been clearly established.

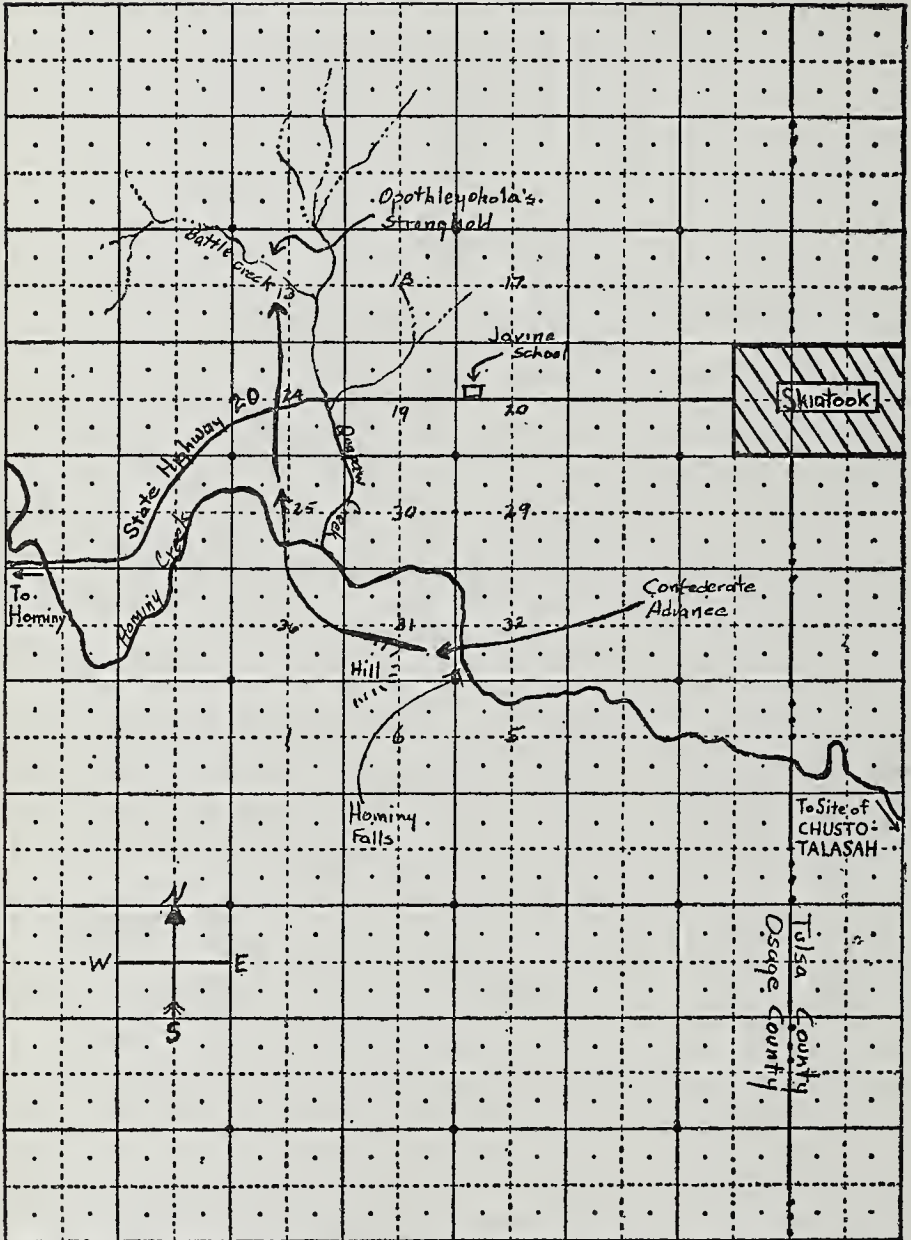
One map⁸ of Osage County is found that shows a Battle Creek flowing into Quapaw Creek a short distance above where Quapaw empties into the larger Hominy Creek. This small obscure stream is not named on most maps of Osage County.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-26. The name of the Creek leader is spelled "Hopoeithle Yahola" in these letters.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Reports 11-17, pp. 27-33.

⁸ *Osage County Highways* published by Board of County Commissioners.



Map Showing the Location of Opothleyahola's Forces near Battle Creek, at the Battle of Chustenhlah, December 26, 1861.

After compiling reports of the fight on the December 26, it was learned that the first shots were fired only *after* crossing Hominy Creek to the west.⁹ A U. S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey map (Hominy Quadrangle, May 1915 Edition) shows Hominy Creek flowing north to south in Section 32, Range 12 East, Township 22 North. Along this section of the creek is also found the outcropping of rock that causes the falls.

Local tradition in the Skiatook area had long placed the Northern Creek encampment along Battle Creek. The actual site was pointed out by Mr. Roy Greenwood, a life-long resident of the Skiatook area, who related the following story:¹⁰

Years ago, my former teacher at Javine school became interested in this Indian battle and used to take some of us boys down to the falls on Hominy Creek and up in the hills west of there. Up along Battle Creek there used to be some old wagon wheel hubs and the remains of wagons, but all that stuff is gone now, washed away in floods. Once we did find an old musket that we hung in the school, but even that has disappeared now.

The site along clear, spring-fed Battle Creek is in Section 13, Range 11 East, Township 22 North, approximately four miles west and one and one-half miles north of Skiatook. Additional evidence that this location was the actual site of the Battle of Chustenahlah came while examining some papers of the late Tom Meagher, noted Indian authority and historian of Tulsa, Oklahoma.¹¹ Among his many papers and maps there was found a copy of the previously mentioned U. S. Geological Survey map (Hominy Quadrangle). On it he had traced the route of the Northern Creeks following the Battle of Chusto Talasah on Bird Creek in northern Tulsa County. The tracings of Opothleyohola's retreat and locations of battle engagements were identical to earlier findings.

It has been generally accepted that the Union or "Loyal" faction of the Creek Nation under the leadership of Opothleyohola was offered haven in the State of Kansas, but whatever their destination, the Creeks were in no headlong flight when they first began moving north. The Battle of Chusto Talasah was fought on December 9, less than a month after the first engagement with Confederate troops at Round Mountain near the present Keystone, Oklahoma.¹² In a period of seventeen days,

⁹ *Official Records, op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 23.

¹⁰ The Javine schoolhouse is located two miles west of Skiatook on State Highway 20. It is no longer used for school purposes.

¹¹ Most of Mr. Meaghers' papers are now in the possession of Orpha B. Russell of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

¹² The Battle of Round Mountain near present Keystone was fought on November 26, 1861. From this time, Opothleyohola's forces moved in a northeasterly direction crossing Arkansas River at the old "U. S. Crossing," the whole distance approximately 22 miles to their location near Bird Creek,

from the fight on Bird Creek until the battle on Hominy Creek, Opothleyohola's followers had moved to the northwest, a scant twelve miles. From hills surrounding his camp, Opothleyohola could have seen the smoke hanging over the battlefield of Chusto Talasah.

The whole of the present Osage County was, in 1861, unoccupied Cherokee country and would have made an ideal neutral retreat for the Northern Creeks. This portion of the Cherokee Nation was under the control of the supporters of Chief Ross who were openly sympathetic to the Union. Overtures had been by the Cherokee leaders to Opothleyohola and the Creeks that they would be welcome north of the Arkansas River.¹³ So strong was the bond between the Cherokees and Creeks that many of the Cherokees, fighting under the flag of the Confederacy, defected to the Union cause in the Battle of Chusto Talasah. It was principally Drew's forces who defected and were organized in 1862 as Union troops.¹⁴

Had it not been for the pursuit and defeat at the hands of Confederate troops from Texas and Arkansas, Opothleyohola could possibly have kept his pledge to remain loyal to the United States by living near the safe haven of Union Kansas without leaving Indian Territory.

in 12 days. These northern Creeks and their allied bands were not primarily a military group but included whole families—upwards of 4,000 men, women, children—traveling in a general exodus from their country, many with their household belongings in wagons and their cattle and horses herded along with them.—Ed.

¹³ *"The Civil War in Indian Territory"* by Dean Trickett, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Volume XVIII, pp. 150-153, 275.

¹⁴ *"Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People,"* Thoburn & Wright (1929), Vol. I, p. 326 & Appendix Vol. II.

OKLAHOMA'S MISSING LINK

*By Robert E. Cunningham**

Oklahoma had the unique distinction of being born as the camera watched. When the first legal settlers arrived in 1889 several photographers were present to record the event. Even illegal settlers, who tried to get in before the opening, still live in pictures.

This settlement was unusual enough to cause photographers to make records of the struggling towns, the courageous homesteaders, and the efforts at self government that are invaluable for historians who sift the ashes of the past. Pictures always help to interpret events with clarity and accuracy that words, even paintings, cannot quite do.

Several thousand superb pictures exist that tell the story of Oklahoma's natal years, but one is missing. It becomes more conspicuously absent as the years pass, and efforts to find this missing link become like the exciting search for buried treasure. And like most treasure hunts, the search has little chance of success.

This missing treasure is an action photograph of the jump off from the line on April 22, 1889, when the central portion of what now is Oklahoma was opened to settlement. For years the superb picture opening of the Cherokee Outlet, September 16, 1893, was used indiscriminately to illustrate all the five openings made by run, but in recent years the demand for more accuracy in picture reporting has become apparent. Readers now are unwilling to be misled by the wrong picture.

To explain this missing link needs an examination of the events that preceded the actual opening.

Photography made a modest appearance in 1839, exactly fifty years before Oklahoma was opened. Earliest effort of the picture makers was limited to reasonable likenesses on metal and glass that had such names as ambrotypes, ferrotypes or tintypes. Only one such print was possible from each exposure.

At mid-century, a process was perfected that allowed a photographer to make a negative on glass from which any number of prints could be made. These negatives had to be produced as needed, exposed and developed before they were dry. The glass support was coated and partially dried in darkness, trans-

* Robert E. Cunningham, a native Oklahoman, lives at Stillwater, and is well known as a foremost collector of photographic negatives and plates of early scenes of the American west. He is the author of *Indian Territory*, "A Frontier Photographic Record by W. S. Prettyman" (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1957).

ported to the camera in a light-tight holder, and exposed for a fraction of a minute.

Development had to follow the exposure at once, which also was done in a dark room. A rule of the thumb was that not more than ten minutes could elapse between the time the plate was coated and development completed. If the plate dried completely before exposure it lost its sensitivity. If it dried completely after exposure the developer chemicals would not penetrate the collodian.

Thousands of superb examples of wet plate work exist. Such men as Matthew Brady, Stanley J. Morrow, Alexander Gardner, William H. Jackson, L. A. Huffman and Tim O'Sullivan, to mention just a few of the better known photographers, produced pictures by this cumbersome process that are unsurpassed today.

In the late 1870's, a new innovation was introduced that was to revolutionize photography. A dry plate was put on the market that permitted instantaneous exposures, had a long shelf life, and did not require immediate development. This eliminated field coating and developing, which increased the scope of photography.

When the first opening took place in 1889, photographers were here with the settlers, and brought along the latest in cameras and film. They had dry plates, and cameras with shutters that would permit exposures as fast as one twenty-fifth of a second.

All were men of experience, there were few amateurs then, who had abandoned wet plate for the more convenient and dependable dry emulsion. Although they did not have access to photographic magazines, such as exist today, to help them keep abreast of the latest in the profession, they could not help but be aware of the possibilities of action photography. The suppliers included an action picture in every box of instantaneous film they sold to customers, to encourage them to experiment with freezing action.

Photographic equipment underwent little change in the succeeding decade, during which time some of the outstanding pictures in history were made. Still regarded by all authorities as the best early historical photograph in existence is the picture of the Run of 1893, when the Cherokee Outlet was opened four years after the first run into the Indian Territory.

This poses the question: Why were there no action pictures made of the first run, and if such a picture were made, where is it?

Although the equipment available was adequate to make such a picture, and the photographers present were capable, it is unlikely that such a picture was made. If such a picture were made, prints from it never were circulated, and none exists today. This conclusion is a result of a search that has spanned many years.

Photographers of that day had only one practical market for their product. They had to sell "views" to people along the waiting line, and these views sold better if the people could recognize themselves in the pictures. They would pay a quarter for a picture that showed the family in a wagon, or the head of the household mounted on a horse, ready to make the race for a claim. A practical photographer tried to get enough people in a picture who could be recognized in order to make several sales from one negative.

A few might buy general views, but quarters were scarce in the pockets of the land seekers, and few photographers were willing to take long chances on exposures that might not sell. Many of them had come great distances to film this epic, and expected to show a profit from their enterprise. Not one represented a great publishing house since publishing houses did not use photographers at the time.

Illustrated periodicals of the day did offer a limited market to photographers but the pictures had to pass through the hands of an artist before they appeared in print. Only a few could be used.

The previous year, in 1888, Levy brothers, of Philadelphia, had developed a method of screening photographs for reproduction by printing processes, but the trade was skeptical and the use limited. It still was necessary for an artist to create an illustration, which was photographed on wet plate, printed on metal and etched in acid. Some superb illustrations appeared in such magazines as *Leslie's*, *Harper's*, *Century*, and others, but they were not direct reproductions of photographs.

During the Civil War artists watched raging battles, and made on the spot sketches, which later were refined and reproduced in periodicals of the time. When it was not possible for an artist to be present, he sketched from a photograph, if one were available, but a credit line, "from a photograph," always appeared beneath the illustration. Artists preferred to work from life, but since this was not always possible, they grudgingly relied on photographs, but made certain in the credit line their efforts were limited by the lifelessness of the picture used.

Magazines that appeared before the Run of 1889 included illustrations of the preliminary action, some sketchy, some well

done. Many of them used illustrations of the Run itself, and of the occupation of the land, included views of new towns and the isolated homestead.

An examination of these published illustrations of the first run shows no two are alike, and none carries the customary "from a photograph" credit line. If an actual photograph had been available at least one of the publications would have obtained a copy, and reproduced it with credit line. If, by chance, they worked from photographs to create their illustrations of the Run, and all neglected to use the credit line, which is highly unlikely, at least two of the illustrations would have been identical. Such is not the case.

Marion Tuttle Rock, who produced the first history of the new territory in 1890, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*,¹ was as familiar with opening events as anyone else who participated. If there were pictures of the actual run, she would have known it, and was enterprising enough to have included one in her excellent book. No such reproduction appears.

Other writers who experienced the opening, such as Fred Wenner, of Guthrie, who reported every opening for eastern newspapers, and who published an illustrated booklet fifty years later, never used such a picture. He told the author he was positive that no such picture existed, and he was guilty of using a picture of the Run of 1893 to illustrate his excellent booklet about the first opening.

Every other book, magazine or periodical contemporary to the opening shows the same omission. Particular effort has been made to find duplicate reproductions in the known publications of the time, and all have been unsuccessful. It has been the privilege of this writer to interview photographers present on opening day, and to talk with many men and women who saw the waiting thousands at various places. None remembered ever seeing such a picture, and no photographer knew of one being made, or even attempted.

A careful search through hundreds of glass plates in many collections failed to uncover such a long-sought action picture. Thousands of prints from old plates no longer in existence further underscored this unhappy omission.

When the dust settled after the Run in 1889, sixteen photographers who worked the lines on opening day remained in the new territory. Every railroad town had at least one photographer. Guthrie had six, Oklahoma City three, and other principal towns one each. There were others present who were here just for the show, then went back to their permanent locations in nearby states. Two of these returned later to make outstanding contributions to the state's history.



(Cunningham Collection)

W. S. PRETTYMAN

In 1879, he came west from Delaware, and learned the photographic profession, in which he recorded much of Oklahoma's history. Few books about Oklahoma exist that do not include his pictures.



(Photo, 1890. Cunningham Collection)

A. A. FORBES

After a successful career as a photographer, he came to Oklahoma from Kansas. Only a few of his excellent pictures are in existence.



(Cunningham Collection)

This beautiful picture was made by Forbes before the Run into the Cheyenne-Arapaho Country on April 19, 1892. It shows a "boomer" camp near Kingfisher.



(Cunningham Collection)

This view of the line—the Run of 1893—from the platform looks down on a portion of the crowd nearest the camera. Note the soldier in the foreground and the man checking his watch. There was little time left.



(Cunningham Collection)

On the line of the Run into the Cherokee Outlet, 1893, a longer range was possible from Prettyman's platform well above the heads of participants. Here the cameraman changed his view from the crowds to photograph an oncoming stage.



(Cunningham Collection)

The Run into the Cherokee Outlet, September 16, 1893. Critics rate this picture as one of the greatest historical photographs ever made. It is completely untouched here, just as the cameraman photographed it. Some pictures eliminate the spectators hanging on the wire in the foreground, which irritated Prettyman.



(Cunningham Collection)

This 2nd photograph of the Run of 1893 from Prettyman's platform received little attention. Some similarity can be found with the more familiar picture, in distant figures which did not show as much blur as moving objects closest to the camera.



(Cunningham Collection)

This is one of the best pictures taken by Forbes. It shows the line before the Run on September 16, 1893. Since all could not be included in one picture, photographers had to content themselves with piecemeal coverage and sales to people in the picture.

One of these was William S. Prettyman, a photographer in Arkansas City, Kansas, who not only had a front seat at the drama but who had photographed every "boomer" leader, every prominent soldier and missionary, every Indian school as well as the principal chiefs and leaders of every Indian tribe within the Territory's borders.

Prettyman worked the north line, near his home base, then followed the crowd across the Cherokee Outlet when permission was given for prospective settlers to move down to the border of the Unassigned Land (or "Old Oklahoma"), where they would have opportunities equal to those waiting on the other three sides.

He made the run into Guthrie, and remained with friends several days, picturing the birth pains of the Territory. He visited other hopeful towns, such as Oklahoma Station (now Oklahoma City), and returned frequently by train to complete a superb photographic account of the new land, which fits neatly into his picture story already made of the ranches and first inhabitants.

Prettyman made two other runs with his camera, then when the Cherokee Outlet was opened to white settlement in 1893, he decided to be a participant. However, he set the stage for the great run pictures we now treasure before he raced for a choice claim. He drew on his past experiences, and his ingenuity, when he built a platform on Chilocco Indian land, near the starting line, the morning before the race.

The platform attracted curious comments from land seekers, but its purpose was not guessed until a few minutes before the race began. Prettyman did not discuss his plan with the three young men associated with him, and avoided the platform himself during its construction. When it was too late for competitive photographers to duplicate his effort, he told his three associates what he wanted done. They were Arthur and George Cornish, brothers, and Frank Miller.

Prettyman knew it would not be possible for one photographer to expose more than one plate at the critical moment, therefore he put three men and three cameras on the platform, instructing them to shoot at different times, and for each to try to catch the peak of action. He went on the platform with them and took a few pictures of the waiting line before he left for the race.

When the men and cameras on the platform were seen by photographers, they came to the base of the platform and pleaded for space on it. Bills of large denomination were waved at Prettyman, but he refused all offers. This idea had not occurred

to him in 1889, and since it occurred to no one else at this time, he felt he owned an exclusive right to it.

When the starting gun sounded, he raced across the prairie with some cowboy friends, and staked a claim on a quarter section he had selected earlier. The photographers on the platform made dramatic pictures, one of which was considered too blurred by movement to be acceptable at that time, when only sharp exposures were in demand. It was not printed and circulated, but it embalms dramatic action that can be appreciated today. The other was the well known view that has been reproduced countless millions of times.

A. A. Forbes was another excellent Kansas photographer, who worked the starting line for days before the Run, and who was a short distance west of Prettyman's platform when the race began. His pictures are excellent, but do not catch the excitement of frenzied movement.

Forbes had worked in Western Kansas before 1889, and had made numerous trips into the Territory after the first opening. Only a few Forbes' pictures survive, and a reason may be found in a study of Prettyman's surviving negatives.

Prettyman had a feeling that what he photographed would be in demand for a long time. He made a contact positive from each of his best negatives. This was done by printing the negative onto another unexposed negative in the same manner as he would make a paper print. From this positive he then could make other negatives by the same process, almost as good as the original. The first, or master negative, and the positive, went into permanent storage, then if a negative were broken in use another could be made in a matter of minutes. Glass plates were fragile, and this precaution was important.

Later Prettyman showed only a casual interest in his historic prizes, and abandoned them when he left Oklahoma in 1905. George Cornish, who opened a studio in Arkansas City, which he operated as long as he lived, preserved the old plates. Miller also operated a studio in Arkansas City, and Arthur Cornish joined Eastman Kodak company as a field technician.

The bulk of the Prettyman plates now are in the Cunningham Collection, back in the land of their origin.

One final bit of evidence to suggest that no action picture was made of the first run is found in Prettyman's early catalog. He lists several views he made during the opening, including one titled "Waiting at the Line for the Run of 1889," but none of the actual run. He did not make such a picture, and it is unlikely that a better photographer than Prettyman was present on that eventful day.

PERRY'S FIRST DOCTOR

By Clarence Cullimore*

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Thomas McIntyre Cullimore, born in Carrollton, Illinois, on November 22, 1849 to James and Catherine Cullimore, married Mary Pearce Joy of Joy Prairie, Illinois. Thomas Cullimore was educated at Surtleff College at Alton, Illinois, and was graduated from the College of Medicine at the University of the City of New York in 1877.

Dr. Cullimore practiced medicine in Jacksonville, Illinois until 1893 when he participated in the Cherokee Run and on September 16, 1893 established his office in Perry. Dr. Cullimore brought his wife and two sons, Allan Reginald and Clarence to Perry and established them in a house that he had built at the corner of 13th Street and Ivanhoe. This was the first two-story residence built in Perry.

Allan Reginald Cullimore later became the President of Newark College of Engineering at Newark, New Jersey. Clarence was honored by a Fellowship in the American Institute of Architects.

Dr. Thomas McIntyre Cullimore died at the age of forty-nine years, in Jacksonville, Illinois, where he was taken for special treatment by his friends in the medical profession.

Father¹ was feeling poorly. His practice in Jacksonville, Illinois, took almost more hours of the day and night than there were to go around. Dr. Prince insisted that father slow down. He told Mother², as we sat in the parlor, that father must get into the open if he wanted to live. Father delivered one more baby, lowered his shingle and put it into his valise along with his nightshirt. He said goodbye to my mother, brother³ and me, and boarded a train for Oklahoma and the Cherokee Strip. Uncle

* Clarence Cullimore is the author of *Old Adobes of Forgotten Fort Tejon*, *Adobe Architecture*, *Old Adobes of Santa Barbara*, and other works including articles and drawings in newspapers and magazines, besides publications of the American Institute of Architects. Mr. Cullimore is a specialist in scientific design and construction of adobe buildings made fireproof, waterproof and earthquakeproof, and has been a teacher of architecture in the Junior College of Bakersfield, California, where he has made his home for many years.—Ed.

¹ Dr. Thomas McIntyre Cullimore, who came to Perry, Oklahoma, in 1893.

² Mary Pearce Joy (Cullimore), born on September 29, 1857 at Joy Prairie, Illinois.

³ Allan Reginald Cullimore, born on March 2, 1884, in Jacksonville, Illinois, served in the First World War as Major, President of the Newark College of Engineering for twenty-five years. Granted an honorary Doctorate by Rutgers College on June 14, 1943 at the same occasion when Dwight D. Eisenhower was granted a similar honor. Dr. A. R. Cullimore, speaker and educator of national renown died on September 20, 1956. Until his death he was listed in *Who's Who in America*.

Grant⁴ and a patient of Father's, named Arthur⁵, went with father. It was this way about Arthur. He was a lad of seventeen, recuperating from a tough attack of typhoid fever. It had been all Father could do to pull him through, and he still needed care. Father could not "run-out" on Arthur, so he took him along to Oklahoma. There, Arthur's recovery was full and complete.

Father, Grant and Arthur sat in line on camp-stools at Orlando, waiting to get their certificates for the Run. For four dust-choking days they sat and inched forward, and for three nights they listened to liquor-lubricated renditions of "After the Strip is Opened."⁶ Federal soldiers burned the brush on the forbidden side of the starting line. A breeze blew back the ash into the soup that Arthur and father were eating. Father bought a bottle of beer for a dollar and split it three ways, the foam making a first rate dust-catcher to brush off before drinking. Soldiers brought in a fellow who had got across the line ahead of time. Everybody jeered and called him a "sooner."

The starting pistol cracked at precisely high noon on that eventful 16th day of September in 1893. At the signal the Cherokee Run was on. Thousands upon thousands of human beings burst into the Strip in frantic disorder, all classes, all kinds, on foot, in wagons and carriages and in railroad trains, hanging, ten deep, on the rear platform and bursting out of the windows. Father, Grant and Arthur, who had picked up a preacher⁷ as a traveling companion, made it in a spring-wagon with canvas on top. They literally plunged into the treeless waste, bounding from one prairie-dog mound to the next. Father gripped the reins, shouting "Gidap! Gidap!" Grant cracked the whip and Arthur and the minister held themselves ready to apply the brakes. The dust was so thick that father barely missed taking off a wheel when they grazed a Cottonwood tree near Cow Creek.

Tents were going up when they reached the square in Perry, but there were 6,000 city lots available and father got the one he wanted facing the square, and Grant got another several blocks away. Soon Perry was bursting and spilling over into the uncharted outskirts. Father set up his tent and hoisted his shingle on its pole— "*Dr. Thomas M. Cullimore*—Physician and Surgeon."

⁴ Dr. Grant Cullimore, a specialist in ailments of the eye, ear, nose and throat, practiced in Oklahoma City. Here he married Virginia Lois Sharp and they had one child, Donald Grant Cullimore, born on October 7, 1907. Dr. Grant Cullimore died of typhoid fever on July 29, 1909 and was buried in Fairlawn Cemetery in Oklahoma City.

⁵ Arthur Fairbanks did not remain in Oklahoma but returned to Jacksonville, Illinois where he still resides in (1960).

⁶ Parody on "After the Ball is Over."

⁷ The author does not remember the minister's name or the church denomination.

Father was the first M.D. to actually open an office in Perry. His preacher friend was anxious to build the first church. He told Father that on the coming Sunday he was going to conduct a Union Service for several denominations and at its conclusion he was planning to ask those who had ties to his particular brand of Christianity to join in donating their labor to put up a church building. He suggested that Father buy the lumber. Father was a religious man but not that religious. Furthermore, he did not have funds to put into anything without prospect of immediate earthly returns; but Father had a brainstorm. He had already made a dicker with Grant to buy his lot for a residence, for Grant had decided to go back to Oklahoma City. "No larger than a barn," the preacher continued, "And it could be placed on the back of a lot when the front is to be used for some other purpose." In his mind, Father was already formulating plans and specifications for a barn. "We'll soon outgrow such a small structure," the preacher pleaded, "and the church will revert to you."

Father knew that he must have a barn for the two horses that had made the run, and he planned to get two Indian ponies for my brother and me, and of course there must be a cow. "Well," he replied, the design of the barn now well laid out in his mind, "If you fellows will build a church on the rear of Grant's lot, only about forty feet by forty, gable roof, not more than six windows, plank benches and a box pulpit, I will furnish the lumber." Father bought Grant's lot and soon had a church on the back of it; but the minister's predications of church growth did not come true. The membership dwindled and in a few weeks the flock folded-up. The few remaining members threw in their lot with the flourishing Baptists. It was then that James Kaypolk Madison, Father's colored handy-man, removed the benches and the pulpit, and put in stalls and a manger. There was a place to keep the buggy, the surrey and the buckboard.

When the Perry situation had sufficiently simmered-down, my mother, brother and I joined Father. He had built a house for us on the front of Grant's old lot. It was not much of a house to look at, but it was the first two-story house in Perry, and the only one that had a green lawn around it; you see, James Kaypolk planted some barley seed, and it looked wonderful when it first came up.

It was pretty strenuous practicing medicine in Perry. Some of Father's patients were Indians⁸ who had despaired of cures through their medicine men. One poor fellow, who had a hole bored in his head through which to blow magic powder, died soon after Father arrived, and Father got the blame. Right after

⁸ Osage, Pawnee, Oto, Iowa and other neighboring tribes.

the Run there was an occasional shooting. The people in tents lay close to the ground at night, not wishing to stop stray bullets. Father was called after several affrays.⁹ Sunday afternoons when he had to visit patients in the country, he sometimes took my mother, brother and me in a surrey and drove two horses. There were no fences and wheel tracks were liable to run every which-way. Getting lost was exciting. We generally took a picnic lunch. We were not permitted to go along when Father knew that any of his patients had smallpox or scarlet fever, and this was not infrequent.

Last summer, when visiting Perry after an absence of almost sixty-five years, I was surprised to find our old house still standing, green lawn, cyclone-cellar, pump and all, but the barn was gone. The old house is on the corner of Ivanhoe and 13th Street, its side facing the school. The window in the front gable, how tall it had seemed! Its sill was not much above the floor and its top reached almost to the low ceiling.

There was one occasion when that window's placement had distressed our mother no end. It was bedtime on a July evening. Mother had sent my brother and me upstairs to bed. At the precise instant when we had shed all our clothes, and before we could possibly get into our nightgowns, a volley of rifle shots cracked the livery stable on the other side of the street. This was Perry's way of sounding a fire alarm. Father, who was a member of the volunteer fire brigade, rushed out of the house and across the street, toward the bucket which stood on one of the two barrels that every place of business was supposed to keep full of salt water. Mother followed him as far as the street, stopped and looked back at our house as if thinking of flying sparks. There, in the red glare, framed in full-length in that window, stood her two darlings, stark naked. Mother flew back and upstairs, more concerned with the proprieties than the conflagration.

For a time the Oklahoma climate seemed to help Father's health. He remained in Perry for three years and then tried Colorado and Beatrice, Nebraska, but he never was well again. Finally he could not carry-on any longer and we took him back to Jacksonville, Illinois for treatment under the care of old friends of his profession. One chance for life was offered him by an operation. This he bravely accepted. He died shortly after it on March 3, 1899. The funeral was held from the old home in Jacksonville and he was buried in Diamond Grove Cemetery of that city. The physicians of Jacksonville were in attendance in

⁹ "*Hell's Half Acre*" was filled with a bursting mass of incongruous humanity on the block bounded on the north by "D" Street and on the west by the alley running through the block north and south and on the east by the Santa Fe tracks, and on the south by "C" Street.

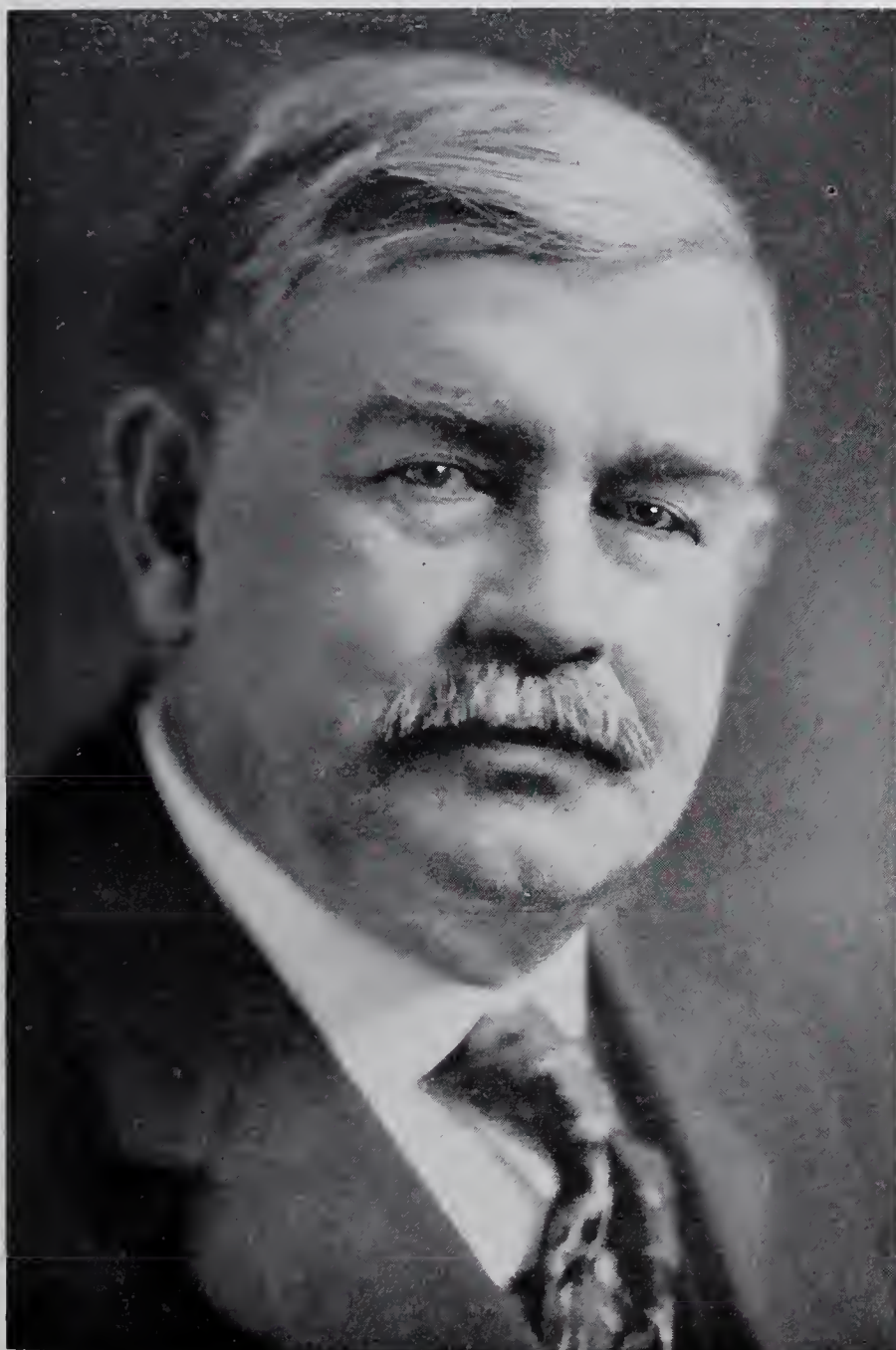


HOME OF DR. THOMAS MCINTYRE CULLMORE.

This first Two-story dwelling in Perry Stands there today.



DR. THOMAS M. AND MARY JAY CULLIMORE
with their sons,
Allan Reginald and Clarence (front).



CHARLES PAGE



Children and Staff members at the
Sand Springs Home



Charles Page Monument and the
Page Memorial Library at Sand Springs.

a body, and with bared heads on that sleety morning, lined the walk on each side from the house to the carriages as an honor guard while the casket, covered with red roses, passed between them. It was their tribute of friendships formed by an unselfish professional life and honorable citizenship.

Soon after our father died, Mother took my brother and me to California to live, fearing that I might become subject to Father's ailment in need of a better climate. I have now crowded into the seventies.

Last summer, when my wife¹⁰ and I motored back to childhood haunts, we headed straight for Perry, and then up to Jacksonville, Illinois. It was there that I talked to an elderly gentleman of about eighty-three, who said that he had known my father. He told me that as a lad of seventeen, Father had seen him through a siege of typhoid fever. It was Arthur Fairbanks. I talked with Arthur about the Cherokee Strip run. His eyes sparkled, almost boyishly, and I detected something like a tear coursing down his wrinkled cheek. He spoke endearingly of my father, who had died so many years ago, and of their Oklahoma adventure.

¹⁰ Rosemary Thelen Cullimore.

CHARLES PAGE

A MAN—A DREAM—AN OPPORTUNITY

*By Mrs. Walter Wood**

Standing on a granite pedestal in the picturesque triangle in the center of Sand Springs is a bronze figure of a man at whose feet near the base stand figures of women and children with faces upturned toward the benevolent face of the man above them, the man whose features are as life-like as the sculptor, Lorado Taft, could make them. The statue represents Charles Page, benefactor of widows and orphans. Across the street from the monument is the Page Memorial Library, a gift from Mrs. Page. On a wall here hangs a portrait of Charles Page; in the Home over the great mantel is a rich painting of him; in the local bank and other institutions he founded are pictures of him, yet neither sculptor nor artist have best preserved in their works the memory of Charles Page. Rather, it is preserved in the abundant life of the many children in the Home, one generation of them after another, living harmoniously amid home-like splendor, in the spirit of contentment among widowed mothers and their children, living in comfort and security in attractive cottages in the Widow's Colony; and in the Sand Springs industries where it has been demonstrated that industry and labor can go hand in hand for the good of each. These are the best memorials to Charles Page.

Born on June 2, 1860, Charles Page lived his first eleven years on a Wisconsin farm with his parents, James William Page and Mary Ann Gottry Page, and from their life, under pioneering conditions, he learned of thrift and careful management. From parental precept and example, he learned of honor and gratification in sharing with worthy, needy fellow men whatever comforts of life he possessed. The father of Charles Page, a staunch Scot and Presbyterian, managed to provide from his own farm enough food and to spare, supporting five families of women and children whose husbands and fathers were in the Union Army, when they might otherwise have been in destitute condition. The mother of Charles Page always helped with a neighborly hand in case of illness, birth or death, and her old album was filled with daguerreotypes of herself and infants she had assisted into the world. Her own infant and

* Mrs. Walter Wood has made her family home in Sapulpa, Oklahoma for many years. In connection with her various civic activities, she has written news reports, human interest stories, biographical sketches and some verse, much of which has been published in the local newspapers, religious magazines and similar publications.—Ed.

last son, Edwin, born during the Civil War, was named by her eldest son, William, for a tent-mate of his. William was stationed at Ft. Gibson, Cherokee Nation. Station Commander was Colonel Dodge, who afterward became first Governor of Wisconsin. William Page's Captain was DeWitt Brown whose wife, Frances, was a younger sister of the Page children's mother. On their way back to camp one day while riding along single file "at ease," this contingent of troops was fired upon by bushwhackers who lurked along the way. A skirmish followed with two Union men killed. William Page, fatally wounded, rode back to meet the hospital unit drawing up the rear. "Aunt Fannie," he cried, "I've been shot!" then added, "But I got the man that shot me." "Aunt Fannie" Brown was a nurse and went through the war with the Hospital Corps serving wherever her husband was detailed. William Page lived twelve hours after being shot. He was buried at Ft. Gibson. Frances Brown lived to visit her nephew, Charles Page, at Tulsa in 1908. She died while there and was buried in Stevens Point, Wisconsin.

When Charles Page was eleven years old his father died, in 1871. Reconstruction was still trying the strength of adults and young Charles shouldered burdens beyond his years, in his zeal to lessen burdens borne by his widowed mother. Leaving the small farm near Arnett, the mother moved her family to Stephen's Point, a pioneer town fourteen miles distant.

Of her eight children only two were then at home with her, Charles and Edwin A., later known simply as "Ed." Fluent in the languages of her German-French parents who emigrated from Alsace when she was eight, speaking equally well the language of her adoption, Charles Page's mother desired for her children the best of whatever education the locality afforded. She even kept as boarder in her home the school's one teacher, Miss Marcia Morrison. At an early age, Charles was forced to forsake his studies in school to help his mother after his father's death, and resumed them again in early adult life when he studied under a private tutor. Grasping with force the essentials of learning, Charles Page was able later to cope successfully with men of best trained minds and ability.

Notwithstanding his deep and tender devotion to his mother, Charles Page was compelled to leave home at an early age to earn more money. Following the example of the *Man* who for all time and eternity must be above all men, and who, at the tender age of twelve years, announced to his mother, "I must be about My Father's business," young Charles, urged by an irresistible force within him, must begin working and living and growing into what he was to become. Work held

a challenge for him. Away from home, his first job was with the old Wisconsin Railroad as "callboy," with the duty of awakening the "next shift" by pounding on the door and announcing "Trains delayed" or "Trains on time." And this task was performed with zest. In his late teens, he was Police Chief in a small Wisconsin town. Again as a member of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, he was tracking down hunted men, following one much-sought man even to the Pacific coast. From such experiences he gained a deepened insight into the trials and troubles of "down and out" persons which helped to form into resolution his long-time inclination to be of help to others. He quit the detective force and henceforth, his fiercest struggle was with the forces of nature rather than with man.

Engaging in logging in northern states, he helped hew down great and tall timbers and among other men of the camp drove teams of oxen dragging the heavy logs to the water's edge where they were floated down the Mississippi and sold to saw mills at St. Louis. A venture in mining in Washington and British Columbia netted sufficient funds to invest in real estate in Denver and other cities. Then the Nation's financial crash in 1893 caused him to widen his undertakings.

Charles Page had sat sorrowfully at the bedside of his dying mother in March 1891. With bowed heart he had gone away after the funeral to throw himself even more intensely into whatever task he undertook. The elemental environs of the Northwest challenged still. Charles Page after his grief in the loss of his mother began again.

Among his long time acquaintances he is described as being "at least six feet tall, weighing 200 pounds or more, having broad shoulders, developed muscles, head and body well developed, black hair, heavy black eyebrows, black mustache, pleasant smile and voice, could be stern and positive when necessary." Again those associated with him say, "He figured in his head—kept records largely in his mind," and "He kept an open mind and information gravitated toward him. He seemed to know things without having to learn them, yet he was always learning." After he had become a successful oil man, had established a city, a perpetual Home for children, a Colony for poor widows, was recognized at home and abroad as an outstanding philanthropist and was honored and adored by the many he had benefitted most, even then, there was no formality in approaching him. He listened to everyone. A poor widow or a little child—all could speak their mind. And "He remembered names of all children of the Home."

In 1905, Charles Page came to Indian Territory and continued a long search for oil. In the Territory and Oklahoma, he

encountered failures with intermittent successes. He drilled the first well in what later became the Greater Seminole fields. But this was not his real success.

While living in Tulsa during the Panic of 1907, Charles Page met a young Salvation Army Captain, B. F. Breeding. From him he learned the whereabouts of many persons in desperate need. Page one day approached Captain Breeding and Breeding recalls his greeting:

Cap, I want to help you. I have a friend down on First Street who runs a rooming house for men. It has thirty beds. Go to him and engage all beds for transient men who are broke, and arrange with the restaurant next door for supper and breakfast. With two meals and a night's lodging send them on their way. If you find a needy family on account of sickness or unemployment, purchase groceries. Come to me each day for a check to pay the bills. For the weekend, come on Monday. If it is ten dollars or a hundred, pay it every day.

Sometimes the sum was a hundred dollars or more and it was always paid says Breeding, who explains, "Mr. Page never robbed people of their initiative. In helping them he was careful to leave something for them to do for themselves. The goal set for them was self-support and independence."

By act of Congress May 27, 1908, removal of restrictions from much Indian Land permitted purchase, with County Court approval, but an act which incidentally pointed a way for Charles Page to begin at last the realization of a life-time dream. He could purchase land and build his dream Home for children, and could provide homes for destitute widows and their children.

Mr. Page said to Captain Breeding in early 1908: "Cap, I'm buying a farm. I'm going to use it for the benefit of the human race. This farm has springs which afford an abundant supply of pure water. It is covered with oak, walnut, hickory and pecan timber and plenty of stone less than a mile away. I'm going to do good with it."

"He pictured to me," says Captain Breeding, "the purchase of additional land for town and factory sites, and for a park and lake. Also, a big farm with herds of livestock, the profits of all to be used for widows and orphans and the unfortunate whoever they might be."

After purchasing the land and hiring men to go with teams of oxen into the so-called "impenetrable wilderness of tangled briars and undergrowth, over impassable sand hills," to clear some of it and set up tents, Charles Page then invited his friend and co-worker in charitableness, Captain Breeding, to come and take charge of the future Sand Springs Home. Perhaps neither guessed that Captain Breeding would superintend the Home

through forty consecutive years while generations of children would come and go. The first occupants of the new (tent) Home were a widow Nolen and her two young sons. She died of tuberculosis soon afterward and her sons lived in the Home to their maturity. Others were soon added to the small number. Then on May 20, 1909, twenty children were brought over from the failing Cross and Anchor home for Children in Tulsa. On that first evening after the arrival of these children, Captain Breeding reminisces: "Mr. Page drove out in a buckboard; no car could be driven out at that time. He stayed until nine o'clock that night. From the spring, up through the row of cottages and tents he, with the children, paraded and sang 'Pretty Red Wing' and other popular songs of the time."

Under Charles Page's guidance, the atmosphere of the Home was as nearly like a real home as possible. On his frequent visits the children met him with a spontaneous burst of affection, equalled on other occasions only by their greeting for Captain Breeding.

From almost the beginning it was the custom of Mrs. Page and their daughter Mary, to accompany her husband on his visits to the Home, sharing equal interest with him. She was a beautiful soul and was an inspiration to the writer here. Mary, now Mrs. Calder Seibels, has one son, John Page Seibels.

Gradually the permanent structures of Home and Colony took shape. In 1910, a dormitory accommodating fifty children was completed and on Christmas Day, 1918, the new large and beautiful Home as it stands today, was dedicated. A party was held and food was served from twelve o'clock noon to eight o'clock evening including bear, buffalo, venison, opossum, rabbit, squirrel, turkey, duck, goose, and meat courses. Hundreds of guests, employees, friends, relatives, and Home children shared in the celebration. Always on Christmas there is a great tree loaded with gifts for the children and a program suited to the day.

Children living in the Home and Colony attend Sand Springs public schools, and churches of their choice. Higher education is provided for them, and those wishing to enter special training may do so. Some have reached a high rank in music and other specialized fields.

The Sand Springs Home Interests, incorporated in 1912, under laws of Oklahoma for charitable purposes, has authority to carry on business and own property. It is controlled by a five member Board of Directors, Home Trustees. Charles Page was president of the board and he selected members who should become trustees after his death, to serve throughout their lifetime, and he provided that after those named by himself should die,

their successors were to be appointed by the Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. of Oklahoma.¹

Charles Page always wanted his relatives near at hand. He brought many of them to Sand Springs to live near him and provided prominent places at the Home for his younger brother, "Ed" Page, and his nephew, E. M. Monsell, both now deceased. They were once members of his appointed Board of Trustees.

To support the Home and Widows' Colony, Mr. Page established the Sand Springs Railroad between Tulsa and Sand Springs with fair rates for freight and he encouraged the establishment of industries, providing low rental and low charge for water, natural gas, and electricity. Among the early remaining industries in Sand Springs, are the cotton mill, box factory, steel mill, Kerr Glass factory and others. The Sand Springs townsite was organized and the city platted in 1911. Charles Page made provisions for churches, schools and a library; established a state bank, greenhouse, and warehouses. He provided water at Shell Lake for both Sand Springs and Tulsa as well as Sand Springs park and lake for recreational purposes.

Two days after Christmas of 1926, Charles Page died. Children who were in the Home during his lifetime mourn his death to this day. He lies in a vault in Woodland Cemetery at Sand Springs, and the Home children shower the opening with flowers each Memorial Day. Many friends stand with bowed head at his tomb remembering him as one who loved his fellow man.

Judge Paul Pinkerton, his attorney, close associate, friend, and fellow churchman recalls some of Page's favorite mottos: "Look out of a window up at the hills and you will get hunches. Try to analyze these hunches and *Think Right*; Light a candle in your mind and that brings about an '*Inner Light*' to solve the problem."

Charles Page became a member of the Presbyterian Church, to which he contributed liberally. Judge Pinkerton, expressing deepest esteem, relates:

Mr. Page was a man of strongest faith. One day he was riding with me in a car returning from Tulsa, where we had been together on some business. As we were passing the Indian Springs near the Greenhouse I remarked to Mr. Page that he had used great judgment in establishing Sand Springs on its present wooded location among the small hills rather than the low land south of the Katy Tracks and west of Lake Station which overflowed at times. Mr. Page at once explained: "I did not do it. Sand Springs is 'God's Town.'"

¹The present board is composed of Board President, Paul E. Estill, accountant for the Home since 1922; J. S. Babbitt, President of the Sand Springs Railway; H. C. Jones, appointed by the Grand Master and was formerly Collector of Internal Revenue; E. J. Doerner, Tulsa attorney of the firm of Doerner, Rinehart & Stuart; S. Neal Johnson, prominent masonic worker, appointed by the Grand Master. Judge Paul Pinkerton, a local attorney, has served as attorney for Sand Springs Home since 1918.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

SUGAR LOAF MOUNTAIN RESORT

During his research in the Oklahoma Historical Society collections one day in summer last year, Dr. James D. Morrison saw this advertisement in the old files of the *South McAlester Capital* for July 12, 1894:

“Sugar Loaf Mountain Resort”

“Grand Summer Health Resort.—Are you in bad health or depressed by the hot weather? Do you desire to leave the worry of business . . . ? Sugar Loaf Mountain is the place you are hunting. Beautiful scenery, good hotel accomodations. Most health restoring water in the west. A perfect paradise to the invalid and overworked.”

The “health restoring water” acclaimed in this notice was that of the big spring called “Kuli Chaha” (“High Spring,” in Choctaw) high on the side of Sugar Loaf Mountain which was a landmark seen and noted in the records of the earliest explorers and visitors in the Arkansas River country. This mountain was in the northeastern part of old Sugar Loaf County (*Nvniḥ Chufuk Kaunti*), organized 1850, a county of the Choctaw Nation until statehood in 1907. The peak of Sugar Loaf Mountain stands with an altitude of 2,600 feet about ten miles east of the City of Poteau, near the Arkansas boundary, and can be seen for many miles toward the east when one drives along U. S. Highways 270 and 271 in Oklahoma. The region north of Sugar Loaf Mountain is shown as Kuli Chaha Township in LeFlore County, on present state maps.

There was a thriving little town, called Kulli Chaha located in the region about six miles north of Sugar Loaf Mountain, after Emmett Craddock built the first store in 1880 beside the road that became the main street of the town. The first post office of Kulli Chaha was established in February, 1881, with A. R. Ross as postmaster. A second store was opened in 1883 by McMurtrey and Brewer, the latter a young man then. Nearly fifty years afterward, he was well known as Judge Phil Brewer, a prominent attorney of Oklahoma City and member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society.¹

¹Notes on the history and plat of the town of Kulli Chaha, given in an interview with Judge Phil Brewer, are in the Library of the Historical Society, in a book “Some Historic Sites in Southern and Southeastern Oklahoma,” compiled by Muriel H. Wright with photographs taken on field trips for the Oklahoma Historical Society, in 1930.

By 1885, the residence of J. U. Morrow stood at the north end of the main street of Kulli Chaha while a block south were several store buildings including those of Charles Wilson and Joe Barnes, with Mr. Morrow's drug store and a large blacksmith shop on the east side of the street. About a mile east of town, stood the Mosholatubbee Masonic Lodge Building.

The old Kulli Chaha spring high up the side of Sugar Loaf Mountain was long a favorite place for people on camping trips for pleasure in the summer time, especially during the huckleberry season.

(M. H. W.)

AIRCONDITIONING IN THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

After many years of suffering through intense summer heat visitors to the Oklahoma Historical Society Building will now find the comfort of airconditioning.

By action of the last Legislature (27th—1959), an appropriation of \$29,760.00 was made to the Oklahoma State Board of Affairs for the purpose of installing airconditioning throughout the Society's libraries, museums, and offices. As a result, airconditioning totaling sixty tons has been installed in the Historical Building.

Installing contractor was Parmeter Refrigeration and Airconditioning Company of Oklahoma City. The equipment was made by the Miami Aireconditioning Company of Miami, Oklahoma. Engineering was furnished by W. C. Smith and Fred LaBoon of the State Board of Affairs staff.

THE REMOVAL OF THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE FROM GUTHRIE TO OKLAHOMA CITY, 1910

Mr. Earl F. Keyes of Oklahoma City is well known in the offices of the Historical Society and the State Capitol, having been connected for many years with the sales department of Wesbanco for office supplies. He was well acquainted in political circles and among newsmen in the State capital fifty years ago, serving as a clerk in State departments before and at the time of the election of June 11, 1910, when the people of the new State voted on selection of the permanent location for the capital. The following account of the removal of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma from Guthrie in 1910 before Oklahoma City was the capital by law, is found in a letter from Mr. Earl F. Keyes, dated April 22, 1952, addressed to Dr. Charles Evans who was then serving as Secretary-Manager of the Oklahoma Historical Society:

Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary-Manager *

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Dear Mr. Evans:

There have been so many fantastic and imaginary tales and news stories told and printed, over the years, concerning the removal of the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma from the vault in the Secretary of State's office at Guthrie, Oklahoma to Oklahoma City, following the the election held on June 11, 1910, that I want to record for whatever historical value it may be the real truth and facts concerning this incident and if possible stop these fanciful tales for all time.

Quite recently there appeared in one of the Oklahoma City newspapers a picture of a recessed and shadowed window in the Logan County Court House in which it was claimed "a man carrying the Great Seal clambered, on the evening of June 11, a car waiting for him in the alley, then rushed to Oklahoma and Oklahoma City had a capital." The only part of that story which is true is the picture of the window, and the real facts and the whole truth concerning the removal of the Great Seal are as follows:

At the time of the holding of the election for the selection of a permanent state capital city, at which Oklahoma City, Guthrie, and Shawnee were the three candidates to be voted on, I was employed as Corporation Record Clerk in the office of the Secretary of State. Bill Cross, Secretary of State, and Leo Meyer, Assistant Secretary of State, were both absent from Guthrie on the day of the election, being in their respective home cities of Oklahoma City and Sayre in order to vote. This election was held on Saturday, June 11, 1910, and that evening about seven o'clock I had a phone call from Secretary of State Bill Cross telling me that W. B. Anthony, who was then private secretary to Governor C. N. Haskell, would be up to Guthrie about eleven o'clock that night with a message for me from him and told me to do what the message requested. That night about eleven o'clock, Secretary Cross telephoned again, said that there had been a slight delay in the time when Mr. Anthony would arrive but that when he did arrive in Guthrie he would telephone me at my residence and to wait at my home for this telephone call.

Early Sunday morning, at daylight, the telephone rang and when I went to the telephone Mr. Anthony was on the line and said, "Earl, this is Bill Anthony. Can you come down to your office?" I dressed, walked down to the court house on East Harrison avenue and in front of the court house I saw a Cadillac touring car and when I arrived at the north entrance of the court house and looked at the car and its passengers I saw the driver and owner of the car Bill Light and W. B. Anthony in the front seat, and the rear seat Porter Spaulding, an employee of Governor Haskell's office, S. F. Price, an old friend of Secretary of State Bill Cross and Luther Harrison, now chief editorial writer on the *Daily Oklahoman*, and at that time press agent for the Democratic State Central Committee, and who by the way had invited himself and accompanied the party at the time the car was being filled at Oklahoma City and who went along for the ride without any idea of where they were going or knowing the purpose of the mission. While the car left Oklahoma City at eleven o'clock that night, it was daylight when it arrived at Guthrie due to a flat tire which occurred near Seward, on unpaved highways and poor country roads.

When I stepped over to the car that Sunday morning Mr. Anthony said, "Earl, let's go into your office." He and I walked up the steps of the court house building and were met at the door by Night Watchman Dooley Williamson, who opened the door and said, "Earl, what do you

want?" I told him I had some business in the office and he spoke to Mr. Anthony, and Mr. Anthony and I walked down the hall and unlocked the door of the Secretary of State's office and walked in, then locked the door behind us. Mr. Anthony handed me a written note from Secretary of State Cross telling me to deliver the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma, of which the Secretary has always been Custodian, to Mr. Anthony. The seal was kept in an iron safe in the vault along with the Constitution, and I went into the vault and opened the safe and lifted the seal out and went into the room and wrote out a receipt on the typewriter and Mr. Anthony signed it and I wrapped the seal in a piece of brown kraft wrapping paper. Mr. Anthony put it under his arm and we walked down the hall and out of the building. He got in the car and drove straight to Oklahoma City, where he delivered the Great Seal to Secretary Cross and it has remained in Oklahoma City ever since.

Temporary offices of the Governor and Secretary of State were set up immediately on the second floor of the Lee-Huckins Hotel, and a proclamation declaring Oklahoma City the victor in the election was issued by Governor Haskell and the impression of the Seal placed thereon. From then on and until the removal of the capital records from Guthrie and during the court and all legal proceedings which followed this election, the Seal remained here and was used on all State documents requiring its use. The election of June 11, 1910, was declared void by the Oklahoma Supreme Court but an act by the Legislature which was called in Special Session in December, 1911, and which, by the way, was held in Oklahoma City, was declared legal by the State Supreme Court and thus was settled once and for all the selection of Oklahoma City as the State Capital of Oklahoma.

There are only two persons living today, who had a participating part in the removal of the Great Seal from Guthrie to Oklahoma City: Luther Harrison and myself.¹ I regret that I did not keep the letter from Secretary Cross nor the receipt which I had Mr. Anthony sign for the seal because at that time I did not think of its historical value. Whatever became of the piece of kraft wrapping paper which covered the seal when Mr. Anthony left the office is to my mind the only mysterious part of the removal of the seal from Guthrie, and the true story of the removal of the Seal from Guthrie is exactly as I have related it.

My only desire in writing this story is to keep the record straight and to have it told to you by someone who had a small part in the actual happenings of that memorable Sunday morning, June 12, 1910.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) EARL F. KEYES
1115 Northwest 23rd Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

¹ Mr. Earl F. Keyes is (1960) the only living person who made the memorable trip from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, with the Great Seal of Oklahoma in 1910. Mr. Luther Harrison, Chief Editor of the *Daily Oklahoman* died in Oklahoma City, in 1958.

IN MEMORY OF ACEE BLUE EAGLE

A memorial to Acee Blue Eagle in the form of a special exhibit of paintings by this noted American Indian Artist is featured this summer period in the large exhibit case, in the alcove on the Third Floor of the Historical Building. Five of the paintings in water color show Blue Eagle's best and early work as an artist: "Pawnee Scout," "Sun Dance," "Buffalo Hunt," "The Wedding" and "Snake Dance," "all five of the paintings

Acee Blue Eagle (or Alex McIntosh)

1910-1959

Internationally renowned artist, dancer, lecturer on American Indian Customs

Born near Anadarko of Creek-Pawnee ancestry, a descendant of that noted Creek Chief, William McIntosh.

Acee Blue Eagle attended American Indian Schools including Riverside at Anadarko, Euchee at Sapulpa, and Chilocco at Chilocco, from which he graduated in 1928. He attended Bacone College and later received his BFA Degree from the University of Oklahoma.

In the same year he entered the competition in Art held in conjunction with the Olympic Games at Los Angeles, California and won 4th place in water color among the 420 artists from 12 countries.

Acee Blue Eagle was the artist who did "Indian Buffalo Hunt," a large canvas presented to the USS Oklahoma in 1934 by the Lions Clubs of Oklahoma, which was lost when the great ship was sunk at Pearl Harbor.

Large exhibits of his paintings were shown at the Century of Progress and at Youngs Gallery, Chicago; the last was shown at the American Indian Exposition in Anadarko, 1958.

In 1935 he gave a series of lectures on American Indian Art at Oxford University in England and in the principal cities of Scotland and France.

He was the first director of Indian Art at Bacone Indian University, Muskogee, Okla., 1935-1938.

During three years service in the Air Corps in World War II, he was stationed at 18 different posts and left mural paintings at each. He was one of 5 artists selected to do illustrative work on a safety program designed to combat routine training accidents.

After the war he became Art Director at the Oklahoma State University Technical Training School at Okmulgee, a position he held until his death.

Blue Eagle adhered to the oldest tradition of American Indian Art using the flat silhouette treatment of all figures, through his Indian heritage devoting himself to the preservation of the native arts and traditions in America.

His work is represented in most museums of the United States. His paintings were on exhibit at different times in Washington, D.C., Radio Center, in New York and Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa. He won numerous awards for his art work including 27 firsts in the Gallup New Mexico exhibitions.

Biographical sketches of Blue Eagle appear in a number of publications including,

Who's Who of Outstanding Indians in the United States

Who's Who of American Artists

Who's Who of Oklahoma

and International Who's Who

In 1958 he was named the "Outstanding Indian in the United States" by the American Indian Exposition at Anadarko.

Acee Blue Eagle died at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Muskogee, Okla., June 18, 1959.

Facsimili of Memorial Scroll in the Exhibition of Paintings by Acee Blue Eagle, Indian Artist.

recently presented as a gift to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mr. Leslie McRill, Oklahoma poet and writer. The other two paintings in this exhibit are in dark colors and a heavy touch: "Indian Warrior" and "Knife Dancer," examples of the artist's later work.

A set of the "Famous Indian Tumblers" and the glass water pitcher with the Indian design by Blue Eagle in colors, distributed a few years ago by the Knox Industries Corporation, represent the artist's work in the commercial field.

A handsome, large photograph in colors, shows Acee in his beautiful Indian costume that he wore in his programs at home and abroad. This and a memorial scroll in pen text giving a brief history of his life complete this interesting display prepared by Mrs. C. E. Cook, Museum Curator, for the summer season under the caption "Famous Oklahomans."

NOTE FROM GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

General Douglas MacArthur has replied to a letter of inquiry from the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, George H. Shirk, about the General's presence as a small boy on the site of Guthrie at the opening of the Oklahoma Country in 1889. The statement appears in the article on "Fred Wenner: Pioneer Reporter," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for spring, 1960 (Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1), p. 47: "Captain Arthur MacArthur, in charge of Federal troops, was stationed at Guthrie. His small boy, Douglas was there, too, when he was very young. He later became the famous General Douglas MacArthur."

General Douglas MacArthur's note in reply to President Shirk follows:

90 Church Street, Room 1303

New York 7, New York

7 July 1960

Dear President Shirk:

I have received and read with interest your letter of July 5th. My father, then a Captain in the 13th Infantry, commanded the eight companies of the Regular Army who were ordered to supervise the opening of Oklahoma to the so-called "boomers." They were encamped near the present site of Guthrie. Neither

I nor my mother accompanied my father but remained at Fort Leavenworth which at that time was his station.

Most sincerely,
(Signed) Douglas MacArthur

President George H. Shirk,
Oklahoma Historical Society,
Historical Society Building
Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL MARKERS AND MONUMENTS

1959-1960

Twelve Oklahoma Historical Markers have been erected on the main highways in the state, from January, 1959 to July, 1960, under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society with the co-operation of the State Highway Commission. These twelve markers are the roadside type, a large aluminum plaque with the official Oklahoma design at the top, in enamel colors, bearing a brief history of the site marked. A local group or committee interested in promoting and preserving community history has provided the funds (\$125.00) in each instance, to pay for the casting of the plaque at the studio factory, maker of the official Oklahoma markers since the beginning of this program in the Historical Society in 1949. The Oklahoma Historical Society has determined the location of the sites and written the inscriptions of all the markers, and the State Highway Commission has erected them, every one placed in the vicinity of the historic site itself.

In the same period (1959-60), there have been nineteen on-site markers also provided and placed by the Committee on Historic Sites sponsored by the Historical Society. The on-site marker is a concrete base mounted by a small bronze plaque with a brief inscription of history, placed on the actual historic site, or as near as possible. Many of these on-site markers are on ground off in old fields, or beside traces of old roads, indicating the actual sites for future reference in history, or for those interested in visiting them.

The following list gives the inscriptions, the locations and the groups providing the funds for the twelve roadside markers; also, the inscriptions and the locations of the nineteen on-site markers erected by the Committee on Historic Sites under the auspices of the Historical Society:

ROADSIDE HISTORICAL MARKERS

1. *RED FORK STATION*: Site 3 Blocks south. Stockade buildings of Red Fork Ranch on the Chisholm Trail, at the Cimarron or Red Fork river crossing here, included a stage station to change horses and a supply depot for travelers, late 1860's to 1890's. Troops from Ft. Sill were on duty here during Indian war alarm after the Pat Hennessey massacre, in July, 1874.
Location of marker: South end of roadside park at north side of Dover, Kingfisher County, on U. S. Highway 81.
(Funds provided by County Committee on historical sites, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.)
2. *"HOME ON THE RANGE"*: Grave of Author. Dr. Brewster Higby (b. 1822) of Indiana wrote this song when he lived in Kansas. The words were printed in a local paper (1873), and became a favorite song along the cattle trails. First published in 1910, the author never saw a copy nor received a cent of royalty. His last home was in Shawnee, Okla. where he died May 11, 1911.
Location of marker: On east side of State Highway 18 at Fairview Cemetery, North Harrison Street, Shawnee, Oklahoma.
(Funds provided by Rotary Club, Shawnee, Oklahoma.)
3. *STELLA FRIENDS ACADEMY*. Buildings near here in 1922. Under auspices of Friends Society, the Academy opened in 1897 and was noted for high standards. Named for teacher of first school (1893) in this vicinity, a sod house near Stella Church in Cherokee Strip.
Location of marker: In Alfalfa County, on State Highway 11, two miles east of the junction with U. S. Highway 64 (north of City of Cherokee).
(Funds provided by Stella Academy Alumni Cherokee, Oklahoma.)
4. *GRAND*: Site 4 miles northwest. On Nov. 13, 1892, Grand was established as county seat of Day County, Oklahoma Terr. This was County 'E' when organized at the opening of Cheyenne and Arapaho lands, April 19, 1892. Day County and county seat were abolished at statehood in 1907. Many citizens of Grand became noted as leaders in the new state of Oklahoma.
Location of marker: On U.S. Highway 283, at southeastern corner of sec. 4, T 17 N, R 24 W, in Ellis County.
(Funds provided by members of Old Day County Pioneer Association, Arnett, Oklahoma.)
5. *RILEY'S CHAPEL*: Site about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile east. First Annual Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Church was held in Oklahoma at Riley's Chapel, Oct. 23, 1844, Bishop Thomas A. Morris, presiding. Conference area lay west to the Rocky Mts., north to Montana, south to Texas, east to Ark.-Mo. line. Rev. Thomas Bertholf, Missionary, had built Riley's Chapel.
Location of marker: On U. S. Highway 62, Cherokee County, on section line 1 mile south of south edge of Tahlequah, about half way to top of hill and on east side of Highway.
(Funds provided by Oklahoma Conference Council, Methodist Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.)
6. *BOUNDARY LINE*: 1889 and 1893. On April 22, 1889, the Run for land south in Old Oklahoma began on this line, by Proclamation of Pres. Benj. Harrison. Also, on Sept. 16, 1893, the Run for land north in Cherokee Outlet began on this line, by Proclamation of Pres. Cleveland. At Booth No. 1, site $\frac{3}{4}$ mi. east, thousands registered for the Run of 1893.

Location of marker: Three miles north of Stillwater, Payne County, on State Highway 40 at northeast corner of intersection with old survey line of south boundary of Cherokee Outlet (1893). (Funds provided by Payne County Historical Society, Stillwater, Oklahoma.).

7. *RUN OF '89—SOUTH BOUNDARY:* Canadian River was south line of "Old Oklahoma" opened by Run of April 22, 1889, at 12 o'clock noon. At this hour, riders forded the river crossing near Silver City (north 2 miles) on the Chisholm Trail, and entered the wide, new land to stake homestead claims.

Location of marker: On State Highway 37, on or near the school house grounds on east side of Tuttle, Grady County, at the junction with the section line road north to old Silver City, the location of which is two miles north on south side of the Canadian River. (Silver City is about a mile up from the crossing of the Canadian River).

(Funds provided by the 89'ers Club of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.)

8. *RUN OF '89—EAST BOUNDARY:* At the opening of "Old Oklahoma," April 22, 1889, here was the east line for the run starting at 12 o'clock noon. Days before the Run, many camped near here, and were at this line on horses and in wagons at the signaled hour to enter the wide, new land for homesteads.

Location of marker: On U. S. Highway 62, one mile east of Choctaw, Oklahoma County, on the old *Indian Meridian* survey line as nearly as possible.

(Funds provided by the 89'ers Club of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.)

9. *STEEN'S BUTTES:* About 5 miles Southwest. Natural Mounds seen by early exploring parties here were named for Major Enoch Steen, of First Dragoon Regt., commanding an escort on road survey to California, Nov., 1858, by Edward F. Beale directing the survey. "Rock Mary," easternmost of these mounds was named by Capt. Marcy's train of "gold seekers" to Calif., 1849.

Location of marker: On new U. S. Highway 66, at best turn-off going south (or as near as possible to location of or at junction of U. S. 66 with State Highway 8 to Hinton, Caddo County.

(Special Fund, Committee on Historical Sites, Oklahoma Historical Society.)

10. *SHAWNEE TOWN:* On the California Road. Shawnee Indians lived in this area, 1830's to 1857. They had log cabin homes and good farms, providing travelers on this road with grain, peaches and melons. Capt. Marcy's train of gold seekers came by here, 1849. Whipple Railway Survey party was here, 1853. Old Fort Holmes and Edwards' Store were on Little River, 5 miles N.W.

Location of marker: On State Highway 12, about 1 mile west of Atwood, in Hughes County.

(Special fund, Committee on Historical Sites, Oklahoma Historical Society.)

11. *DELAWARE MOUNT.* On the old California Road. The California Road, in 1849-1853, ascended the escarpment, about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east, known to travelers as "Delaware Mount." This "Mount" extends from several miles south of here, northeast to the Canadian River. At top of this plateau, travelers exclaimed on the fine view of headwaters of Muddy and Clear Boggy creeks.

Location of marker: About 3 miles southwest of Ada, Pontotoc County, just outside the fence of Latta School, at the southwest

corner of the intersection of State Highway 12 and the section line road, at the northeast corner of Sec. 7, T. 3 N., R. 6 E.

(Special fund, Committee on Historical Sites, Oklahoma Historical Society.)

12. *NATURAL MOUND.* On the old California Road. The high hill southeast, across the creek, was a well known landmark on the California Road, shown on Marcy's map, 1849, and on maps in 1853 as "Natural Mound." Known locally as "Chimney Hill." Site of U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Mound Triangulation Station est., 1920. Alt., 1,346 ft. East 1 mile (1849) was Marcy's Camp 20.

Location of marker: Northeast of Fitzhugh, Pontotoc County, on State Highway 12, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the location is in the V at the intersection of State #12 and the gravel road.

(Special fund, Committee on Historic Sites, Oklahoma Historical Society.)

ON-SITE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL MARKERS

1. *EDWARDS STORE:* Stop on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route. Known for good meals served travelers on the Overland Mail stages, 1858-61. First Red Oak post office was established here March 11, 1868, Thos. Edwards, P. M.

Location of marker: Northeast of Red Oak 7 miles, Latimer County, on grounds of old Edwards Store. Original log building standing in NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 15, T. 6 N., R. 22 E.

2. *MOUNTAIN STATION:* Site on Old Ft. Smith Boggy Depot Road. A stage stand for changing horses and a toll road over this mountain pass were established here in 1866, under Choctaw law. This road was the Overland Mail Route in 1858-61.

Location of marker: About 13 miles southwest of Wilburton, Latimer County, at top of Blue Mountain on the county road west side, from gate to Mountain Station Cemetery. The old chimney rocks are about 50 yards west of the county road here, with old traces of the Ft. Smith-Boggy Depot Road near in Sec. 9, T. 4 N., R. 18 E.

3. *SAN BERNARDO:* Site in immediate vicinity west. Oklahoma's oldest town on Red River. The great village of the Wichita Indians with a French trading post here was named in honor of Gov. Bernardo de Galvez, in 1778 when Oklahoma was a part of Louisiana.

Location of marker: In parkway about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles southwest of Petersburg, southeastern corner of Jefferson County, on State Highway 32.

4. *GRAND:* Site of County Seat in Day County, Oklahoma Territory. The County Seat was moved from Ioland to Grand on November 13, 1893. County and County Seat organized at opening of Cheyenne-Arapaho lands in 1892, and abolished in 1907.

Location of marker: In the grove at site of old Grand, in Ellis County, about 1 mile north of Grand Schoolhouse (10 miles south of Arnett and 2 miles west of U.S.#283).

5. *DOAN'S CROSSING:* Site due South on Red River. This crossing into Indian Territory on Texas Cattle Trail first used in 1874. Named for trader C. F. Doan. Last used in 1895. Over 19 million cattle crossed here on trail to Kansas.

Location of marker: In Jackson County, southeast of Hess (1 mile east 4 miles south and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile east) on section line road, south side of Sec. 36, T. 1 S., R. 20 W. Because of flood plain on Red River, this marker was placed here on high ground about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north and west of the actual crossing on the river.

6. *CHIEF BUGLER'S GRAVE.* On Lake Shore. On March 5, 1869 William Gruber, lad of 20 of Topeka, Kans., Chief Bugler of 19th Kans. Cav. was killed in hunting accident while his regiment in bivouac with supply train. Gruber "a favorite of everybody" was buried at dawn with "Honors of War."

Location of marker: In Greer County, on grounds of Quartz Mountain Lodge, between the Lodge and the Lake.

7. *CUSTER'S RENDEZVOUS:* In this vicinity. On 2 Mar. 1869 with 2 Regts. of Cavalry Gen. G. A. Custer departed Medicine Creek Camp (now Ft. Sill) on expedition against Plains Indians. Here on 5 March he met large supply train dispatched for his use from Camp Supply by Gen. P. H. Sheridan.

Location of marker: In Greer County, on grounds of Quartz Mountain Lodge, between the Lodge and the Lake.

8. *COWBOY HILL:* Given in 1930 by Zack Miller to Cherokee Strip Cowpunchers Association as place for annual reunion of those who had ridden the range in the Strip.

Location of marker: On six acre plot owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society, Kay County, on east side of U.S. Highway 77 south of the Salt Fork River (Sec. 31, T. 25 N., R. 2 E.).

9. *FIRST MILITARY ROAD:* To Fort Towson near Red River. Old camp ground was here near spring. This road was constructed in 1832, by Capt. John Stuart, 7th U.S. Inf. It had been marked from Ft. Smith to Red River, over this ground by woodsmen, Robert Bean and Jesse Chisholm.

Location of marker: In LeFlore County about 8 miles northeast of Talihina on U. S. Highway 271, on Winding Stair Mountain, east of U.S. 271 about 1 mile, site of old camp ground on traces of the old Military Road. The marker here is at the north side Trailway through U.S. Forest Reserve Ouachita National Forest.

10. *CHITTO HARJO, CREEK PATRIOT:* Grave here. Died April 11, 1911. Age 65. Called "Crazy Snake," he led against allotment of Creek lands. Fearing "Snake Uprising," U. S. deputies went to arrest Harjo who eluded them. He came away wounded, and died here in the home of a Choctaw, Daniel Bob.

Location of marker: In McCurtain County, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles southwest of Smithville, in the yard of the present R. E. Boyer home (Sec. 3, T. 2 S., R. 25 E.), just south of the big tree standing near the front fence.

11. *GEORGE C. SIBLEY EXPEDITION:* First white men to see Salt Plains. In summer of 1811 group composed of 3 white and 6 Osages passed here after crossing north portion of Salt Plains from east to northwest.

Location of marker: In Alfalfa County, north of Cherokee, east from the junction of State Highways 8 and 11 to a place $\frac{6}{10}$ of a mile from east end of pavement. The site of the marker is in fence line on north side of State #11, about 40 to 50 paces west of bridge over Salt Fork River (a few yards east of the west line of the Federal Wild Life Refuge).

12. **WESTERN CATTLE TRAIL:** Site of Yellton Store and Camp Ground. Over this trail each year, between 1874 and 1900, there moved many great herds of cattle from the ranges of Texas on way to the railhead at Dodge City, Kansas.

Location of marker: In Harper County, about 9 miles north and $8\frac{3}{4}$ miles west of north city limits of Buffalo. Marker site in fence line on south side of road.

13. **WHIRLWIND MISSION:** At this location. A day school opened in 1897 for Cheyenne children was named for the friendly Chief Whirlwind. In 1904 to 1917, it was a well known mission school under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Location of marker: In Blaine County, about 13 miles west of Greenfield, on the county road and south of the small creek near the north line of $SE\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 32, T. 15 N., R. 13 W. The old Whirlwind cemetery is near this location.

14. **DOAKSVILLE:** Noted Town in Indian Territory. This site is at north end of main street, called "Commercial Row," in this town begun in 1831. Name of nearby post office, "Ft. Towson," was changed to Doaksville, Nov. 11, 1847.

Location of marker: In Choctaw County, about 1 mile north of present Fort Towson, on site of old Doaksville, at the north end of trace of "Commercial Row" ($NE\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 13, T. 6 S., R. 19 E.).

15. **CHOCTAW CHIEF'S HOUSE:** Planned by Chief Greenwood Le Flore, 1832. This house was built for the chief of this district in Choctaw Nation, under the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830). Thomas Le Flore, elected chief 1834, was 1st resident here.

Location of marker: In Choctaw County, about 2 miles northeast of Swink, on the grounds in front of the old chief's house $NE\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 23, T. 6 S., R. 20 E.) on acreage recently presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mrs. Charlotte Chrisler.

16. **ABERT EXPEDITION:** 1845. The military expedition to the Rockies under Lt. J. W. Abert followed the north side of Canadian upon its return. Here on Oct. 1st the party halted to sketch buttes to south, thus leaving first picture of this later most important landmark.

Location of marker: In Blaine County, across the Canadian River northwest of Bridgeport, in Northwest corner of Sec. 26, T. 13 N., R. 12 W., on south side of country road. This location is found from east end of Canadian River bridge on U.S. Highway 66, thence northwest $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles; thence north 1 mile, turn left sharp across the tracks, and on west 7 miles to top of high ground on country road.

17. **ROCK MARY:** May 23, 1849. This odd and unusual land feature was named on that date by Lieuts. J. H. Simpson and M. P. Harrison when they visited this site, planted a flag on the crest and named the rock for 17 year belle, Mary Conway, an emigrant.

Location of marker: In Caddo County, at the west side base of Rock Mary, $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles west and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of the southwest corner of Hinton, in the center of $NW\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 1, T. 11 N., R. 12 W. The "Rock" is property of Mr. Frank Ballou, Rte. 1, Hinton.

18. **THE AMERICAN FLAG:** Rock Mary. From this point on May 23, 1849 the flag of the United States was unfurled by Lts. J. H. Simpson and M. P. Harrison who gave this rock its name. By this act they established this as a famous landmark relied on by countless thousands of western emigrants.

Location of marker: A bronze plaque on a face of sandstone at the top of Rock Mary, $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles west and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of Hinton, Caddo County.

19. *BOOTH NO. 1:* On South Line of Cherokee Outlet: Thousands registered at the Booth on this site, established by Proclamation of Pres. Cleveland for the run north for homesteads in the Cherokee Outlet, Sept. 16, 1893.

Location of marker: In Payne County, three miles north of Stillwater, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east of the corner intersection of State Highway 40 and the section line (dirt road) going east. This on-site marker is $\frac{3}{4}$ mile east of the roadside, historical marker "Boundary Line. 1889 and 1893"—three miles north of Stillwater on State Highway 40.

THREE MONUMENTS ERECTED, 1959-60

Three large monuments of stone have been erected through the work of the Committee on Historic Sites under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1959-60. Two of these monuments are of rose granite, the large boulder type, bearing inscriptions of the history of the important sites of Old Spencer Academy, in Choctaw County, and the Civil War battle ground north of Atoka, in Atoka County. The third monument is a handsome shaft of gray granite erected in Ottawa County, as a memorial to the Wyandot tribe in Oklahoma, special interest in this project promoted through the Wyandot Chief Lawrence Zane, of Miami. The inscriptions of these three monuments, with their locations, are as follows:

MIDDLE BOGGY BATTLE

On this Site

Lie Confederate Soldiers who died
in Battle, February 13, 1864

The Confederate Encampment here at Middle (or Muddy) Boggy crossing on the Boggy Depot Road, held by Lieut. Col. John Jumper's Seminole Battalion, Capt. Adam Nail's Company A of First Choctaw and Chickasaw Cavalry and a detachment of the Twentieth Texas Regiment, was suddenly attacked by Federal forces—3 companies of Fourteenth Kansas Cavalry, Major Charles Willets in command, and a section of howitzers under Capt. Solomon Kaufman. The Confederates though poorly armed made a firm stand in a hot fight of 30 minutes, in which 47 of their men were killed and others wounded. Word of Confederate forces riding in from Boggy Depot (12 miles southwest) caused a hurried retreat of the Federal troops toward Fort Gibson north.

Oklahoma Historical Society, 1959

Location of monument: In Atoka County on U. S. Highway 69, at the north side (east about 200 yards) approach of the bridge on Muddy (formerly called Middle) Boggy, just north of the City of Atoka.

OLD SPENCER ACADEMY

Opened here in January 1944

This noted school for Choctaw boys, established by the Choctaw Council was named for John C. Spencer, U. S. Secretary of War. Sub-

jects through highschool were taught. The first graduates went to eastern colleges in 1848. Large buildings were erected in a quadrangle here including Jones Hall, Pitchlynn Hall, Armstrong Hall, a school building and dining hall, with houses for employees, storehouses and barns adjacent.

It was here at Old Spencer Academy that "Steal Away to Jesus," "Roll, Jordon Roll," "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," spirituals now sung throughout America, were composed by the old Negro, Uncle Wallace who first sang them with his wife, Aunt Minerva to the delight of all who heard them. The two old slaves were hired out by their owner to work for the Rev. Alexander Reid, Superintendent of Spencer Academy 1851-59.

Oklahoma Historical Society, 1959

Location of monument: At grounds of Old Spencer Academy site, 8 miles north and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile east of Sawyer, Choctaw County. This site is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of Spencerville, near center of Sec. 6, T. 5 S., R. 19 E.

WYANDOT TRIBE

The Wyandot Tribe after a bitter war with the Iroquois settled, about 1700, in northern Ohio. In 1843, under United States government authority, this tribe removed to northeastern Kansas. Local friction caused some Wyandot, in 1857, to leave Kansas and go to what is now northeastern Oklahoma.

A treaty with the United States, made in 1867, enabled the remainder of the Wyandot to join their kinsmen in Oklahoma, where their tribal government was reorganized in 1871.

This monument erected in final homeland of the Wyandot as a memorial to their outstanding contributions as citizens of the United States and the State of Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Historical Society, 1959

Location of monument: In the recreation area of the Twin Bridges State Park on U. S. Highway 60, in Ottawa County; about 6 miles east of Fairland at the forks of the Neosho and Spring rivers.

DEDICATIONS OF SOME MARKERS AND MONUMENTS

Special dedication programs have been given at some of the markers and monuments: The "Stella Friends Academy" roadside marker was dedicated by the Stella Academy Alumni on October 25, 1959, at the site on the ground of the Academy, two miles east of the junction of U. S. Highway 64 and State Highway 11, north of the City of Cherokee. The special program was attended by a large crowd including guests from Kansas, Oklahoma and elsewhere.

A group of Methodist ministers and laymen meeting at Tahlequah dedicated the "Riley's Chapel" roadside marker on September 29, 1959, at the location one mile south of Tahlequah, on U. S. Highway 62. Some of the history of this famous site in Oklahoma Methodism was recalled with Bishop Angie Smith, Head of the Oklahoma-New Mexico Episcopal Area, present.

Also, present was Mrs. George Dismukes of Westville, Oklahoma, a grand niece of the Reverend Samuel G. Patterson, one of the seventeen charter members of the Indian Mission Conference, who attended its first meeting held at Riley's Chapel in 1844.

The on-site marker "Grand," erected by the Committee on Historic Sites under the auspices of the Historical Society, was dedicated in a program given by members of the Old Day County Pioneer Association on June 7, 1959, with a large crowd present, in the grove at the site of old Grand about ten miles south of Arnett, in Ellis County.

The roadside marker captioned "Boundary Line: 1889 and 1893" was unveiled and dedicated in a program sponsored by the Payne County Historical Society on April 10, 1960, with over 2,000 guests present. A report of this outstanding program was given in the spring (1960) number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (pp.106-9).

The rose granite monument commemorating the "Middle Boggy Battle," at the old Confederate Cemetery one mile north of Atoka, was unveiled and dedicated in a program sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Atoka, on June 6, 1959, during the Historical Society's Annual Tour of three days in Southeastern Oklahoma.

The dedication ceremony of the granite monument in memory of the "Wyandot Tribe," was held at the Twin Bridges State Park, in Ottawa County on May 15, 1960. Velma Nieberding paid tribute to the ancient Wyandot tribe and reported this dedication ceremony in her column "Moccasin Telegraph," in the *Miami Daily News-Record*, September 16, 1960:

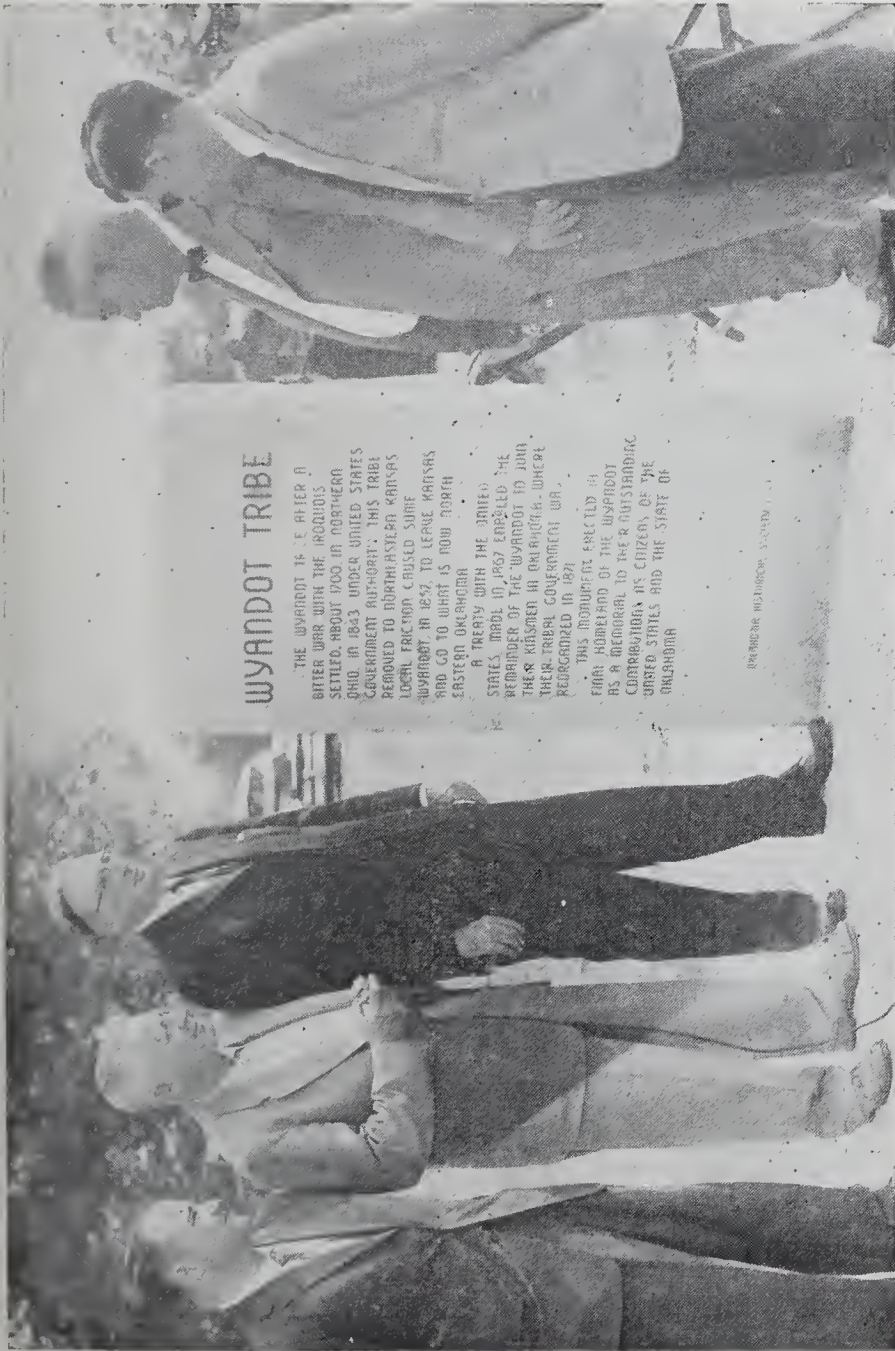
ESPECIALLY FOR AND ABOUT INDIANS

There are 1,154 names on the termination roll of the Wyandot tribe, but only a handful of these people showed up for what was a historic occasion for their tribe yesterday—dedication of a memorial shaft to the Wyandots. Other tribes were well represented as were their paleface friends.

Yet, the dedication was a tribute to every Wyandot in Oklahoma. Particularly was it a tribute to Chief Lawrence Zane, who has worked for four long years to bring it to a reality.

As Elmer Fraker, speaking for the Oklahoma Historical Society, traced the proud but tragic history of the Hurons, who became Wyandots, a sense of sadness hung over the beautiful setting at Twin Bridges park. The address was, in fact, a requiem for a great people, and the singing of the children from Seneca Indian School a chant for a nation's passing.

One asks: How could a nation as invincible as the Hurons be finally absorbed into another culture with but a marble shaft to mark its passing? Where are the old warriors, strong as trees, who would rather die than surrender their ideals? Where are the medicine songs, the dance songs, the war songs?



WYANDOT TRIBE

THE WYANDOT TRIBE AFTER A
BITTER WAR WITH THE INDIANS
SETTLED ABOUT 1700 IN NORTHERN
OHIO. IN 1843 UNDER UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY THIS TRIBE
MOVED TO NORTHWESTERN KANSAS.
LOCAL FRICTION CAUSED SOME
WYANDOT IN 1852 TO LEAVE KANSAS
AND GO TO WHAT IS NOW NORTH
EASTERN OKLAHOMA.

A TREATY WITH THE UNITED
STATES MADE IN 1867 ENDED THE
BANDS OF THE WYANDOT TO JOHN
THEIR KINSMEN IN OKLAHOMA WHERE
THEY TRULY CONFERRED WAR
REDIGRANIZED IN 1871.

THIS MONUMENT ERECTED IN
FINAL HONOR OF THE WYANDOT
AS A MEMORIAL TO THEIR OUTSTANDING
CONTRIBUTION TO THE CITIZENS OF THE
UNITED STATES AND THE STATE OF
OKLAHOMA.

REPUBLICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Sparlin Photo, 1960)

Dedication Program for the Monument to the "Wyandot Tribe," at Twin Bridges State Park, from left to right: State Rep. Joe Montford; J. B. Martin, Manager Miami Chamber of Commerce; Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Oklahoma Historical Society, principal speaker; Wyandot Chief Lawrence Zane and State Rep. Robert C. Lollar.



(Photo by Daily Oklahoman)

Tourists at Autograph Rock on the Old Santa Fe Trail, in Cimarron County, June 3, 1960. Annual Tour of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The Indian children sang, "This land is our land," and truly in losing it the Wyandots became a part of it.

The waters of two rivers murmured at the foot of the hill where the monument stands. Just as the Wyandots were absorbed into the great body of White culture, so the water of Spring and Grand rivers were absorbed into Grand lake. The rivers do not forget that once they ran free and unrestrained. The Wyandots, although their heritage is now a memory, should not forget.

And those who hundreds of years ago pushed the Indian from his lands should not forget lest a stronger force than they land on our shores and absorb us as we absorbed the Indian.

For, as Fraker pointed out in his dedication address, had the Indian held a big club instead of the outstretched hand of friendship when the winged canoes landed on the eastern shore, the story of America might have been different.

ANNUAL HISTORICAL TOUR, 1960

The Annual Tour of the Oklahoma Historieal Society, on June 2, 3, 4 this year, visited the northwestern part of the state, traveling a total distance of 900 miles out of Oklahoma City. The three days were spent mostly in the three counties of the Panhandle, once known as "No Man's Land," a region unlike any other in this country, with a fabulous history, marvelous scenery and wonderful industries. The friendliness and hospitality of the people at the appointed stops along the way and the historie sites and other places visited on the whole route, every one interesting to the more than 145 tourists and accompanying guests at different places, representing 33 towns in the state, made this an outstanding tour in the records of the Historical Society.

The caravan of three air-conditioned buses and several private cars left the Historical Building at 7:00 a.m. on Thursday, June 2, and made the first stop at Canton, in Blaine County. From here a welcoming committee headed by Representative James Burnham, publisher of the *Canton Record*, led the way to the site of old Cantonment military post near the lakeside above the dam of Lake Canton. During the visit, Miss Wright gave a brief history of this post founded in 1879 in western Indian Territory, listed in old U.S. Army records as "Cantonment on the Canadian River," and also told something of the use of the buildings as a Mennonite Mission school for many years after the abandonment of the post. Mr. Fraker pointed out the old stone building, once the Army headquarters, standing on the site and the locations of other buildings of the post that are now gone. A short drive was made from this site to an inviting lakeside park where coffee and doughnuts were served by a Chamber of Commeree group headed by the Chamber President, Jack

Cloud as host. Two elderly Cheyenne men, Jim Night Walker wearing a scarlet blanket and Jay Black Kettle in a fine feather war bonnet, came over as a friendly gesture from the nearby Cheyenne-Arapaho land tract that was once a part of the old Cantonment and later mission school reserve.¹

The next stop was in the midst of the Glass Mountains on the highway west of Fairview, in Major County. The geological formation here, glistening in the sunlight was explained by Mrs. John D. Frizzell, a geologist of the Oklahoma Geological Society and historian, in an interesting and informative talk.

A stop was made to visit the sand Dunes, "Little Sahara" area, north of the Cimarron River, in Woods County. Here Mr. Aaron Fischer, publisher of the *Woods County Enterprise*, told how the sand dune area was acquired as well as the two camels that are kept here beside the highway to give the "Little Sahara" atmosphere of desert places.

Luncheon was provided at noon in the friendly surroundings of the high school building at Waynoka, under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. The tourists in the midst of a large gathering of local guests heard an interesting history of Waynoka, and, also, learned that a United States flag and an Oklahoma State Flag are in every classroom of the school building, attention being called to this noteworthy fact by Mr. R. G. Miller, of the *Daily Oklahoman* and the Oklahoma Historical Society director of the Tour.

Before reaching Beaver in the afternoon stops were made at the "Nathan Boone" historical marker, about a mile west of the junction of U.S. Highway 64 and State Highway 50, pointing out the site of Captain Nathan Boone's encampment of 1843, about 2 miles southwest near the Cimarron River; and at Gate, Beaver County, where a fine group of high school boys and girls gave everyone on the Tour a small sack of powdered, white pumice that comes from a big mine of this stone, the leading industry at Gate.

¹ While the tourists were enjoying the refreshments at the lakeside park, their attention was called by Miss Wright to the historic site of "Sheridan's Roost," a few miles away on the north side of Lake Canton, in Major County. A stretch of sandy beach is seen to the north and west of Canton Park, about a mile or so away, across the lake and back from this beach in the thickets and woods off the traveled road is the site of "Sheridan's Roost." This was a well known camping ground not far from the spring called "Barrel Spring," in a grove of huge cottonwood trees where literally thousands of wild turkeys had their roosting place in early times. This camp ground was on the military road from Fort Reno to Camp Supply, and is marked "Sheridan's Roost," on maps of the Indian Territory in the 1870's because General Philip Sheridan with a detachment of U. S. troops on an inspection tour of the forts, camped here and the officers and soldiers feasted on wild turkey meat after a hunting spree for the big birds around this place.

At Beaver, the tourists were greeted by Judge Dwight Leonard and a large crowd of friendly citizens at the American Legion Hut where cold drinks and cookies were served as refreshments for the long drive ahead through the Panhandle. Guided tours were made to the fine old Presbyterian Church, oldest church in this western region; and to the Beaver Museum operated by Pearl and Louise Sharp who have here in the first sod house (1880) of this part of the country many interesting relics of history.

Leaving Beaver, the caravan paused a few miles south at the roadside park in the Y on the Highway to view the monument of rose granite erected by the Colonial Dames of Oklahoma, to commemorate Coronado's expedition through this region in 1541.

The three buses and the several private cars rolled west on U.S. Highway 270 through the old towns of Hooker and Optima, with the convertible of President Shirk of the Historical Society and the *Daily Oklahoman* sound truck and reporter in the lead. No houses were seen for stretches of many miles in this vast high plains country, with thousands of acres of wheat fields and treeless ranch lands extending far along both sides of the Highway. To the south and sometimes in view was the valley of the stream now marked North Canadian River on maps of the state but still referred to by the people of the Panhandle as the Beaver River, the old name shown on very early maps in Spanish as "Rio Nutria." Western birds called "road runners" as well as beautiful pheasants that have been stocked in this region occasionally flew up along the Highway. A report came that a wild antelope was seen bounding away off the paved road at one place.

The caravan reached Guymon late in the afternoon. Most of the tourists lodged at the Dale Hotel, headquarters for the two-day visit during the Annual Tour, while others stayed at the Vestal Motel. All assembled in the evening at the Venetian banquet room where citizens of Guymon and elsewhere swelled the crowd to 300 persons attending the special dinner program of music by fine local talent and speaking, sponsored by the Guymon Chamber of Commerce—of which Harold Waugh is Secretary-Manager—and the Panhandle A. and M. College, with its President Dr. Marvin McKee and Mrs. McKee present.

Oklahoma's well-known publisher, Hon. Raymond H. Fields, of the *Guymon Daily Herald*, was director of "The Play Bill" for the evening's entertainment and remarked briefly on some of the wonders of the Oklahoma "Panhandle Empire" formed by Beaver, Cimarron and Texas counties covering 5,681 square miles, or nearly one-twelfth of the total area of the state. This "Empire" is one of great industry and wealth from wide wheat

fields, irrigated farm lands with water from deep wells, and record gas production with its precious element, Helium.

U. S. District Judge Ross Rizley was the principal speaker of the evening, recounting some of the history of "No Man's Land" that resulted from the Missouri Compromise of 1950, a land in Oklahoma that has never had "corn as high as an elephant's eye" nor any person who has ever heard or can recall in its history "surreys with a fringe on top." A house to live in did not create much of a problem in early days because the settler could dig "a very comfortable home in the side of a bank of a clear water stream fed by springs" and he could live there until he could "build a more luxurious sod house above the ground." Judge Rizley paid tribute to the early settlers of this High Plains region, saying that no other area had people with greater courage and determination for they had refused to move away in the face of adversity; their enterprise and imagination had kept them through the years until now they or their descendants still live here to enjoy the benefits of the Panhandle Empire.

The Invocation at the dinner program was given by the Rev. Elwyn O. Thurston, of the Victory Memorial Methodist Church, and the Benediction by the Rev. Clarence Smith, of the Nelson Memorial Presbyterian Church. Hospitality was again extended the second evening (Friday) of the stay at Guymon through the kind interest of the sponsoring committee, special hosts from citizens of the City individually entertaining each tourist as he or she wished, driving about the town, sight seeing or just visiting.

The buses and cars rolled out early Friday morning to Boise City where Mr. Jack Johnson, Jr., of the First State Bank and Mr. Roy Butterbaugh, editor of the *Boise City News*, headed the welcoming committee and asked guides to lead the way to Auto-graph Rock, some 15 miles northwest on the Bob Gayler ranch where Mrs. Walter Tandy greeted the visitors. At this stop, the tourists saw the high stone bluff at the Cold Springs camp ground beside the traces of the Old Santa Fe Trail, carved with names of travelers dating back to the early 1840's. The next stop, 26 miles west of Boise City, was at the famous dinosaur quarry where many tons of bones of this prehistoric animal have been excavated, and many more bones remain for future exhibit.

The Black Mesa, a volcanic table-land 4,973 feet above sea level, the highest point in the state, and some 75 miles long extending west over into New Mexico, located in the extreme north-western corner of Oklahoma was reached before noon on Friday. After a drive that skirted the east end of the Mesa, the geology of the region was described and explained in a talk by Dr. Branson of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, Norman.

A few miles southwest of the Black Mesa stop, the caravan arrived at Kenton, an old town with about 50 inhabitants and much western history. Here a delicious luncheon was served by the Women's Society of the Methodist Church, headed by Mrs. Ruby Easley who had the help of other church women of the area, some of whom drove 35 miles from their homes to help prepare the meal. It was served in the recreation room of the little church which is the farthest west of any church building in Oklahoma according to the Pastor, the Rev. W. H. Wells. Someone noticed small cloth bags hanging from the ceiling all around, and was told that they were filled with moth balls to keep the bats out of the belfry and sanctuary of the church! Colonies of bats, it is true, are found by thousands in caverns and caves and under rock ledges in western Oklahoma.

About 4 miles east of Kenton, Cimarron County, on the south side of old U.S. Highway 64, the buses drove over a road in a pasture where the tourists saw the remarkable sandstone columns called "The Wedding March" and another rock formation called the "Old Maid" profile.

A drive east was made to Keyes, Cimarron County, where the tourists were taken on a guided tour of the great Helium plant, by arrangement of P. V. Mullins, General Manager. This is the second plant in the United States and was constructed in 1959 by The Fluor Corporation, Ltd., for the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines. The Panhandle region with limited fields over the line in the Texas Panhandle and the Kansas line, near Hugoton is the only area in the United States and possibly in the world where Helium is found in sufficient quantity that is worthwhile for extraction in plants that cost many millions of dollars to install. Helium is a light weight, non-inflammable gas that has many usages in this scientific age of research and that has brought about the discovery of a new chemistry. The tourists found the Helium Plant at Keyes, Oklahoma, one of the wonders of the modern world. This was the last stop on Friday.

The buses and cars loaded up and left Guymon early Saturday morning for Goodwell where the Panhandle A. and M. College served a fine breakfast of food produced in the college agricultural program, the President and Mrs. McKee extending this hospitality. The Panhandle Museum on the College campus was visited, with Nolan McWhirter, Curator of the Museum, on hand to greet visitors and explain the many exhibits of of historical relics when called upon.

The next stop after leaving the Panhandle College—the 14th stop listed on the Tour folder—was the Henry C. Hitch Ranch in the Coldwater Creek Valley, southeast of Guymon in Texas

County. This 24,000 acre ranch is noted for its big feed lots where 4,600 head of cattle were being fed this early summer period, to be shipped to the big cattle markets. This is one of the sights of the cattle industry in Oklahoma. Mr. Henry C. Hitch himself explained his program of scientific feeding of Cattle for the market and the business of cattle ranching today. The fourth generation of the Hitch family lives on the ranch for it is the outgrowth of the original land claim in the Coldwater Valley, taken in 1884, by James Kerrick Hitch from Tennessee, the grandfather of Mr. Henry C. Hitch.

Traveling east on U.S. Highway 270, a pause was made at Hardesty, almost a ghost town now but once a well-known center in early history. A few miles farther east is Slapout with a recent listed population of 15 beside the Highway, the name of which gives the place more than passing notice. The story is told that the owner of a little store here in early days answered a customer wanting one article or another, "Well, I'm slapout of that!"

The caravan arrived at Fort Supply at noon where some of the early buildings, one of them an original house of cedar logs built stockade fashion, of this old military post stand on the grounds of Western State Hospital that now occupies the site. The buses and cars toured the grounds and saw many of these historical relics, through arrangements made by the welcoming host, Mr. Warren Thompson, Business manager of the State Hospital. During the well served, delicious luncheon in the main dining room, Miss Edna Couch, an administrator on the Hospital staff, gave the tourists an interesting account of old Camp Supply as the post was known for many years. Miss Couch is a descendant of a historic family that worked for the opening of the Indian Territory to white settlement and located at Oklahoma City in the Run of 1889.

The buses paused at St. John's Episcopal Church in Woodward, with Father Vern Jones, Vicar and a group of friends on hand to welcome the visitors. An exhibit of interesting historical materials was on display here, and a leaflet was given out telling a bit of the history of this quaint little church referred to as "Historic General Custer's Chapel," the building having been erected by the U.S. Government at Camp Supply about the time of, or soon after, the fateful year (1876) of Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in Montana. The church building was moved in 1894, from old Fort Supply to Woodward which was founded soon after the Run into the Cherokee Strip (1893).

A stop was made at Taloga where Mrs. Mary Taylor and a group of friends greeted the tourists and served cold drinks and home baked cookies. An old relic was shown here, a small but

heavy metal plate marked with a strange inscription, an unsolved mystery discovered by Mrs. Fred Lance over 25 years ago in the rough country of rocky ravines and cedar brakes southwest of Taloga. The history of this part of Dewey County has held local interest for many years centering around this old metal plate,—stories about the Dalton outlaw hideout in the cedar brakes, the stage coach sunk beneath the sands of the old Canadian River crossing near Taloga, the two brass cannons reported seen at flood times on a sandbar in the river southwest of the town, a buried treasure not far from this place and an old Indian battle ground a few miles farther south on the east side of the bend in the river.

The last stop on the 1960 Tour was made late on Saturday to visit famous Rock Mary that stands near the obliterated pathway of the California Road traveled by the Capt. R. B. Marcy Expedition escorting a train of "gold seekers" to the Far West in 1849. The history of the naming of Rock Mary is a true romance, how Lieut. J. H. Simpson clambered up this "fantastic formation," giving it the name of Mary Conway, the belle of the Marcy emigrant train, and how he unfurled the U. S. flag on the highest of the "two turret projections" on top of the mound as he bestowed the name of Miss Mary, with her young lover, Lieut. Harrison standing beside him. This great Rock is shown as a landmark on old maps of the California Road in Oklahoma, and now is located on the farm owned by Mr. Frank Ballou, about 3½ miles west of Hinton.

It was long past 6:00 p.m., Saturday, June 4, when the buses arrived at the Historical Building to end one of the best Annual Tours of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

(M. H. W.)

BOOK REVIEW

Johnny Osage. By Janice Holt Giles. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1960. End Maps. Pp. 313. \$3.75).

This book is a romantic^{ast} novel with more than a few touches of realism in the author's treatment of the Indian problem at the time when the Osages were being moved north to Kansas away from their hunting grounds to make room for the Cherokee in Oklahoma. Union Mission has just been located on the banks of the Neosho, its purpose to minister to the Osages. Johnny Osage is a trader from Kentucky, a partner in his brother-in-law's trading post (Burke & Fowler), located within a few hours' riding distance of the Mission. Farther away is Fort Smith on the Arkansas River, commanded by Major William Bradford who hates his responsibility of keeping peace and order in this western part of Arkansas Territory.

The love story of Johnny Osage and Judith Lowell, the young missionary teacher from Connecticut, is an appealing one, although Johnny is more articulate, more clear-headed in his thinking than a real life, early trader might have been. His viewpoint that the missionaries are smugly arrogant to intrude into this land with their Gospel offering to a people with a highly developed religion of their own is a shocking idea to Judith, who is obeying the "command of the Lord to go into all this world and proclaim His word." The conflict between them finally shifts to the ethical question of whether murder is ever justified. To Judith, law and order are supreme; to Johnny, the demands of a society that tolerates massacres of women and children are those of speedy punishment in like kind. A description that minces no words tells of his killing of The Blade. But love wins out as it should in any romance.

As to the relative characteristics of the Osages and the Cherokees, it may be that the Osages are presented a little too noble, the Cherokees a little too treacherous and cruel. But every novelist has the right to tip the scale in favor of her heroes.

Gifted for characterization, Mrs. Giles deals skillfully with a large group of individuals, some fictional, some real. She has stayed very closely to her history from the glimpses that we know. She is evidently familiar with the "Journal of the Union Mission," and it is interesting to speculate whether her picture of Epaphras Chapman is nearer the truth than the picture which this reviewer has had of him: a somewhat delicate, dreamy, impractical sort of a man. Her Chapman is a stubborn, dogmatic, religious fanatic, never stopped in his path by any catastrophe

or difficulty. One has to admit that the Chapman of "Johnny Osage" is more consistent with the facts than the other picture. A man can be impractical and at the same time pig-headed. It is true history that someone certainly made some bad mistakes of judgment in the locating Union Mission almost in a stream bed where the floods could carry it away. And later records show that the Osage tribe for the object of ministry was a mistake. They were destined almost at the moment Union was founded to remove from this part of the country and leave the Mission behind. Mrs. Giles's Epaphras would locate the Mission as she has told it because he could not see beyond the narrow path of his own determination. Whether her pictures of Claymore (Chief Clermont), Nathaniel Pryor, William Bradford, Mark Bean are all true to life is a matter of speculation. At least Mrs. Giles has made her characters real and living people. It is an objective picture which she gives us of those troublesome times, thus making her book a good historical novel.

Mrs. Giles undoubtedly remembers her childhood in Oklahoma for she makes us feel the heat of the summer, the chill of the wind, the weight of the mud, the cottonwood trees casting their shade on the clear-running stream, the rippling grass of the prairies—all are there, scenes we have known. Oklahomans will enjoy this book, and perhaps learn some history of their state, even though colored a bit by the glow of a romantic story.

—Hope Holway

Tulsa, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING OKLAHOMA

HISTORICAL SOCIETY APRIL 28, 1960

The 68th annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held in the auditorium of the Society's building on Thursday, April 28, 1960. President George H. Shirk called the meeting to order at 9:30 a.m.

In his opening remarks President Shirk said that in addition to conducting the essential business of the Society, it was customary for the annual meeting to give recognition to certain of those Oklahomans who have contributed greatly to the development of the state. He recalled that at the last annual meeting one of the most enthusiastic members of the Society, and a member of the Board of Directors, was present "in his old inimitable self. He is with us today in many ways. His family is with us; his portrait is with us; his spirit will live with us forever. Let us pause for a few moments in our annual meeting and pay tribute to Edgar Sullins Vaught, probably one of our greatest Oklahomans."

Mr. Shirk then introduced Judge Ross Rizley for the purpose of making a brief tribute to Judge Vaught.

Judge Rizley spoke as follows: "Mr. President, my friends and fellow citizens of Oklahoma, I consider it a high honor and indeed a happy privilege to participate in the proceedings of this morning. We are here today to do honor to men who have made history in Oklahoma. My particular role in this proceeding is one of pleasantness in a way and one of sadness in a way,—to try to say something that might be fitting and proper about one of my greatest friends and one who left this scene of activity less than six months ago. This is the fitting and proper place, this historical shrine, to do honor to a great and good man. He made history for this shrine.

"Edgar Sullins Vaught was a native of old Virginia. While quite a young man he moved to the great state of Tennessee where he grew to manhood. While yet a young man he came to Oklahoma Territory. He was in every sense a pioneer of this new state which he chose to adopt. If I may be permitted to paraphrase the words of perhaps the greatest of all Americans, Abraham Lincoln, this community will little note nor long remember what I say on this occasion, but the people of Oklahoma and Oklahoma City will never forget and always remember the contributions which Judge Vaught made to our state. He pioneered as a teacher in the Oklahoma City public schools. He later became a lawyer of renown and was active in the spiritual, moral, and civic affairs of this community.

"His association in the church of his choice was known to everyone and his name will ever be enshrined at St. Luke's Methodist Church. He lived to see what was perhaps his greatest ambition realized, the completion of the beautiful church edifice at 15th and Harvey in Oklahoma City. His many years as a teacher of his Sunday school class and the tribute he received on his fiftieth anniversary made history in Oklahoma.

"His more than quarter century on the federal bench, coupled with his wisdom and wit, together with his fairness, impartiality, and great sense of justice leave an enviable record to those of us who succeed him.

"For more than forty years he was my friend. When he retired years ago from his place on the bench our paths crossed almost daily. It gave me the opportunity to learn more of his sound philosophy, his great wisdom as a jurist, and his great understanding of right and wrong. His council and advice we miss tremendously. When I think of Judge Vaught and his philosophy of life I think of the biography of a great Michigan minister, Dr. Hyde. This great minister was more than ninety years of age when he passed away. After his death a clipping was found in his Bible which I think is applicable here. Across it was written 'To this I subscribe'. The words quoted in these lines were: 'I am still at work with my hands to the plow and my face to the future. The shadows of evening lengthen about me, but morning is in my heart. I have had varied fields of labor and full contact with man and things and have warmed both hands before the fire of life. The testimony I bear is this—that the castle of enchantment is not yet behind me. It is before me still and daily I catch glimpses of its battlements and towers. The rich spoils of memory are mine; mine, too, are the precious things of today—books, flowers, pictures, nature, and sports. The first of May is still an enchanting day to me.

"The best thing of all is friends. The best of life is always further on. Its lure is hidden from our eyes somewhere behind the hills of time."

After thanking Judge Rizley for his splendid tribute to Judge Vaught, President Shirk presented a letter from the Supreme Court of Oklahoma signed by Chief Justice Denver N. Davison, Judge Ben T. Williams, Judge Harry L. S. Halley, Judge W. H. Blackbird, Judge Pat Irwin, Judge Earl Welch, Judge N. B. Johnson, Judge Floyd L. Jackson, and Judge Wm. A. Berry. This letter read:

"It is with regret that we will be unable to attend the services given by the State Historical Society on the morning of April 28th honoring the memory of our friend, the late Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

"Sometime ago we committed ourselves to sit as judges in a case to be tried at the above time in which students of the University of Oklahoma are the attorneys, this being Law Day at the University.

"Each of us personally knew and loved Judge Vaught as a man, a friend and for all of the fine things for which he stood. We recognized his ability, integrity and temperament which made him one of the outstanding jurists of the nation.

"We will be with you in spirit during the services."

President Shirk noted that in addition to Judge Rizley, Federal Judges A. P. Murrah and W. R. Wallace were in the audience. He remarked it was a great tribute to Judge Vaught that these three colleagues of his from the federal bench were present.

The nephews of the late Admiral Marc A. Mitscher, Tom Mitscher and Kenneth Hoevel, were introduced by President Shirk for the purpose of presenting a portrait of Admiral Mitscher. In presenting these two men, Mr. Shirk said that although Admiral Mitscher was not a native of Oklahoma he came to this state as a youth and that his father was one of the first mayors of Oklahoma City.

Mr. Hoevel made the portrait presentation remarks for the members of the Mitscher family. He said: "This portrait has been very precious to us. It is a sort of home grown product. It was painted by my wife's sister. We think it is a remarkable likeness. We feel it is dedicated already and we are happy to give this portrait to the Okla-

homa Historical Society and we feel particularly pleased that Admiral Kirkpatrick is here to receive the portrait in the name of the Society."

In his acceptance remarks Rear Admiral John Kirkpatrick said: "On behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society we are certainly pleased to have this portrait added to our collection of people who have served outstandingly. I have at hand a biography of Admiral Mitscher. It is exceedingly interesting. In this biography it is related that he graduated from the Naval Academy in 1910. He early learned the lessons of humility and all under his command soon learned of this quality. Admiral Mitscher would always look after the welfare of every seaman under his command. His memory will always live in the hearts of his associates regardless of the rank they held in the United States Navy. We thank you for this picture as recognizing a man who has been in the service of the United States and as one who has also served the State of Oklahoma."

A communication from Rear Admiral F. B. Warder, Commandant of the Eighth Naval District, New Orleans, was read by President Shirk which said: "I do wish you every success on this occasion which honors so magnificent a naval officer and great American."

Mr. Fred Jones, Superintendent of Schools at Salina, and Chairman of the Oklahoma Historical Day Committee, was introduced. He in turn introduced W. E. Reynolds, Mayor of Salina. Dean King of Oklahoma City University and President of French Alliance was also introduced.

In his remarks Dean King called attention to the long and friendly relations between France and the United States. He then called upon Mrs. Pierre Tettelin, Vice President of French Alliance, for remarks.

She expressed her deep appreciation to the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Chouteau Memorial Association for arranging the tree dedication event. Continuing she said: "Before the purchase of Louisiana, Jean Chouteau came to Oklahoma with a party of French traders in 1796 while George Washington was still President of the United States. He was looking for a good spot with a spring and a fort. He found them both on the site of Salina. After about 1800 Colonel A. P. Chouteau planted in Salina the first tree set out in Oklahoma by a white man. It was a paradise tree brought from France as a seedling; and a descendant of this tree will be planted here today by Mr. Chouteau, a direct descendant of that illustrious family. In the name of all the members of Alliance France of Oklahoma City, we say thank you to the Chouteau Memorial Association and to the Oklahoma Historical Society for having made this possible."

The group retired to the grounds in front of the Historical Building for the purpose of dedicating the paradise tree that had been brought from Salina.

Former Governor W. J. Holloway was introduced to make the dedicatory remarks. He said: "I am pleased as the President of the Oklahoma Memorial Association to accept this tree on behalf of the State of Oklahoma. I know how proud the members of the Chouteau family must be at this time. Today the great grandson of Jean Pierre Chouteau is here. He is C. E. Chouteau, a fine citizen who has rendered great service in this state by helping preserve and protect historical documents and other historical materials. His daughter Yvonne is a great person. She was elected to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame several years ago. She is one of the greatest ballet dancers.

"The impact of the Chouteau family on Oklahoma has been great. This family came from New Orleans to St. Louis and had much to do with the establishment of that city. If you read history further, you will find they established the first white settlement in Oklahoma. They also established trading posts near Lexington, and in various other sections of this state.

"This family, I think, did more than any family in American history to help build and develop the western part of the United States. One of the sons of the distinguished founder of this dynasty, Pierre, was a partner with John Jacob Astor. The Chouteaus were instrumental in bringing Osage Indians from Missouri to Oklahoma. One of the Chouteaus was appointed by President Jefferson as an Indian agent. This great family built and began the first railroad west of the Mississippi River. Charles Chouteau was president of the line. It was first called the Pacific Railroad, later to be termed the Missouri Pacific. I think the Chouteau family is entitled to as much if not more credit than any other in the development of the western part of the United States.

"It is inspiring that we here today dedicate a tree which is descended from trees that were brought to this country from France more than one hundred fifty years ago. I am glad my name is on the corner stone of this Historical Society Building. I know I express your feelings when I say as Oklahomans of this day, we are proud to doff our hat to the great Chouteau family. It is a pleasure to do so."

Miss Muriel H. Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles*, was asked to read the inscription of the marker that had been placed near the tree.

Colonel C. E. Chouteau and his brother, B. W. Chouteau, were introduced.

The group then returned to the auditorium where Mr. Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary, announced the results of the ballot for new Directors. He said that all retiring Board members had been elected for a five year term in due form and by ballot as provided by the Constitution.

Mr. Milt Phillips moved that all actions for the past year of the Board of Directors and its Executive Committee be approved. The motion was seconded and adopted by the entire membership present.

The meeting adjourned at 10:45 a.m.

(Signed) George H. Shirk, President

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary.

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER
ENDING APRIL 28, 1960

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held at the Oklahoma Historical Society Building, being called to order by President Shirk at 10:45 a.m. on Thursday, April 28, 1960.

The following members answered roll call: Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Joe W. Curtis, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Judge R. A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, Joe W. McBride, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, R. M. Mount-

castle, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and George H. Shirk, President. Those absent were: Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kelly Brown, Dr. E. E. Dale, Exall English, T. J. Harrison, Judge N. B. Johnson, J. Lloyd Jones, and Judge Baxter Taylor.

It was moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Dr. Harbour that absentee members be excused. The motion was put and carried.

A motion that the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be dispensed with was made by Mr. Miller. The second was made by Mr. Phillips and unanimously adopted by the Board.

Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, reported that during the present quarter thirty-eight new annual members and two new life members had been added to the rolls. He presented a list of books, artifacts, and other gifts that had been given by various donors to the Society. Miss Seger moved that the new members be approved and the gifts accepted. This motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow. The motion was put and carried.

In the absence of Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, President Shirk gave a brief financial report. Total receipts for the year to March 31 were shown as \$7,331.85, with total disbursements being \$6,101.85. The report showed cash on hand in the private fund (Account 18) amounting to \$4,748.00. It was pointed out the minutes of the Executive Committee, that had been mailed to all Board members, gave complete financial details of the Society's operation.

A report was made by Mr. Phillips concerning the work of the Microfilm Department. He said that approximately 900,000 pages of newspapers would be microfilmed during the year. He told of plans of the Microfilm Committee for building a vault in the Historical Society Building to be used in filing negative microfilm. He stated that work on this project would soon get under way.

In making his report for the Historic Sites Committee, Dr. James D. Morrison said that work was progressing in planning the restoration of the Old Chief's House near Swink. He said that he was certain Mrs. Chrisler, one of the donors of the Old House, would consent to be custodian of the building on behalf of the Society when it is restored. He further stated that more definite arrangements would be made by him with her in the near future. Dr. Morrison told of a trip he and Dr. Schaeffer had made to old Fort Washita. He said that this trip was a preliminary to possible excavations that might be made there in the future by Dr. Schaeffer.

Mr. Mountcastle called attention to the destruction in general of property at Fort Gibson and specifically to those parts of that historic site which are owned by the Historical Society. He urged that the Society take definite steps to prevent further loss and damage at Fort Gibson. Mr. Phillips moved that the Board request Mr. Fraker to make a personal survey of the situation at Fort Gibson and report back to the Board at its next meeting, with his recommendations for action to be taken. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and adopted by the Board.

A report was made by Mr. Muldrow for the special Membership Fund Committee. He said it was the committee's recommendation that all life membership money be impounded and placed in a special fund. He then moved that funds coming from life memberships be held in escrow until the next quarterly meeting, when the committee would make a report recommending the method of investing such funds. This motion was seconded by Judge Hefner and adopted by the Board.

Mr. Miller, Chairman of the annual Tour Committee, stated that all preliminary arrangements for the 1960 tour had been made. He said that two geologists would accompany the tour to explain various geological formations that would be seen during the trip. He also announced that Educational Channel 13 would make a thirty minute recorded program of the tour which would later be broadcast from that station.

It was moved by Dr. Morrison that easement recorded in Book 282, Page 6, covering real estate in Choctaw County, Oklahoma, described:

That portion of the Northeast Quarter (NE $\frac{1}{4}$) of Section Twenty-three (23), Township Six (6) South, Range Twenty (20) East, described: Beginning at a point 2359 feet West and 1034 feet South of the Northeast corner thereof; thence North 50° 10' East 125 feet; thence South 30° 55' East 200 feet; thence South 39° 50' West 125 feet; thence North 59° 5' West 200 feet to the point of beginning

be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis, and upon a vote was adopted.

President Shirk spoke in commendation of Dr. Chapman and his group for the splendid manner in which the historical marker dedication was conducted at Stillwater on April 10.

The President called the attention of the Board to correspondence with the Tulsa office of the Corps of Engineers regarding the inundation of Bear's Glen in Pawnee County, the site where Washington Irving and his party camped on the night of October 15, 1832. The correspondence revealed that a field survey indicated that it would be entirely impractical to remove Irving's rock to higher ground. In view of a relocation of U. S. Highway 64, so that it will pass in an East-West direction just South of the crest of the South rim of Bear's Glen, it appeared that the area between the new U. S. 64 and the South rim of the Glen should be preserved as a park and historical monument to the exclusion of commercial interests. The Board reviewed the entire correspondence and the file of the Society regarding this project. After further discussion, Mr. Phillips presented for consideration and moved the adoption of a resolution reading:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, Washington Irving, a distinguished man of American letters, and his party, camped on the night of October 15, 1832, in Bear's Glenn, a historical site in Pawnee County and which site is one of the few exact locations in Oklahoma that may be today designated with accuracy visited by this expedition; and

WHEREAS, Bear's Glen will be soon inundated by the waters of Keystone Dam and the Oklahoma Historical Society is desirous that this not permit a complete loss to posterity of the historical aspects of this glen or canyon;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society that the United States Government be requested to set aside that area to be located between the new U. S. Highway 64 and the South rim of the Bear's Glen canyon as a historical park and memorial; and that the same be beautified and maintained by the Corps of Engineers in a manner consistent with such purpose; BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Corps of Engineers ex-

clude commercial interests from the use of the cove to be formed by water filling this canyon or glen; that boat houses, piers, and other water installations be not permitted in such cove and that the same remain for all time as a memorial to this great American.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle and upon a vote the resolution was adopted unanimously. The Administrative Secretary was requested to advise all parties that the foregoing resolution constituted the policy of the Society and that the staff work closely with the Planning and Resources Board and the Corps of Engineers to see that the same was implemented.

After some discussion concerning the old home of Chief Charles Journeycake near Alluwe, it was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Miss Seger that the Oklahoma Historical Society encourage the preservation of the Journeycake home, but not assume primary responsibility. Motion was adopted when put.

President Shirk said that in accordance with the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society, election of officers would be held at this meeting.

After paying a brief tribute to the work and leadership that Mr. Shirk had given to the Society, Mr. Phillips nominated Mr. Shirk to succeed himself for another term as President. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger. It was then moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Mr. Miller that the nominations cease and that George H. Shirk be reelected by acclamation. With Vice President Phillips presiding, the motion was unanimously adopted.

For the office of First Vice President Mr. Mountcastle moved the reelection of Mr. Phillips. Mr. Muldrow with the second of Judge R. A. Hefner moved that the nominations cease and Mr. Phillips be elected by acclamation. The motion was put and unanimously carried.

Dr. Harbour moved that Judge Baxter Taylor be reelected as Second Vice President. This motion was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle and unanimously adopted.

Miss Seger moved that Mrs. George Bowman be reelected as Treasurer. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion which was also unanimously adopted.

It was pointed out that the Executive Committee had approved the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary that all staff members be reappointed for a two year term beginning this date. Judge J. G. Clift moved that the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary and the action of the Executive Committee reappointing all staff members for two years be approved. The motion was seconded by Judge Hefner. President Shirk then put the motion which was unanimously adopted.

Upon the motion of Mr. Phillips and the second of Mr. Muldrow Mr. Fraker was unanimously reelected Administrative Secretary of the Society for the upcoming two year period. On behalf of the staff, Mr. Fraker expressed thanks to the Board for their action in reelecting all of the staff members.

Mr. Phillips stated he would like to add to the microfilm Committee report that it had been through the efforts of Mr. Morton Harrison of Tulsa that the Society had been able to secure the most complete file of the Cherokee Advocate in existence. He said this was

being brought about by refilming issues now in the possession of the Thomas Gilcrease Museum. He pointed out that when this was done, only three issues of the Advocate, printed in its first three years, would be missing.

President Shirk announced the following committee appointments—Executive Committee: Fisher Muldrow, R. G. Miller; Publications Committee: R. G. Miller, Chairman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Milt Phillips, Joe W. McBride, Dr. B. B. Chapman, and Elmer L. Fraker; House and Grounds: Henry B. Bass, Chairman, Joe McBride, Mrs. Frank Korn, Joe W. Curtis, and Judge N. B. Johnson; Annual Tour Committee: R. G. Miller, Chairman, Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Judge J. G. Clift, and Dr. James D. Morrison; Historical Day Committee: T. J. Harrison, Chairman, J. Lloyd Jones, and R. M. Mountcastle; Micro-film Committee: Milt Phillips, Chairman, Joe Curtis, Mrs. George L. Bowman; Advisory: Ben Blackstock, Ray Dwyer, and Lou Allard; Library Committee: Joe Curtis, Chairman, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Dr. B. B. Chapman, and Judge R. A. Hefner; Historic Sites Committee: Dr. James D. Morrison, Chairman, R. G. Miller, Miss Genevieve Seger, George H. Shirk, and Judge Orel Busby; Advisory: Miss Muriel H. Wright, James M. Bullard, Mrs. Grant Foreman, Dr. T. L. Ballenger, Vernon H. Brown, Mrs. John D. Frizzell, Dave D. Price, Kenneth Hoevel and John Freed.

Mr. Joe McBride, being a new member of the Board, was called upon for any comments he might choose to make. In a brief talk, Mr. McBride said he considered his election to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society as one of the finest honors that had happened in his life time. He said he hoped to be an active member of the Board.

A motion was made by Judge Hefner that a membership committee be added to the standing committees. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion which was adopted. President Shirk then appointed the following to the Membership Committee: Judge Busby, Chairman, Miss Genevieve Seger, R. G. Miller, Joe McBride, and J. Lloyd Jones.

Some discussion was held concerning the Heavener rune stone. Mr. Miller said that Senator Robert S. Kerr had been helping by seeking information from officials in the Scandinavian countries. Mr. Miller said when further information had been received he would make a full report to the Board.

On behalf of the Board, Miss Seger expressed thanks to those members of the staff who had been responsible for serving coffee and doughnuts prior to the Board meeting being called to order.

Dr. B. B. Chapman stated that he was placing a picture of Theodore A. Penland, last Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic in the Union Room. He said the Women's Relief Corps, at their state tent meeting held in Ponca City on April 27, 1960, had given the picture to the Historical Society and had requested him to make the presentation. President Shirk thanked Dr. Chapman for his assistance in this matter.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the meeting, adjournment was announced at 12:20 p.m.

(Signed) George H. Shirk, President

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED—APRIL 27, 1960

LIBRARY:

Constitution, Treaties and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation—David A. Homer.

Constitution, Treaties and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation (in Chickasaw)—David A. Homer

Donor: C. E. McCarty, Oklahoma City

"Cemetery Records—Veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic Buried in Sunny Lane Cemetery."

Donor: John W. Chaffee, Del City

"The United States National Museum Annual Report, 1959"

Donor: Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.

Sermon Texts of a Country Preacher—Sam West

Heads or Tails?—Sam West

The West Family Album—Sam West

Donor: Sam West, Muldrow, Oklahoma

"Oklahoma, A Guide to Materials in the National Archives"

Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939-1941

"List of Documents Concerning the Negotiation of Ratified Indian Treaties 1801-1869"

"Disposition of Federal Records"

"Preliminary Inventory of the Land-Entry Papers of the General Land Office"

"A Guide to the Microfilm Collection of Early State Records, Supplement"

"Rules and Regulations of the of the Oklahoma County Planning Commission"

"Bibliographical Procedures and Style".

History of American Bar Association—Edson R. Sunderland

Our Vichy Gamble—William L. Langer

Map Showing the Routes Across the Texas Panhandle of Josiah Gregg in 1840 and Captain R. B. Marcy in 1849

File of Oklahoma Historical Society News Letters

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City

Map of Georgia showing land lotteries

Donor: Mrs. Frank Grass, Oklahoma City

Wesley I. Nunn: His Life and His Contributions in Advertising—William Bruce Anthony III

Donor: Wesley I. Nunn, Chicago Illinois

5 Volumes *Testimony Taken Before the Committee and Investigation of Executive, Legislative and Judicial Officers, Special Session, 9th Legislature of Oklahoma, 1923*

Donor: Mrs. J. B. Phillips, Seminole

Equity Records of Old 96 and Abbeville District—Volume I

Donor: Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, Oklahoma City

A Synopsis of English Syntax—Eugene A. Nida

Donor: University of Oklahoma Library, Norman, Oklahoma

Jackson County, Missouri, Census of 1830, 1840, 1850

Donor: Mrs. H. E. Poppino, Kansas City, Missouri

Register of the Society of Sons of the Revolution in the State of Missouri 1901-1903

Donor: Mrs. J. R. Orrell, Oklahoma City

175th Anniversary Issue of *Together*, Methodist Magazine

Donor: Reverend L. A. McRill, Oklahoma City

1880 Census of Arkansas (Faulkner-Franklin Counties)—Microfilm

Donor: Lee A. McKinney, Choctaw

"Christmas in the Home of a Texas Pioneer"—Annie K. Logan

Donor: David M. Logan, Okmulgee

Roosevelt's Road to Russia—George N. Crocker

Donor: The Foundation for Foreign Affairs, Inc., Chicago, Illinois

Methodism in Enid—Henry B. Bass and John H. Bass

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Bass, Enid

Mr. Krushchev in America

Donor: The Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Souvenir Booklet "The Wedding of H.R.H. Princess Elizabeth and Lt. Philip Mountbatten"

"Punch Almanac"

"The Sketch", December 1957

"London Illustrated News", December 1949

"Picture Post", February 1952

"The Sphere", November 1949

Special Coronation Supplement, London Daily Telegraph May 12, 1937
Group of 11 English newspapers

Donor: Miss Golda B. Slief, Oklahoma City

"That the Past Shall Live"

Donor: The National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico

"The Oklahoma Lutheran", September 1937

89 issues of "The Lutheran Witness"

25th Anniversary Issue "Oklahoma District of the International Walther League"

25th Anniversary Issue "Lutherhoma"

"25th Anniversary of the Oklahoma District of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod"

Donor: Reverend W. A. Haefker, Granite, Oklahoma

"National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Museum"

"Progressive Oklahoma"

"Fifth Annual Cherokee National Holiday"

"Creek Nation Capitol and Indian Museum"

Oklahoma Lock Stock and Barrel—Tyrell Renas

Donor: Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma City

MUSEUM:

Pictures:

Water Color by Ernest Spybuck

Donor: Mrs. Harry Gilstrap, Oklahoma City

Six water color paintings by Acee Blue Eagle

Donor: Leslie M. McRill, Oklahoma City

Rune Stone

Donor: R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City

Large framed picture of Chief Red Cloud, Cheyenne

Donors: Millar W. and Joseph O. Hickox, Mt. Wilson, California

Eight early day photographs of Geary and persons who lived there

Donor: Mrs. Lucy E. Dimelow, Staten Island, New York

Fort Smith and Western engine

Donor: J. T. Compton, Seminole, Oklahoma

Juanita Trading Company, Crowder, Indian Territory

Eureka Drug Company, and Post Office, South Canadian, Indian Territory

South Canadian Town Band

Canadian, Oklahoma Post Office 1925

Lewis McCurtain

Mrs. Lewis McCurtain

Two stamp pictures of Maude Weldemere

Certificate to make kindling

Pension Card

Donor: Charles C. Rone, College Park, Georgia

Liquor store at El Reno, Oklahoma Territory

Oklahoma Jewelry Store

Mrs. Joseph Urbansky

Jewish Council Costume Party

Donor: A. J. Urbansky, Oklahoma City

Indian scene from Harper's Weekly, 1876

Wm. Jennings Bryan

Wm. Howard Taft

Alice Roosevelt

Dr. Grant Foreman

Donor: Mrs. Carolyn Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

Exhibits:

Tray, Glasses and Pitcher decorated with sketches by Acee Blue Eagle

Donor: Mr. R. M. Knox, Enid, Oklahoma

Wooden churn, coffee pot, moving picture machine, and tomahawk

Donor: W. H. Williams, Tonkawa, Oklahoma

Shot gun, clock

Donor: Mrs. Irene Bartel, Colony, Oklahoma

Two headdresses

Headdress decoration

Two pairs moccasins

Cheyenne pipe bag

Cheyenne toy beds

Beaded moccasins for a baby

Child's beaded purse

Child's saddle blanket

Toy parfleche

Medicine charm

Beaded knife case

Two pairs men's leggings

One pair women's leggings

Men's leggings tinted green

Buckskin dress

Buckskin shirt

Donor: Millar W. and Joseph O. Hickox, Mt. Wilson, Calif.

Town seal of Keokuk Falls

Donor: Mrs. Maud Brant, Tecumseh, Oklahoma

Set of toy dishes

Donor: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kingfisher, Oklahoma

School bell

Apple peeler

Cherry pitter

Skirt

Jacket

Two pairs shoes

Black Silk bag

Leather pillow top

Stand table, burned wood

Three plaques

Picture frame

Campaign badge

Donor: A. J. Urbansky, Oklahoma City

Medical instruments (eighty-three)

Donor: Mrs. O. E. Howell, Norman, Oklahoma

Three dress uniforms and cape

Donor: Major General Fred S. Borum, Oklahoma City

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL ROOM:

Book Volume 1, "Battlefield of Pea Ridge, Arkansas; Battle Folk Lore
—Battlegrams and Generals"

Book, Volume 2 "The Glamorous Struggle Behind the Battle of Pea
Ridge"

Donor: Mrs. T. F. Gorman, Oklahoma City

UNION MEMORIAL ROOM:

China plate depicting "Our Vanishing Army" of the Civil War

Donor: Mrs. Elie Macarty, Oklahoma City

China plate commemorating Lincoln Sesquicentennial, 1809-1959
 Newspaper clippings and photographs from The Illinois State Journal,
 Springfield, Illinois, dated February 13, 1959
 Donor: Mrs. Edna Thomas, El Reno, Oklahoma

NEW MEMBERS FOR THE QUARTER JANUARY 29, 1960

TO APRIL 28, 1960:

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

Allen, Mrs. C. B.
 Sneed, Earl

Madill, Oklahoma
 Norman Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

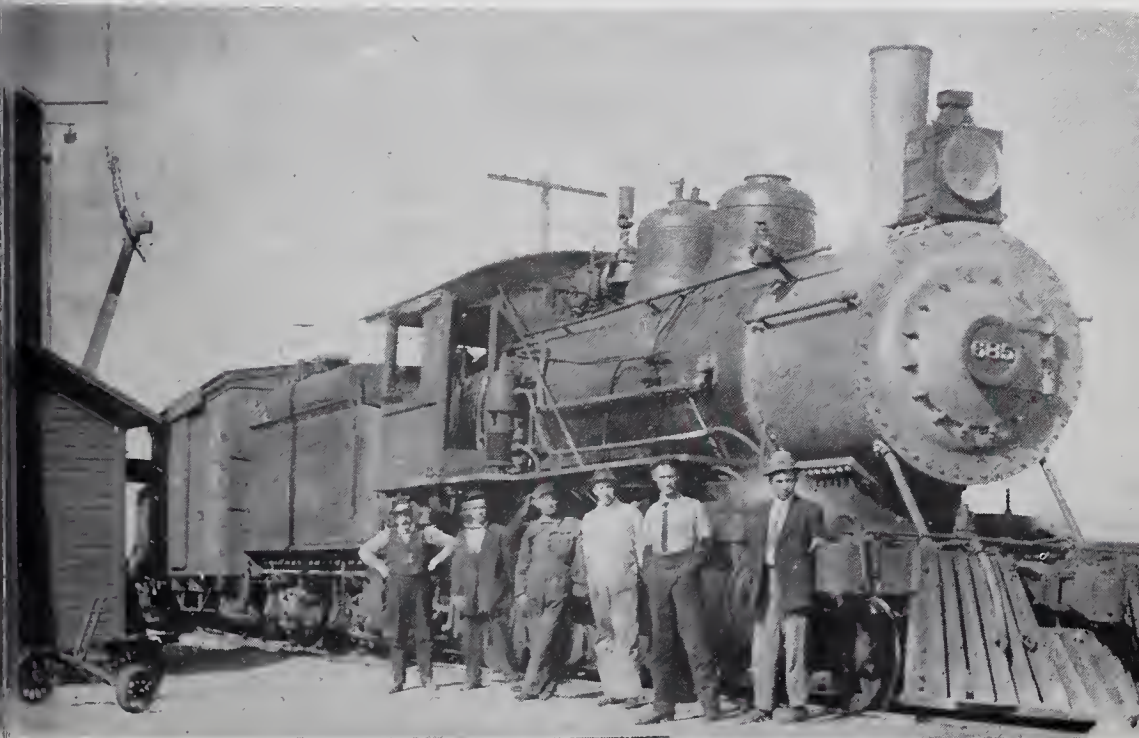
Neher, Mrs. Fred
 Cone, Laurance D.
 Cotton, Robt.
 McKinney, Lee A.
 Neilson, W. P.
 Shwen, Bill
 Adams, Martha Marie
 Adams, W. C.
 McDonald, Mrs. H. L.
 McClellan, Mrs. Coe Davis
 Cathey, Mrs. Robert Lee
 Brown, Guy H.
 Holliday, Clyde M.
 Birdwell, Mrs. Banton
 Crable, A. L.
 Harris, Lillian
 Hines, J. B.
 Newbern, Mary E.
 Penpers, Mrs. Charles C.
 Thompson, Mrs. Leslie A.
 Ullestad, Mrs. Rhea Hunt
 Torbett, H. Bill
 Standifer, Virgil C.
 Muchmore, Gareth
 Billau, Lynn C.
 Giles, F. S.
 Hill, Robert Burns
 Illenberg, Kenneth L.
 Ingle, Millie
 Roark, Edna M.
 Eads, Mary E.
 Nichols, W. R.
 Anderson, Mrs. Karl K.
 McCready, William S.
 Brown, Dorothy J.
 Caton, Mrs. Jewell Brown
 Hacker, J. Sheldon
 Hickman, Miss Lucy

Altus, Oklahoma
 Anadarko, Oklahoma
 Bartlesville, Oklahoma
 Choctaw, Oklahoma
 Enid, Oklahoma
 Lawton, Oklahoma
 Midwest City, Oklahoma
 " " "
 " " "
 Newkirk, Oklahoma
 Nicoma Park, Oklahoma
 Norman, Oklahoma
 " "
 Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
 " " "
 " " "
 " " "
 " " "
 " " "
 " " "
 Okmulgee, Oklahoma
 Pawhuska, Oklahoma
 Ponca City, Oklahoma
 Tulsa, Oklahoma
 " "
 " "
 " "
 " "
 " "
 Redondo Beach, California
 Simla, Colorado
 Rabun Gap, Georgia
 Dallas, Texas
 Mathis, Texas
 North Pleasanton, Texas
 Tyler, Texas
 Washington, D. C.

The **CHRONICLES** *of* **OKLAHOMA**



Autumn, 1960



OLD ENGINE NO. 6, SANTA FE RAILWAY

Volume XXXVIII

Number 3

Published Quarterly by the
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 26, 1893)

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OFFICERS

GEORGE H. SHIRK, President
EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, President Emeritus
DR. CHARLES EVANS, Secretary Emeritus
H. MILT PHILLIPS, 1st Vice President
BAXTER TAYLOR, 2nd Vice President
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Treasurer
ELMER L. FRAKER, Administrative Secretary
Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

DIRECTORS

GOVERNOR J. HOWARD EDMONDSON, Ex-Officio

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1961

MISS GENEVIEVE SEGER, Geary	EMMA ESTILL-HARBOUR, Edmond
H. MILT PHILLIPS, Seminole	GEORGE H. SHIRK, Oklahoma City
J. G. CLIFT, Duncan	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1962

JOE W. CURTIS, Pauls Valley	R. G. MILLER, Oklahoma City
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Kingfisher	THOMAS J. HARRISON, Pryor
MRS. ANNA B. KORN, Oklahoma City	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1963

EXALL ENGLISH, Lawton	JAMES D. MORRISON, Durant
L. WAYNE JOHNSON, Stillwater	OREL BUSBY, Ada
KELLY BROWN, Muskogee	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1964

JOE W. MCBRIDE, Oklahoma City	E. E. DALE, Norman
HENRY B. BASS, Enid	R. M. MOUNICASTLE, Muskogee
BERLIN B. CHAPMAN, Stillwater	

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1965

FISHER MULBROW, Norman	BAXTER TAYLOR, Oklahoma City
ROBERT A. HEFNER, Oklahoma City	N. B. JOHNSON, Oklahoma City
J. LLOYD JONES, Tulsa	

CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma Historical Society distributes *The Chronicles* free to members. Annual membership dues are three dollars; Life membership, fifty dollars. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the Administrative Secretary.

Second class mail privileges authorized at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

R. G. MILLER	H. MILT PHILLIPS
EDWARD EVERETT DALE	BERLIN B. CHAPMAN
JOE W. McBRIDE	ELMER L. FRAKER

Autumn, 1960

Volume XXXVIII

Number 3

CONTENTS

Redmond Seleeman Cole	242
By Fannie Brownlee Misch	
Arthur Grant Evans	245
By Frank A. Balyeat	
The Story of Rock Cut	253
By Bernice Norman Crockett	
School Days at Emahaka Academy	265
By Robert E. Trevathan	
Wm. E. Burnett: Removal of Indians from Texas	274
By Raymond Estep	
Report of Survey, Inscriptions on Santa Fe Trail	310
By the Committee	
Notes and Documents	323
County Seat War in McIntosh County	
The Name "Lookeba" in Caddo County	
History Award to Mr. R. G. Miller	
Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission	
Book Review	334
Minutes	338

Cover: The front cover print is from an original photograph of "Engine No. 6" Santa Fe Railway, early 1900's, taken at Gulf Station, Indian Territory, near the Rock Cut. Doyle Norman standing second from right was the Station Agent and Western Union operator.

REDMOND SELECMAN COLE

By Fannie Brownlee Misch*

Redmond Selecman Cole was born on a farm in Andrew County, Missouri, near Bolckow on August 22, 1881. His parents were James Buchanan Cole and Virginia Lee Bedford Cole. He was a grandson of Lieutenant Alexander Marshall Bedford and Mary Elizabeth Selecman of Andrew County. His paternal grandparents were Captain James Lowry and Elizabeth (née Patterson) Cole of Virginia.

His early interest in family history stemmed from the fact that his youth was spent among the Missouri Selecman and Bedfords, all of whom had known their family relations for generations. It was a challenge to develop the kinship when Cousin Charley Selecman married Cousin Eliza Selecman. Redmond Cole found on further examination that his grandmother Eliza Patterson Cole was the daughter of Andrew Patterson and Elizabeth Cole, which gave the unravelling of family genealogy further impetus.

Redmond Cole moved with his parents to Kirksville, Missouri in 1898 where his father completed a course in osteopathy, and he himself attended Kirksville Normal school. His father established a practice as an osteopath in Columbia, Missouri, and continued there until his death in 1942.

Redmond Cole entered Missouri University in Columbia, graduating with A.B. degree in 1905 and with a master's degree in 1906. He then studied law, and passed the Missouri Bar examination in 1909. He was president of the student body while in the University, and edited the *University Independent*, the student weekly. He represented the school in interstate debates several times, once in Oklahoma. He was a charter member of the Delta Tau Delta social fraternity and a member of the Delta Sigma Rho debating Fraternity, also the Phi Alpha Delta legal Fraternity. During the Saint Louis Fair in 1904, he pushed a wheel chair for sightseers to earn his way. He was a member of the college military group which chartered a train and attended the Jamestown Exposition in 1907 under Colonel Frazier as Commandant.

Soon after coming to Oklahoma in April, 1909, he passed the Oklahoma State Bar examination, and located in Pawnee in

* Fannie Brownlee Misch is a writer of historical features in the Tulsa papers, and a former contributor of biographical sketches in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. She has had articles in other publications including *The American Scene*, Gilcrease Institute of Art and History, Tulsa.—Ed.



REDMOND SELECMAN COLE

the law office of Louis Johnson where he succeeded Charles Wrightsman who was moving to Tulsa. When Judge N. E. McNeill was appointed County Judge of Pawnee County to fill a vacancy caused by a death, Redmond Cole was appointed to take his place as County Attorney, and served until 1915. This was the beginning of his life-long friendship with Judge McNeill and of his active entry into politics serving at different times as chairman of the Democratic central committee, and as Democratic county chairman. He was draft registrar in World War I, 1915-17, and was Mayor of Pawnee in 1919. He was appointed Assistant U.S. District Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma, with residence in Oklahoma City, and served until 1919 when he was elected to the office of Judge of the Pawnee-Tulsa District. He was re-elected in 1922 but resigned this office in 1923 to join the legal department of the Gulf Oil Company in Tulsa, and remained in this work until his retirement in 1950. He served as President of the Tulsa County Bar Association in 1948.

Redmond Selecman Cole was married on June 11, 1910, to Miss Mary Thompson Cross, a graduate of Missouri University, Class of 1908, and a teacher in Missouri and in Ceres, California, schools. Judge and Mrs. Cole were the parents of two daughters: Olivia Harris and Virginia Bedford. Many of the family vacation trips down through the years were planned so as to do research on family history and further genealogical interests. His youngest daughter once told a news reporter that much of their vacation trip had been spent "in cemeterys viewing epitaphs!" Judge Cole owned an extensive genealogical library, and freely made several hundred volumes available to those interested, including many from distant places who were searching for family history. More than one hundred scrap-books of history and politics are evidence of Judge Cole's interest in keeping a record of events and current affairs. His library also contained many historical volumes on the old West.

Judge Cole's interest in history began as a student in College. He was a charter member of the Missouri Historical Society and a Life Member of the Wisconsin and the Kansas historical societies. He joined as one of the first Life Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1911, and was soon elected as a member of this Society's Board of Directors, serving until 1917. He was elected again as a member on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Society in 1948, and remained a member of the Board until his death in 1959. During this time, he served as 2nd Vice President (1948-50) and as 1st Vice President (1950-58). Judge Cole derived much pleasure as a Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, knowing well the history of the State and working for its preservation. He was an avid first-day cover and stamp collector, looking on stamps issued in their

sequence like a tabulated record of history. Judge Cole did not live to complete the family histories that he had worked on for years, but many genealogical books have sections which he prepared, and many papers in both the Society of Mayflower Descendants and the Sons of the American Revolution are proofs of his knowledge, for he helped others to work out their family lines. He was recognized as one of the leading genealogical researchers in this country.

Judge Cole was elected (after his retirement from professional life) President of the Oklahoma Society of Sons of the American Revolution, and was elected in 1952 as Historian General of the national S.A.R., the first Oklahoman named to a general office since the group was organized in 1889. He was Vice President of the South Mississippi District of the S.A.R. at the time of his death. Judge Cole also was active in the American Society of Mayflower Descendants, having assisted in organizing and having served as Governor of the Oklahoma group in this Society.

He was well known in fraternal circles including the Odd Fellows and the Masons, in the latter being a member of the Commandery, Knights Templar and of the Temple, Akdar Shrine. His religious membership was in the Methodist Church, having first joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Redmond Selecman Cole died suddenly of a heart attack on July 16, 1959, while visiting in the home of his daughter in Muskogee.¹ Funeral services were held in the Boston Avenue Methodist Church in Tulsa, and entombment was in the Rose Hill Mausoleum.

William James said, "The use of a life is to spend it for something that outlasts it." Judge Cole's love and knowledge of history given in American genealogical writings and his history talks to children and adults, Junior Citizen groups, patriotic service groups, schools and clubs will be remembered and will long influence the lives of many in our great country.

¹ Judge Redmond S. Cole is survived by his wife, who continues to reside in the family home at 1312 South Owasso, Tulsa, and their two daughters. He died in the home of his eldest daughter, Mrs. Joy Donald Cole (Olivia), in Muskogee. The daughter Olivia married twice: Her first child, Samuel E. Wilson, was born after the death of her first husband in a car accident; her two children born of the second union are Mary Patricia and Joy Donald Cole. Judge and Mr. Cole's second daughter, Virginia Bedford, married Ross Livingston Collins now American Counsel at Yaounde, Cameroun, Africa. Mr. and Mrs. Collins are the parents of four children: Mary Avery, Ross Livingston (II), Virginia Bedford and Elizabeth Garth Collins.

ARTHUR GRANT EVANS

By Frank A. Balyeat

"Three score years and ten," the life span stated by the Psalmist, was that attained by Arthur Grant Evans, 1858-1928. His vocational experiences exceeded that of most men of his time and his life was lived in three continents: Asia, Europe, and North America.

Born September 9, 1858 at Madras, India, he was the son of British missionaries, the Reverend E. J. and Caroline (Taylor) Evans. In his early childhood they returned to England where he was educated in the schools of London. Ability and motivation enabled him to do elementary work in private schools at an accelerated pace. When he was ready for more advanced schooling, Great Britain had begun to organize public schools, thus improving his educational opportunities and his preparation for teaching.

The Elementary Education Act of 1871 created hundreds of schools in England, especially in the larger cities, in charge of local school boards. The need for teachers grew faster than did their number. This provided opportunity to try extensively the Bell-Lancaster system, a plan which, in some ways, peculiarly paralleled Evans' experience. Chaplain Bell had inaugurated the plan in Madras, India, before 1800, to care for the schooling of the many orphans of British soldiers there. Lancaster, a little later, began a similar plan in South London where the need of teachers was so great and where his father helped him to get building facilities to try his educational experiment. Later, young Evans participated as monitor in a secondary Lancastrian school and had his college training for this plan and, still later, saw it unsuccessfully tried in the North American schools for Indians.¹

Under this plan one competent teacher could instruct dozens, even a few hundred, pupils. The abler pupils were chosen as monitors, taught by the "master" and, in turn, each monitor taught a group of about ten classmates. The master provided for instruction of monitors that they were to pass on to their small groups, the wall charts used by monitors, and other material needed by them. Being above the average in ability, and with the added advantage of teaching the subject matter, the monitors gained better understanding of the courses than did most members of their small groups of classmates.

¹ A. Grant Evans, Letter to F. A. Balyeat, May 22, 1926. In *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1959), pp. 239-242.

In 1871, Evans was a monitor in a South London school for boys. He took the full course for pupil teachers, and then obtained the Queen's scholarship and "entered the British and Foreign Training School, the oldest of English normal schools, established by Joseph Lancaster, the eminent Quaker educationist."² In 1878 he was granted the A.B. degree by this Lancastrian school. For the next five years he was principal of a public school at Earls Barton, which was certificated by the London School authorities.

In 1883, with his sister, Miss Carrie Evans, he moved to North America where he spent his remaining years. At first they lived in Canada where he taught in a private school. After about two years she returned to London.³ In the summer of 1884, while teaching in Nashville, Tennessee, he helped to entertain a party of Cherokee teachers, escorted by Robert L. Own, then secretary to the Cherokee Board of Education. They were en route to visit a chautauqua in East Tennessee. "Shortly afterwards Owen wrote offering me a position in the Cherokee Male Seminary and so my connection with the work began."⁴ He found the Cherokees with about 100 public schools, besides the Male and Female Seminaries, which he described as "practically boarding high schools." The financial records of the Cherokee Nation, now in the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, show that he was made assistant principal while teaching there, his salary then raised from \$133.33 to \$155.55 per month.

"After about two years of work the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions asked me to take charge of their educational work in the Cherokee Nation."⁵ "He organized and superintended a number of schools, including those at Park Hill and Elm Springs, and reorganized the old Dwight Mission, at Marble."⁶ Interviews found in the "Indian and Pioneer Papers," Indian Archives, show that he began to preach in 1885, and became pastor of the Park Hill Church in the autumn of 1886. He was ordained to preach in 1887. Dr. Evans once stated:⁷

I was strongly of the opinion that the picking out of a few bright young people and sending them to boarding school was not satisfactory and accepted the commission with the understanding that I should try to organize neighborhood schools in districts and supplied by the Cherokee school system, putting at least two teachers in charge of each school, and making them available to children of white renters.

² D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory* (New York and Chicago, 1901), p. 388.

³ *Daily Oklahoman*, April 12, 1908.

⁴ Evans, *op. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Roy Temple House, "New Oklahoma School Presidents," *Sturms' Oklahoma Magazine*, December, 1908.

⁷ Evans, *op. cit.*



ARTHUR GRANT EVANS

This was the beginning of his interest in schools for the rapidly growing number of white children in the Indian Territory. Also, he believed that the two races should attend school together because he foresaw the end of Indian control of their schools, and because he believed that it was not good for Indians to continue to live apart from the already large number of white settlers, whose number was obviously destined to increase.

From about 1890 to 1899 he preached in three states, and taught in one of them. His first pastorate, after leaving the Cherokee Nation, was at Oswego, in the extreme southeastern part of Kansas. During this time, in 1891, he married Miss Katherine Robb, daughter of Andrew W. and Martha (Requa) Robb, pioneer citizens of Muskogee.⁸

After a one year pastorate in Pendleton, Oregon, the young couple moved to Colorado where he preached and taught until their return to Muskogee. He was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Salida and then at Leadville. While at Salida he was principal of the Presbyterian Academy there,⁹ and there he advanced in Masonry, "being dubbed a Knight Templar in Salida Commandery, K.T."¹⁰

In Muskogee a school for Indian girls was started by Miss Aliee Robertson in 1884, later enrolling boys, also. In 1894, it became Henry Kendall College, sponsored by the Indian Territory Presbyterian Synod. In the spring of 1899, W. R. King, president since 1896, resigned and A. Grant Evans immediately succeeded him. In 1906, the Women's Board of Home Missions turned the college over to the Presbyterian Synod, with instructions that it be made a great sectarian school. One of the first decisions that followed was to move the school to another town. Of the several bids for the new location, that of Tulsa was accepted. In September, 1907 the college opened at Tulsa, using as temporary quarters the Presbyterian Church building, at 4th and Boston. Tulsa citizens soon secured a campus and made plans for building.¹¹ It was President Evans' responsibility to lead the school and its local supporters during the difficult transition period. In 1908, he resigned to accept a better position. The name of the school was changed to the University of Tulsa in 1920.

During his nine years as president of Henry Kendall College, Evans continued to grow in leadership roles besides school work, including that of his church and Masonry. "He organized a University Club, composed of about seventy Muskogee men

⁸ Gideon, *op. cit.*

⁹ *Who Was Who in America*, Special Library Edition, Vol. 1. p. 376.

¹⁰ Gideon, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Wallace Brewer, "History of Advanced Church Education in Oklahoma." unpublished Ed. D. Dissertation. University of Oklahoma. 1945, pp. 97-103.

who had been university students and the cosmopolitan character of the citizenship was shown by the fact that almost every university in the United States of any standing was represented."¹² Besides being at one time moderator of the Indian Territory Synod, in 1894 "he was sent by the Presbyterian Churches of America to the Pan-Presbyterian Council, held at Liverpool, England," and "he had been a speaker at the annual Lake Mohawk Indian Conference."¹³ In 1904, he was among those appearing before the U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Territories, helping to present the argument for single statehood.¹⁴ In 1905 he was a delegate to the Sequoyah Convention, and helped to draft the constitution for the proposed State of Sequoyah.

In 1907, when the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention was in progress, Gabe Parker, a Henry Kendall graduate, was assigned to help design the great seal for the new state. He asked aid of President Evans, then heading Henry Kendall, who drew from his files the design that he had prepared two years previously for the Great Seal of the State of Sequoyah. It was slightly modified and the Great Seal of the Territory of Oklahoma, adopted in 1893, was placed in the center of the revision of the Evans design. Today's Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma is basically the concept of A. Grant Evans.¹⁵

Evans' greatest service to the cause of common school education in the Indian Territory came early in the new century, after months of effort on his part. He had earlier suggested at a meeting of the teachers of Indian Territory "that Congress should be asked to make an appropriation to increase and develop the Indian school systems and make them available for non-Indian citizens residing in the school districts."¹⁶ Later, on request, he presented this proposal to the Lake Mohawk Conference and then to Congress. The first Congressional appropriation was for \$100,000 in 1904. The next two years it was for \$150,000 and then increased to \$300,000 annually and continued at that figure in the first years of statehood.¹⁷

With statehood came changes and threatened changes in all phases of leadership in Oklahoma, including that of the schools. "Rumors were already current that considerable reorganization,

¹² John D. Benedict, *Muskogee and Northeastern Oklahoma*, (Chicago, 1922), p. 376.

¹³ House, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Charles Evans, "Judge Thomas H. Doyle," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1949), p. 140.

¹⁵ Muriel H. Wright, "The Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXV No. 3 (Autumn, 1957), pp. 253-254.

¹⁶ Evans, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ F. A. Balyeat, "Education of White Children in the Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (June, 1937), p. 194.

not only of the university faculty but of the university itself, might be expected under the new state government. President Boyd, whose work had been amazingly successful, was serving for the sixteenth year, a long service for a university president in the Middle West."¹⁸ The Attorney General ruled that the University Regents did not have authority to choose its president; that only the State Board of Education could make that choice.¹⁹ At a meeting in March, 1908, the State Board unanimously chose A. Grant Evans, then president at Henry Kendall, to be the head of the State University. "Dr. Boyd, at the University since 1892 as its first president, was not considered for reappointment."²⁰ During the three months that followed there was much agitation and unrest about possible changes in the university teaching staff. The O.U. Regents, at their June meeting dropped seven leading faculty members, all of them soon getting better positions elsewhere. Others resigned. "A total of thirteen old faculty members were no longer on the campus."²¹

One of Boyd's last major contributions to education in Oklahoma was planning and beginning the first real summer session at the University, which was at about mid-stage when Evans became president, July 1, 1908. With a member of the O.U. Board of Regents, Boyd visited several universities during that summer to get ideas for a new building to replace the Administration Building that had burned December 20, 1907.²² During that summer the outgoing president did all that he could to help his successor get well started on what was obviously to be a very difficult year. In his last chapel address he said, "Every personal prejudice must give way to the good of the university."

Unrest and uncertainty contributed to a significant drop in enrollment in September. As his predecessor had done through the years, President Evans maintained a heavy speaking schedule throughout Oklahoma, using these opportunities to meet prospective students and their parents, and to build better support among the citizenry of the new state. The correspondence files of Evans, now in the University Library Archives, show careful attention to his letters to those who might be interested in enrolling or sending their children to the University of Oklahoma. These letters reveal his efforts to interest people from other states, writing to those parents that their children would not be at a disadvantage financially because of not being Oklahoma residents, stressing that no tuition was charged anyone except for "private lessons in music and painting."

¹⁸ Roy Gittinger, *The University of Oklahoma*, (Norman, Oklahoma, 1942), p. 54.

¹⁹ *Norman Transcript*, March 26, 1908.

²⁰ Irvin Hurst, *The 46th Star*, (Oklahoma City, 1957), p. 66.

²¹ Gittinger, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

²² This new building, later named Evans Hall, was completed during the administration of Acting President Monnet.

The 1908-09 school year began with twenty-eight new members on the teaching staff.²³ Considering the size of the faculty at that time, this meant a large change in faculty positions. It meant, also, a loss of some outstanding professors whose successors, in certain instances, suffered in comparison with their predecessors. A not too friendly attitude prevailed for awhile toward some new staff members. Though President Evans was not responsible for this sweeping change, he did face the difficult task of getting started in a very discouraging and embarrassing atmosphere. He was equal to the occasion, exercising remarkable self-control, and was able to help others under the trying conditions for which he and they were not to blame.

The time was then ripe for a reorganization of the faculty, including teaching and administrative positions. During 1908-09 two "colleges" and five "schools" were created or, in some cases, slightly changed. There was then the College of Arts and Sciences, with eight subdivisions, and the College of Engineering, with four departments. The five schools were: Graduate, Fine Arts, Medicine, and Pharmacy, with Law developed during that year and actually starting in 1909. These seven divisions were headed by deans, nearly all of them able and ranking staff members under the previous administration. Of course, the Law School dean had to be a new member of the faculty. A member of the original faculty of 1892, was made vice president, also a new position.²⁴ Thus the new president had leadership support of outstanding "old" staff members. The Schools of Law and Medicine soon had increased enrollments, due to absorbing those areas that had been a part of Epworth University, Oklahoma City. Enrollment grew slowly, the total number of students decreased by gradually dropping of the Preparatory Department, a movement planned and begun under Boyd's administration.

Even before the reorganization of the staff into colleges and schools had become effective, and authorized by the University Regents, a newly organized Senate replaced the General Faculty in administrative functions. The vice president, deans, and heads of departments in the College of Arts and Sciences made up this new group and the administrative machinery was accordingly strengthened.

Gradually, though slowly and sometimes uncertainly, student leadership was organized and was encouraged and guided by the president and his staff. Long before the organization of the Student Senate, President Evans utilized a small ex-officio group of students who advised with him and sometimes were able to help in some phases. The presidents of the four college

²³ *Norman Transcript*, July 2, 1908.

²⁴ Gittinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

classes constituted this group. Also, the "Sooner Rooters" was organized as a cheering section, composed of both sexes, and with presidential blessing and guidance. In December, 1908, was formed an organization of those above the freshman level, "to supervise the affairs of freshmen." President Evans called a meeting of this group and planned with them student assistance in shared responsibility for "all activities of students." Gradually, some students who had felt disappointment, some even harboring resentment, over the fairly recent and extensive changes in the teaching staff, were effectively aligned with the administration in promoting growth and improvement of the university.

In January, 1911 Governor Haskell was succeeded by Governor Lee Cruce, whom he had defeated in the primary election of 1907 and had made president of the O.U. Board of Regents. Governor Cruce aided in getting prompt legislative action to remedy the overlapping and sometimes competitive conditions existing among the public colleges of Oklahoma. All boards of regents, except those of agricultural institutions, which were under a constitutionally provided board, were discontinued. The State Board of Education, with the State Superintendent as president, was placed in charge of the state institutions of higher learning. As had been true three years before, the official board decided upon a change in the presidency of the University of Oklahoma, without consulting or considering the incumbent. In May, 1911, *The Daily Oklahoman* carried a conspicuous headline, "New President Appointed," and soon there were news stories in Oklahoma papers that "seven old faculty members are let out."²⁵ President Evans remained in charge until September 1, 1911 when Dean J. C. Monnet, of the Law School, became Acting President. During the summer he was on leave to lecture in another university, though continually cooperating with the outgoing president in planning the 1911-12 school year. Evans showed the same spirit of assistance that he had enjoyed as incoming president three years before. In his last chapel address, June 20, 1911, he showed a fine spirit and assured students and public that the Board was acting in good faith and with the best interests of the university in mind.

During the year following his presidency, he and his family moved to California, which was his home through his remaining years. After about four years of pastoral work at Long Beach, he moved to Santa Barbara, preaching there for twelve years. During the last two or three years, he taught part time in the fields of English and Philosophy at the State Teachers College and Junior College at Santa Barbara.

²⁵ Martha Evans, Letter to F. A. Balyeat, April 6, 1960.

During the last five decades of his life he was sometimes preaching and sometimes teaching, often carrying on both of his favorite services. "I know that he felt that preaching and teaching were so closely allied," wrote his daughter, "that if you were doing one you could hardly keep from being the other." At least that was true of A. Grant Evans. Filling his pulpit in Santa Barbara on Sunday, November 25, 1928, and meeting his college classes the following day, "his prayer was granted that he might wear out rather than rust out." His rich and rewarding life ended November 30, 1928.²⁶ The beautiful El Montecito Presbyterian Church building at Santa Barbara displays this plaque: "This Building, a Memorial to the Reverend Arthur Grant Evans, D.D., LL.D., Minister and Pastor of El Montecito Presbyterian Church, 1916-1928, Was Made Possible through the Gifts of Many Appreciative Parishioners, Neighbors, and Friends, 1932."

"Minister, teacher, linguist, scientist, and poet," wrote Miss Alice Robertson about the friend whom she knew so well. Also, he was missionary, school administrator, and modest, though effective, statesman. His chapel talks often showed a real love of poetry, which he enjoyed writing as well as reading.²⁷ "Dr. Evans knew more scripture than any man I ever knew. He had committed nearly all of the Psalms, word for word."²⁸

²⁶ Dr. Evans was survived by his wife and five children. Mrs. Evans died in 1950; Edward (Ted) Andrew Evans, in 1951; and Mrs. Jessie Elizabeth (Evans) Jackson, in 1955. Two daughters, Martha Gwenllian and Mary Carol Evans, and one son, Arthur W. Robb Evans, are living in California in 1960.

²⁷ The 1909 and 1910 volumes of the University of Oklahoma yearbook, *The Sooner*, include three of Evans' longer poems. One of them, "When Key Wolf Gets the Ball," made quite a hit when he read it in chapel.

²⁸ Rev. C. W. Kerr, in *Tulsa Collegian*, Dec. 27, 1928.

GEOLOGIC MAP OF THE ARBUCKLE MOUNTAIN REGION

BY JOSEPH A. TAFF

1903

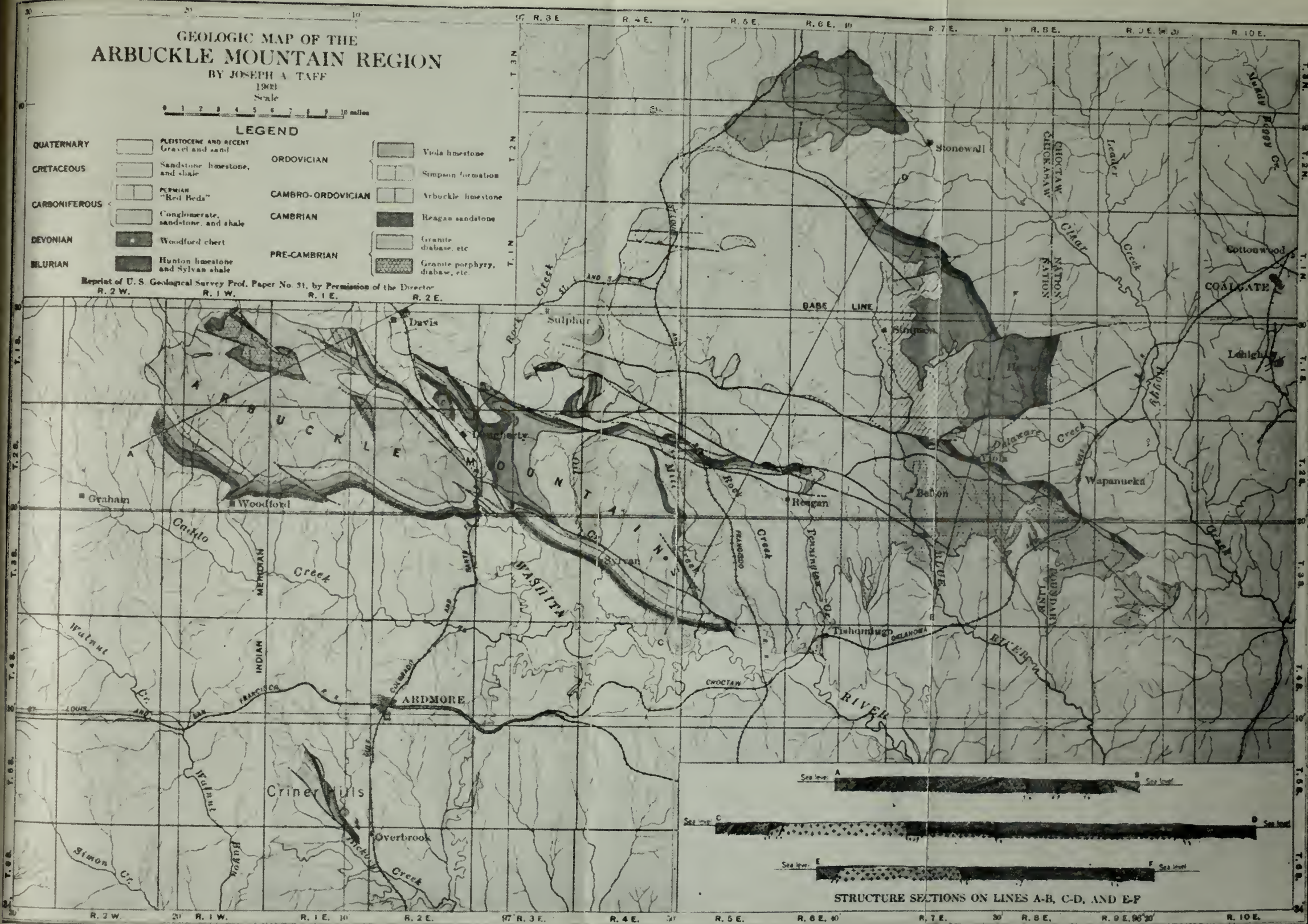
Scale

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 miles

LEGEND

QUATERNARY	PLEISTOCENE AND RECENT Gravel and sand	ORDOVICIAN	Viola limestone
CRETACEOUS	Sandstone limestone, and shale		Simpson formation
	PERMIAN "Red Beds"	CAMBRO-ORDOVICIAN	Arbuckle limestone
CARBONIFEROUS	Conglomerate, sandstone, and shale	CAMBRIAN	Reagan sandstone
DEVONIAN	Woodford chert		Granite diabase, etc.
SILURIAN	Huntton limestone and Sylvan shale	PRE-CAMBRIAN	Granite porphyry, diabase, etc.

Reprint of U.S. Geological Survey Prof. Paper No. 51, by Permission of the Director
R. 2 W. R. 1 W. R. 1 E. R. 2 E.



(From Bulletin No. 12, Pl. 1, by permission of Oklahoma Geological Survey)

Map showing the location of the "Rock Cut" on the Santa Fe Railway, Arbuckle Mountains, south of the station marked "Dougherty," Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory

H. L. Marvin, Chief Engineer for the Kansas Southern Railroad in 1884. Three lines were suggested which could be followed through the territory—one from Coffeyville, Kansas to Gainesville, Texas, and one from Arkansas City, Kansas to a point near Salt Creek or Red River Station, Texas. He designated the routes A, B, and C, continuing . . . "I have sought to find a practical railroad route, which will be as near as possible to each of these base lines, upon the basis of one per cent maximum grade and without excessive work or cost."³

His report continues with a conscientious study of each of the proposed routes where early one finds indications that passing through the Arbuckle Mountains may be more of a problem than preliminary investigations showed. Mention is made of the line which would pass between two spurs of the eastern terminus of the Arbuckle Mountains, and a discussion of the Washita River in which he wrote that the river resembled the Brazos of Texas very closely: "The bottom lands are broad and fertile; of red loam and well cultivated. The banks of the river are sharp, not liable to wash and the stream lays deep. . . . it would not be best to locate a pier in mid-channel as drift is excessive and current rapid." That Santa Fe engineers and officials underestimated the powerful and erratic Washita created some drastic problems for the railroad in the next twenty-five years.

The planned railroad, to be built north-south through the Cherokee Outlet, Oklahoma Territory and the old Chickasaw Nation, would come in from the north, from Arkansas City toward the Canadian River, under the direction of the Kansas, Southern Corporation. From the south, coming up from Galveston, another corporation called the Gulf, Colorado and the Santa Fe was in charge of construction and the two were scheduled to meet at Purcell, Indian Territory, some time in 1887.⁴

There were few towns in that section of the Arbuckle Mountains where the railroad would be constructed in the old Chickasaw Nation in the early 1880's. Many families living in and around the region went to Denison, Texas for groceries and necessities, making the trip by means of the only conveyances provided at the time, by horseback, by wagon, or on foot. The news that a railroad was going to be built through the mountains was of such a totally new character that many of the people living in the region did not know what a train was. Sam Mahardy, who was born in old Tishomingo County just south of the present site of Davis, October 15, 1868 was such a one. He said he never saw a well until he was half grown. The family used

³ "Reconnaissance of H. L. Marvin," edited by James W. Moffit, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (June, 1939), p. 212-28.

⁴ Victor Harlow, *Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1934), p. 253.

GEOLOGIC MAP OF BUCKLE MOUNTAIN

BY JOSEPH

1908

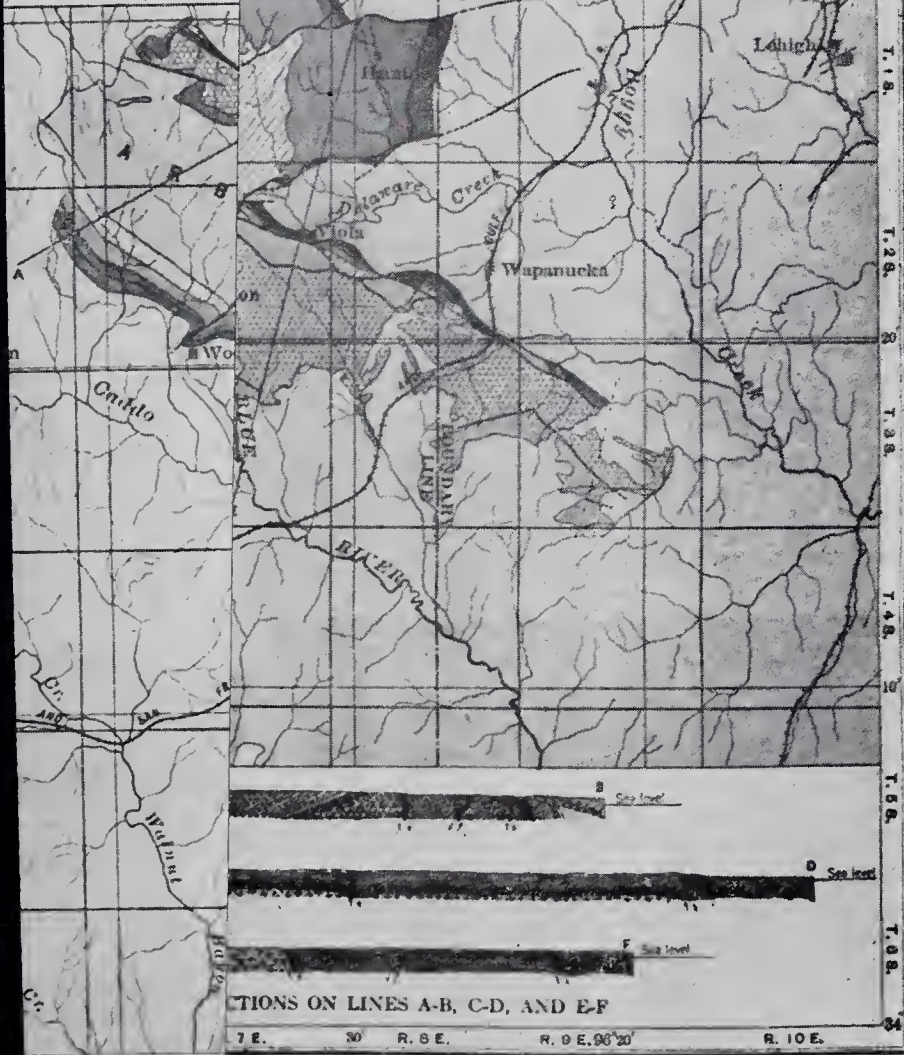
Scale



LEGEND

- PLEISTOCENE AND RECENT
Gravel and sand
- Sandstone, limestone,
and shale
- PERMIAN
"Red Beds"
- Conglomerate,
sandstone, and shale
- Woodford chert
- Hunton limestone
and Sylvan shale

U. S. Geological Survey Prof. Paper
R. 1 W.



CROSS-SECTIONS ON LINES A-B, C-D, AND E-F

7 E. 20 R. 8 E. R. 9 E. 20 R. 10 E.

2. Pl. 1, by permission of Oklahoma Geological Survey)

"Dougherty," Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory

the location of t

water out of a spring, his mother cooked on a skillet and lid on the fireplace in the winter, and outdoors in the summer. He saw the first barbed wire fence in that country in 1882, before that everyone used rail fences. In 1884 they bought their first cook stove. Mr. Mahardy said they ate dried venison a lot. His father fished with a bow and arrow. In the fall when the polecats were fat, they killed and dressed them, boiled them until they were tender, and then baked them brown in a skillet. He went to school in 1882 and 1883 at the Colbert Neighborhood school east of Berwyn. That was where he first heard about the railroad. "Colonel George Harkins came to our school and made a talk. He said, 'It won't be long until big iron horses will be running through here.' I got up and asked what he meant by an Iron Horse. He explained that he meant a train." Sam said he had no idea what the Colonel meant because he had never seen or heard of a train. The Colonel told them that people would come in from everywhere, and if the Indian people were not prepared to care for themselves, the strangers would knock the dirt from under their feet. "That very thing has happened to me," Mr. Mahardy said, "I have lost all the land I allotted, to the white man. I now live in an old log house which my father built in 1887 but it belongs to some Negroes at present."

Price's Falls, which is about five miles south of the town of Davis, was owned by Nathan Price. Mr. Price had a farm of eight hundred acres which he put into grain sorghum, and made sorghum molasses. He traded this to the Indians for cattle and became quite wealthy. His farm became known as Sorghum Flat. In 1882, he built a cotton gin on Price's Falls Creek, and opened a general store and post office. In 1886 the Santa Fe railroad was built through this flat.⁵

Matt Wolfe came into the Chickasaw Nation in 1876 from Texas. He settled with Dr. Tom P. Howell's father and opened and operated the first store near the future location of Davis on the Washita. In 1877, he married Ellen Howell at Pauls Valley according to Chickasaw law. Mrs. Mettie Sadler, their daughter, attended school in a small log house, the subscription school which was in session about three months out of a year. She said that usually there were about thirty pupils in attendance. Her father paid tuition for a number of families so the community could have a school. Mrs. Sadler said further: "While the Santa Fe railroad was being built in 1885 and 1886, the crew worked many months blasting a road bed through the Arbuckle Mountains. My father sent the railroad men much beef. One day, he

⁵ Foreman Collection, Vol. 33, p. 540, "Indian Pioneer Papers," Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. (Tishomingo County mentioned in the text above was one of the four counties in the Chickasaw Nation, 1856-1907.—Ed.)

put all the children in a wagon and carried them down to eat dinner with the crew. "We never forgot that day."⁶

One family which settled on Matt Wolfe's place (north of where Davis is now) was that of Robert C. Rowe who came from Memphis in a wagon in 1884. Mr. Rowe said he walked most of the way from Tennessee to the Territory and drove five cows. When the railroad came through he got a job as water boy for the dirt crew on the Santa Fe railroad grade at Wynnewood and Purcell. He was about twelve years of age, and the men called him "Six Shooter Bill." He was paid 75 cents per day. The water the crew drank was hauled in barrels from the creeks and rivers. In 1888, the family moved to Stonewall. Ada, at that time, according to Mr. Rowe, consisted of a "Peruna" joint and a chili stand.⁷

A few miles southwest of where Rock Cut was blasted out of the side of one of the Arbuckle mountains, a large section of land had been settled by Mazeppa T. Turner. Turner Falls was named by and for this man, according to a story told by his wife. "We [her family] rented a farm from him near the present site of Dougherty, then known as Strawberry Flat, because there were so many wild strawberries there."⁸ W. R. Drew's family was another who came into the Territory in 1883 to settle on one of Mazeppa Turner's farms. He brought his wife in a covered wagon and settled down to raise corn, cotton and sugar cane. He made syrup for the winter, and used sorghum for all sweetening. He hauled his cotton to Nathan Price's Gin in Sorghum Flat near Dougherty. Mr. Price also had a water mill and ground corn and wheat. There was much sickness, according to Mr. Drew, "especially chills and fever, due to cutting the timber and deadening it." It was his belief that as the timber soured it caused people to have malaria. "The few doctors in this country were kept busy. They gave quinine and red pepper to break the chills and fever."⁹

Sam H. Davis, for whom the town of Davis was named, moved to Price's Falls in 1885 and put in a store. In 1886 he moved his stock of general merchandise to Davis where he served as the first Santa Fe agent for three years. "The depot was a box car and it was located just across the tracks from my store. Before the railroad came through mail for Davis came on the stage from Caddo." This stage line ran from Ft. Smith to the Government forts in that section of the Territory and ended at Ft. Cobb. Mr. Davis said horses were changed at stage

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, pp. 204-208.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, p. 132.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, pp. 327-328.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 497.

stands which were about every ten miles. "Four to six horses were used to a stage, and the change was done in one minute."¹⁰

According to Otto Boyte of Davis, actual construction of the Cut was begun in 1884. In 1885, blasting through the mountain was begun, and in the spring of 1887 the first train was brought through. Mr. Boyte remembers hearing his mother tell of how slowly the train came through the Cut, barely creeping because the crew had not ballasted the road properly, and also because there was only about five inches clearance on either side of the coaches. "They had to go back in and blow it off again," Mr. Boyte stated. Railroad officials said if they had known more about the rock formation of the mountain the railroad had to go through, they would have tunneled through it rather than blowing and blasting out the entire rock. "When they blew it out the second time, stone filled the cavity and had to all be hauled out before the crews could resume work re-laying track."¹¹

Zack Redford was living in Dougherty in 1886 and 1887 and worked as water boy for the grading crew and later the train crew. "Both transients and farmers worked on the railroad. There were camps all along the way [right-of-way] about ten to fifteen miles apart." He said there were usually a hundred and fifty to two hundred persons in one camp and there was always a commissary where workers and their families could buy whatever they wanted. They kept the engine running as close to the grading as possible. His memory of the big blast gives a vivid picture of how the end was literally blown off the rock mountain. "Largest blast I knew anything about . . . they put five hundred kegs [not pounds] of powder in cuts and rolled a rock as big as a house into the river [Washita]. It shook the windows and knocked things from shelves for four miles around." Redford went on to say that everyone knew that the blast was going to be made but did not know just when it would happen.¹² A rock quarry was started a few miles south of Dougherty, and a rock crusher installed to furnish ballast for the roadbed. The Dolese Company still operates in that vicinity.

Reminiscences of another pioneer who worked on the Santa Fe railroad bed when Rock Cut was being put through the Arbuckle Mountains was L. A. Davidson who could not get work after he arrived at the camp. Since the commissary would not sell food to anyone not working for the railroad he almost starved before he could get something to eat. Finally one young man told him to just fall in line when the railroad hands started to eat and to say nothing. So he ate with them for three days and

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. 51, p. 337.

¹¹ Otto Boyte, Davis, Oklahoma, Personal Interview.

¹² "Indians and Pioneers," Vol. 41, pp. 249-256.

they put him to work helping build piers for the bridge across the Washita River. He waded water up to his waist most of the time and got \$1.75 a day. Out of this he paid fifty cents a day for his board. Hand drills and hammers were used to put holes in the rock to shoot the dynamite, Mr. Davidson remembered. The holes were usually drilled from 20 to 30 feet deep, and they each held 30 kegs of powder, with each keg holding 5 gallons. "When the fuse was put in and set on fire, the hills and canyons were full of running men and teams." Mules hitched to two-wheel carts were used to haul away the blasted rocks, according to Mr. Davidson. The mules had no driver, just walked up to the pit and when the cart was loaded, were turned around, given a slap with the hand. They walked to where the rock was unloaded, and after the cart was dumped, the mules would start right back to the pit. One unfortunate old gray mule turned his two-wheel cart over and could not get up one day right before the blast. There was not time for anyone to go to his aid. The blast exploded. "A large rock from the blasted hole fell on him and killed him."

There was plenty of game. Work crews could hear turkeys gobbling in the trees after a blast was shot, and the river was well stocked with fish. "We often threw dynamite into the stream and went in with sacks and got all the fish we wanted for supper," said Mr. Davidson in reminiscing about how they fed the hungry workers. He said they knew it was against the law to dynamite the river for fish but it was the quickest way to get them in quantities and it took so many to feed the crew. He was positive there were from four to five hundred men working and some of them had their families with them. "Probably more than a thousand people in camp. . . ."

All supplies came from Gainesville, except the beef. Freight wagons were on the road all the time bringing supplies to the camp. Beef was contracted for from a cattleman. "One day he failed to bring the beef," Mr. Davidson remembered. "The company had a dozen hogs which they were fattening so they killed and dressed them." The crew had eaten beef so long the change to fresh pork made them greedy: "Some of them were not able to work a day or two after that. They used green coffee which had to be parched and then ground. For entertainment, the crew built themselves a little dance hall, a 12 x 12 picket room with a dirt floor . . . only one door, no windows . . ." A kerosene lamp was on the table where the boys piled their six-shooters. When a boy bought a ticket he laid his gun on the table until he was ready to leave. In this way shooting frays could not take place inside the building. Mr. Davidson said he remembered very little sickness in the camp. There was an epidemic of measles while he was there: "One woman died and

we buried her. This was the beginning of the cemetery at Big Canyon, south of Dougherty.'"¹³

Progress of construction on the new railroad was followed by the Denison, Texas, *Sunday Gazetteer*. A notice in the July 4th issue, 1886, was: "W. L. Coswell, formerly superintendent of bridges and buildings at this place, is at the head of the actual survey party from Gainesville North on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe." January 16, 1887 in the same paper there was an announcement that the new railroad was still going forward. On March 13, 1887, the *Gazetteer* predicted that in sixty days trains on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe would be running between Gainesville and Kansas City.¹⁴

One of the best descriptions of work on the line from the north, above Purcell, is that given by Mrs. James A. Chitwood who went to live in Purcell about 1886 with her two brothers. They were with a camp of men who were building the railroad south from Arkansas City to Purcell. The contest spirit between the north and the south crews over which would be the first to get track laid into the proposed meeting place of Purcell grew daily in excitement and in greater effort on the part of the men. "As a spur to their activity," Mrs. Chitwood stated, "the Santa Fe officials had offered the honor of driving a gold spike to the contractor whose crews got his line through first to Purcell. Price and Bell had the contract for the north end." Her brothers worked for them and she was their cook. It was a fine, exciting life in those days, according to Mrs. Chitwood. "The meeting point at Purcell was to mean more to me than the completion of the Santa Fe lines." Coming toward Purcell with the south Santa Fe camps was a young carpenter named James A. Chitwood. He was the man she met and later married. Mrs. Chitwood said the celebrating and jollification was really great when the line was completed. "The south end won and nailed the golden spike but I got the golden wedding ring."¹⁵

It was much easier to get engaged and took far less time in those days than it did to get married because there were no preachers or priests anywhere around the railroad camps. In order to get married the young couple had to go by buggy to Johnsonville, below old Shawneetown, to find a preacher to marry them. Proof that such a marriage was an utterly happy one is found in Mrs. Chitwood's comparison of her early days of marriage to that of her daughters' with whom she lived in her later life. She said she watched them in their lovely homes with all the modern comforts and conveniences and felt pity for

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, pp. 486-491.

¹⁴ Sunday, *Gazetteer*, Denison, Texas. March 13, 1887, p. 3, col. 6, item. 2.

¹⁵ "Indians and Pioneers," Vol. 88, pp. 324-334. William S. Price reported that the North Crew beat the South Crew by 4 days.—*Ibid.*, Vol. 40, p. 445.

them: "I would rather have one day in my little tent home, with the floor made of grain-sacks stretched over prairie hay and its straw beds on wooden slats, than all their years of ease and comfort."

Rock Cut, when completed and with trains running through it, continued to interest people not only from the surrounding communities but from far away. In Davis, a favorite Sunday afternoon pastime in good weather was a walk to the Cut. The Santa Fe ran excursion trains from as far south as Galveston, so sightseers could visit where the railroad "had cut through a rock mountain in the Indian Territory." Roundtrip tickets from Galveston were \$1.00. According to Mrs. Lee Howell of Dougherty, Oklahoma, as many as 2,500 people would come to the Cut for the all day round trip on the train. "They would pile off the train, usually at Big Canyon," said Mrs. Howell, "and take to the hills." When questioned as to what all the visitors did during their visits to the rocky, rattlesnake-infested mountainous country, Mrs. Howell said the natives were never quite certain. "Some of them came back hot, tired and ready to get on the return train and go home. Some of them got drunk, some got poison ivy, most of them got blistered, all of them though got their dollar's worth out of the excursion trip."¹⁶

There was some trouble from hold-ups when the train had to slow down to go through the Cut. The Santa Fe hired a guard to ride the train north from Ardmore to Davis, and then ride guard on the next southbound train from Davis to Ardmore.¹⁷

Lead, zinc and asphalt mines were opened in the Rock Cut region, and a number of rock quarries were started, some of which still operate in the same vicinity more than a half a century later. At one time during the early 1900's blood pressures went up both collectively and individually when traces of gold were discovered in the Arbuckle Mountains.

The years 1901, 1906 and 1908 were important to the Rock Cut country because those were years in which floods occurred. Of the three years, 1908 was by far the most disastrous where interference with the Santa Fe Railroad in the Arbuckle Mountains was concerned. When the first right-of-way was laid, it ran along the banks of the Washita River before cutting through the mountain. When the Washita River was on the rise, the railroad tracks would be covered within a short time. Up until the flood of 1908 this situation was not too much of a hardship; trains might be held up for a few hours but with a few hours wait the water would run down and the train could go on through the inundated sections of track.

¹⁶ Mrs. Lee Howell, Dougherty, Oklahoma. Personal Interview.

¹⁷ "Indians and Pioneers," Vol. 47, p. 489.

The later part of May, 1908, disastrous storms struck in Oklahoma and Texas as well as in other states. Newspapers of the period carried many stories in regard to the great loss of life and property the storm was causing. So many bridges in Texas and Oklahoma were washed out, so much travel by train got tied up that one train was reported to have carried 1,000 passengers on 13 coaches out of Oklahoma City at one time. This flood drowned 14 people at Colbert, Oklahoma, when they took refuge on an island that had formed between the old and new channels of Red River. Both the island and the people were lost as the Red River continued to rise rapidly. The northbound Santa Fe brought one train to Oklahoma City from Pauls Valley on May 27, 1908. There was no travel south below Pauls Valley because of high water.¹⁸

The Daily Ardmoreite of May 25, 1908 carried the story of increasing high water in the Canadian, Red and the Washita rivers. Tracks north of Ardmore in the Washita Canyon were under about six feet of water. The depot at Purcell was reported to be under eight feet of water. On May 26, Ardmore was completely isolated where wire and rail service was concerned. On May 27, Dougherty was said to be submerged with water. Honey Creek which runs through the eastern section of the Arbuckle Mountains had backed water all the way to the Falls. The Western Union operator at Dougherty said that the railroad tracks and dump for more than a mile through the Washita Canyon had been washed away; that much repair work would be required before train service could be resumed at that point. On May 28, 1908, the only section on the Santa Fe between Ardmore to Topeka where the tracks were still under water was through the Washita Canyon. Train crews could do nothing about repairing the tracks until the flood subsided.

The Daily Ardmoreite for May 29 1908, stated that North Texas papers reported 50 lives lost, 10 million dollar property loss, 2 million dollar crop loss, and 3 million dollar loss to the railroads. This issue also reported the death of the Creek poet and writer, Alex Posey, who drowned while trying to ford the North Canadian River.^{18a}

"Track in the little canyon north of Dougherty was washed away and hence . . . no train service to the north," the June 3, 1908 issue of *The Daily Ardmoreite* reported. "Engineer Riggs who arrived last night in Ardmore, reported that when he came through the small canyon last night water was running over the rails between Dougherty and Davis." The next day, June 4, the trains were running part of the time on the Santa Fe. They

¹⁸ *Shawnee Daily Herald*, May 27, May 28, 1908.

^{18a} "Story of Posey's Death," in *The Poems of Alexander Laurence Posey* (Topeka, 1910).

had run a light train over the tracks in the Little Canyon between Dougherty and Davis and believed that if the rains held off, they could resume train service shortly. Their hopes were dashed promptly by the Washita River. Instead of falling, the waters started another rise and three or four feet of water were standing in the Little Canyon. The company planned to raise the tracks through that section enough to let the trains get back on schedule. Ardmore's summer normal students and the townspeople were disgusted because there were a number of teachers on the train enroute for Ardmore stuck at Davis.¹⁹

The rains continued and water in the Washita Canyon had reached twelve feet by June 5. On June 8, 1908, Santa Fe officials started re-routing north bound passengers east to Haileyville and then on to Oklahoma City from there. "Trouble lay in the same place it did before, in the little canyon." A six-foot rise on the Washita June 7, washed out all the cribbing and repairs, so the entire work force was put to work in the little canyon."²⁰

The headline in the *Daily Ardmoreite*, June 9, 1908, carried this banner: "Water In Little Canyon Higher Than Ever Before." On June 11, the paper relayed the information that the Santa Fe had 90 passengers lying over there waiting for an opportunity to leave Ardmore. Large numbers of passengers were still coming in from the south to Ardmore, lying over there to try to get a northbound train on June 12, and crews were working hard to get to the still submerged tracks in Little Canyon at the Rock Cut. *The Daily Ardmoreite*, June 14, 1908, reported that "almost to the exact hour, first train in three weeks—going north, left Ardmore today." Losses were up into the millions from the high waters because of the railroad's inability to handle traffic, and losses up into the thousands trying to care for all the passengers stranded along the way because the trains were unable to go through Little Canyon.

The Ardmoreite was optimistic too soon. By the next day the paper was forced to report that heavy rains had again tied up railroad traffic. The Santa Fe tracks were again submerged in the Canyon where the water was nine feet deep, higher than ever before. One reporter gloomily surmised that it looked as if the only way the Santa Fe could get to running again between Ardmore and Davis was for a drouth to set in. Cautiously, on Tuesday, June 16, 1908, the paper stated: "Should no more rain fall, should no further rise occur in the little canyon, and the waters continue to recede as rapidly as they are going down at present, service was hoped to be resumed by Wednesday night." According to Mr. Fay Crossett, editor of the *Davis*

¹⁹ *The Daily Ardmoreite*, June 4, 1908.

²⁰ *Ibid*, June 8, 1908.



Santa Fe Engine No. 127 trying to make it
through the Rock Cut on the Washita River in the
Flood of 1908.

News, four weeks went by during the 1908 flood without train service between Davis and Ardmore.

On July 1, 1908, *The Daily Ardmoreite* paid the Santa Fe many compliments for the way the company cared for the passengers stranded by the floods. The best accommodations were given whether the passengers were on through first class tickets, the article started, or on immigrant tickets. "The poor passenger was shown the same attention and care that the rich passenger was, no difference being shown."

CHANGING THE ROADBED

By 1909, the Santa Fe had decided it was now time to move to higher ground. The Lovejoy Construction Company had been given the contract to grade a new road bed for the Santa Fe over the mountain range between Davis and Dougherty, Oklahoma. Since the old road bed ran alongside the Washita River, in times of high water it was covered with water for long periods of time. This article stated that when the water was highest during the 1908 flood, it became 14 to 15 feet deep in the "Cut."²¹

On May 5, 1910, *The Davis News* carried the story about the new road bed, headlined "Raising Santa Fe Tracks At Rock Cut":

The George B. Vaughan company has begun work on the cut through the mountain at the Little Washita canyon, for the Santa Fe. The railroad has had a great deal of trouble here for the past few years, with high water from the river. This cut through the mountain will cost several hundred thousand dollars. It will parallel the present track, but will be about thirty feet above the old line, removing any possibility of high water delay in the future. The cut will be more than 1,000 feet long cut to an average depth of about forty feet in solid rock. To do this work a force of men is making a detour track to use as a passing track for the trains while the mountain is being blasted. The passing track will cross the river twice in making the detour.

This is one of the largest jobs of this kind this side of the Rocky Mountains. The contractors have contracted to do the work in eighteen months.

Santa Fe's decision to rescue their "Rock Cut railroad from the Washita River's damp embrace" did not keep that particular region of the Arbuckle Mountains from continuing to be "something of a jinx." On December 14, 1910, the engine, tender, baggage car and smoker of the second section of train Number 11, plunged into the Washita river between Ardmore and Davis. The accident occurred at a temporary bridge where the Santa Fe was changing its roadbed. One passenger was killed, prac-

²¹ *Davis News*, Thursday, November 18, 1909.

tically decapitated by broken glass, and another died on the way to the Santa Fe Hospital at Temple, Texas.²² Mr. Crossett reported that the southbound train was two hours late. Passengers said it was travelling at a perilous rate of speed when it went into the Rock Cut region. Fortunately, water in the river was only about two feet deep. "About 50 people were injured, a special train took all the doctors in Davis to the wreck so prompt aid might be given."²³

The "Nemesis" which was in the mountains took one last slap at the Santa Fe before the new road bed could be completed. On November 7, 1911, old Southbound Number 11 again met disaster. The accident occurred at Crusher, twelve miles south of Davis when Number 11, disregarding or misreading orders to wait in Dougherty for Number 18 which was running late. "The southbound train was slowing down to go on a siding when the northbound rounded a curve and the two engines collided." The engineer was scalded fatally, a fireman was badly injured when he leaped from his engine. At first it was reported that no passengers were hurt but investigation showed that about thirty were injured, mostly from sprained ankles and wrists and broken fingers.²⁴

In 1912 with the new Rock Cut completed and the new road bed high above the grasp of the Washita, the Santa Fe turned its attention to the plight of some of the farmers in that region of the state. Seed was sold on credit for farmers in the area who were unable to buy seed to plant. Sold at actual cost, the offer of seed was not open to those more fortunate farmers who could buy seed and pay cash for it. S. H. Davis was in charge of distributing the seed, each farmer to give his personal note which would draw six per cent interest, to mature December 1, 1912. "The Santa Fe deserves credit for their generosity and timely assistance to unfortunate farmers" was the closing thought of the editor of the *Davis News*.²⁵

²² *The Daily Ardmoreite*, Ardmore, Oklahoma, December 14, December 15, 1910.

²³ *Davis News*, Davis, Oklahoma, December 15, 1910, p. 4, cols. 1, 2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Thursday, November 9, 1911, p. 4, Col. 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1912.



Santa Fe train wreck on December 14, 1910, on the temporary bridge on the Washita River between Davis and Ardmore.



Santa Fe Excursion Train from South Texas to Rock Cut on the Washita River. One of three trains bringing about 2,500 people on the \$1.00 roundtrip Excursion, in July, 1905.

SCHOOL DAYS AT EMAHAKA ACADEMY

By Robert E. Trevathan*

It was rather unusual, during Oklahoma Territorial days, for a white boy to attend an Indian missionary school. It was even more unusual for a white boy to attend an Indian missionary school for *girls*. But Mr. Byron S. Blake¹ of Enid is one of a handful of oldtimers left who can make this "boast" for during the years 1894 through 1897 he attended classes at Emahaka Academy, the Seminole Indian girls' school which was located five miles south of Wewoka on the border of the Seminole Nation. Mr. Blake, now in his seventy-second year, has many fond memories of these early days, and like most individuals whose life has spanned the gap between frontier and modern times he likes to share his experiences of years ago with others.

The Blakes lived first in a log house then in a frame house just outside the high iron fence that surrounded the school grounds, the family consisting of the parents, U. S. Grant Blake and his wife Lola, two little girls, Byron, the oldest child, and another boy who was born while the family occupied the frame house. Mr. Blake's father was assistant engineer at the academy, and it was due to this circumstance that young Byron attended classes.

The academy building itself, the picture of which appeared on official school stationery, was a very impressive stone and

* Robert E. Trevathan, member of Oklahoma State Writers and of Western Writers of America, Inc., has stories in western magazines and a western novel published. He contributes "School Days at Emahaka Academy" to *The Chronicles*, in tribute to his father-in-law, Mr. Byron S. Blake and the latter's uncle, Rev. Wm. P. Blake, Supt. of Emahaka, 1894-1906.—Ed.

¹ Byron S. Blake was born April 25, 1888 at La Fontaine, Kansas. After the Cherokee Strip was opened to settlement, he lived for a short while near a small post-office centered community named Jetmore, about a mile south of present day Hillsdale in Garfield County. When his school days at Emahaka were over he removed to Herington, Kansas. He served in Company E. of 1st Infantry, Ft. Riley, Kansas, from 1903 until 1912. The following year he married Mary G. Wofford of Burton, Kansas. The couple have five daughters, all of whom are members of the Ruth Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, in Enid. The daughters are Lola McClain, Kleta Northrup, Ruth Weber, Marianne Trevathan, and Joan Lee Watts. Mr. Blake became a Mason in 1928, and is Past Patron, Ruth Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star; he is also Past Watchman of the Shepherds, Order of the White Shrine of Jerusalem. Mrs. Blake became a member of the Eastern Star in 1927, and was Werthy Matron in 1944. In November, 1957, Mr. Blake retired from carrying mail on Rural Route No. 5 out of Enid. At the time of his retirement he had worked for the post office department for almost forty years, and he had driven more than a million miles on his route, mostly on unpaved country roads.

brick structure four stories high in its central part, with spacious porches on the two triple-storied wings that were accentuated by turrets on the southeast and northeast corners. It was built by the Seminole Nation in 1892-1893, costing over \$50,000, an exact replica of Mekusukey Academy, located four miles southwest of Seminole, which opened for school purposes in 1891, for Seminole boys. Full capacity of the boarding department at Emahaka was 112 students. The primary class room, Mr. Blake well remembers, was on the second or main floor, as was the superintendent's office and living quarters. Also on the main floor were the intermediate and music class rooms, the latter which contained a number of pianos, and the general assembly room, which was also used for the older students' class room. The kitchen was in the basement, as well as the laundry and the dining room, which was furnished with long wooden tables, chairs and benches and a piano. The infirmary was on the third floor, and the teachers and students roomed on the third and fourth floors, each of these floors having identical lavatory and bath arrangements in the central part of the building, west side. Very modern for its time, the building had hot and cold running water on each floor, with steam heat as well as fireplaces supplying warmth for the rooms. The engine and boiler house were located on the west side of the building, which faced east; and a huge wooden water tank bound with metal bands was in the upper part of the southeast turret.

Superintendent at the school from the time its doors opened in 1894 until the end of the school term in 1906, was William Packer Blake,² Byron Blake's uncle. The Reverend Blake's missionary work among the Seminoles had begun in 1887, when his services were secured by John Jumper, former principal Chief of the Seminoles and well known Baptist preacher, but an adequate discussion of his wonderful and influential work among the Seminoles would require a separate article. A daughter, Mrs. Clarence Hixson, now living in Shawnee, was very helpful in recalling many details of the Emahaka building. And her memories of her father and of her early school days at Emahaka are indeed cherished.

Byron's teacher at Emahaka was a Miss Zanna Prickett, who was in charge of the primary department. Attending classes with Byron was another boy, the son of one of the two women on the cooking staff. The two boys naturally became close playmates, surrounded as they were by upwards of 100 Seminole girls who boarded at the academy. The boys got more than a fair share of teasing, too, but somehow they managed to weather this in stride. But at times the girls made it a little uncomfortable

² A biographical sketch of the Reverend Wm. P. Blake is given in the *Appendix* at the end of this article, including a letter written by him at the age eighty years from Hyattsville, Maryland, to Dr. Grant Foreman.



MR. AND MRS. U. S. GRANT BLAKE
And their children, the son Byron standing at center.

for him, Byron remembers. "I still have calluses on the backs of my heels where some of the girls used to step on 'em when we marched into the dining room in the basement," he says jokingly.

One of the things he remembers about his teacher Miss Prickett was that she gave him a barlow knife for Christmas, a knife that he carried for years afterward. That Miss Prickett was highly regarded and loved is attested to in a letter Byron's mother wrote in early December, 1895, to her own mother, who lived on a claim in northern Garfield County. Miss Prickett had suffered an attack of pleurisy, and Mrs. Blake said in her letter: "I went up to see her awhile. . . she was so glad to see me. She is just as sweet as she can be."

This letter, written on both sides of a sheet of Emahaka Mission letterhead stationery, has a Bible message (Proverbs IV, 7-9) along the left-hand margin, and it also gives candid insight into family and school life at Emahaka. The letter was begun on a Sunday evening and said, in part:

Byron and Blanche [Byron's younger sister] went to Sunday School this morning. I made Blanche's little blue and white cashmere dress over and she wore it to Sunday School this morning. How sweet the little things did look after I got them dressed and how thankful I am that they can go to Sunday School together. Little Boob [Beryl, the youngest of the Blake children at this time] cried because she could not go with them but she had to have a handkerchief with some 'fume on it just the same so I put a clean dress on her doll and she wrapped her dollie up in it and was all right then. Grant ate dinner with us today but he just stayed one hour and it seemed so lonesome I went over and stayed in the engine house with Grant a while. . . . Byron has taken the water bucket over to his Poppa, and is back and now getting feed for the cow . . . Monday morning. Will try this morning to finish my letter. We are all well. We just finished breakfast and it is 8:15, nearly time for the first school bell to ring. It looks as if we are going to have a nice day but it is freezing.

It was a coincidence that this letter made mention of the "water bucket" and the Blakes' cow, for there were incidents concerning each that Byron vividly recalls. The cow had been bitten by a rattlesnake and had to be shot. Byron remembers that his father led the cow about a mile beyond a pond west of the academy where the suffering animal was put out of her misery with a Winchester rifle bullet. Concerning the water bucket, one of young Byron's chores was to haul water to their house from one of the cisterns near the academy building, using a five gallon can which he let ride on his "hand" wagon. One day when he was hauling some water to the house, just after he passed through the gate in the iron fence, "several Indian boys came up on horses, yelling and shooting off sixguns, showing off for the girls at the school." That was one time when Byron, who was then about eight years old, was thankful for the hollow

post oak tree that stood near the fence. "I forgot all about my bucket of water and ducked into the hollow side of that tree," he recalls. Then when the excitement was over, it was a scared boy who peered around the old dead tree and saw a stream of water spurting from a bullet hole in the side of the five gallon can. But, aside from a few uneasy moments, the water "bucket" was the only casualty, and it was soon replaced.

The only other time that Mr. Blake was frightened by Indians happened on his trip to Emahaka from his grandfather's claim near Jetmore, which used to be about a mile south of present Hillsdale. His father had preceded the rest of the family, and it was necessary that Mrs. Blake follow with the children. From Jetmore to Perry the trip was made by wagon (a vehicle used in the Cherokee Strip opening), with Byron's uncle doing the driving. Byron recalls:

Before we started on the trip, Grandpa had told me a lot of tales about Indians. . . . At this time I had never seen an Indian, and what Grandpa had told me made me dread meeting one. Later I learned he had been talking about the wild Plains tribes that had caused so much concern some years before, but I didn't know this when we struck out for Emahaka. To me an Indian was an Indian, a red-skinned warrior who would just as soon lift your scalp as not."

So it was with grave foreboding that young Byron boarded the Santa Fe train at Perry, heading for "Indian country." There were momentary diversions when the train passed through Guthrie and Oklahoma City, but he continued to worry about what he should do to save his scalp once Indians were encountered. When the train arrived at Purcell a norther was making up, Byron remembers. And after their luggage was taken inside the Santa Fe depot, his mother sent him to a store on a hill about a quarter of a mile away to get a half gallon can of milk. Buttoning up his coat against the chill in the biting air, Byron started to the store, fearful of meeting an Indian but knowing he had to fetch the milk for his baby sisters. Miraculously, it seemed, he made the trip without seeing a single Indian. By the time he got back, he was shivering in the piercing wind that was howling in from the north, his hand stiff and cold in its grip on the bail of the milk can. He could hardly wait until he got back inside the depot where he could thaw out in front of the big pot-bellied stove. Opening the door, he quickly rushed inside the building, the icy wind at his back. And it was at this moment that he became aware of a half dozen or more dark-skinned, blackhaired men who were hunkering around the stove, their hands held out to absorb the heat from the fire. Indians! Feeling the draft from the open door, the Indians looked around at young Byron. He froze in his shoes, unable to move a muscle. Then before he knew what was happening the biggest Indian in the crowd came over to him, shut the door, and picked up the

stunned boy and stood him on a table near the stove. "The Indian pried my fingers from the bail of the milk can and took both by freezing hands and began rubbing them in his long hair, making huffing noises like a buffalo." The Indian was rubbing his hands in this manner to warm them, Byron later learned. But at the moment he only knew that a very big Indian had hold of him, and did not seem to want to let go. "That Indian's face was right up against mine," Mr. Blake recalls with humor. "His face seemed to be a yard wide, and I knew my luck had run out. Something inside me just melted right down and turned to water. . . . I'll never forget it as long as I live."

At Emahaka Byron Blake became close friends with a number of Seminoles, relatives and parents of the boarding students. He remembers that sometimes they brought in wild strawberries and gave them to the school, receiving a loaf of bread from one of the cooks in exchange. And at Christmas the Indians brought in lots of pecans, filling a huge wooden box in the storeroom of the basement next to the kitchen. "That box was so big I could barely see over it standing on tip-toe," Byron said. "And when the box was empty I could lie down inside and stretch out without my hands or feet touching either end." Once one of the Seminole town chiefs made him a present of a bois d'arc bow and a half dozen blunt-tipped second-growth dogwood arrows for his birthday. Byron took the bow and arrows to Saw Pit, Colorado, when the family visited there in 1896, and he remembers lending them to some cowboys who wanted to "shoot at one another."

Ewing Saddler, the farm boss at Emahaka, met Mrs. Blake and her children at Purcell and took them the rest of the way in a wagon drawn by a team of oxen, making the trip in three days, fording Little River above Sasakawa. Mr. Saddler was a big, raw-boned man who wore a full mustache and a wide-brimmed hat, Byron remembers, and once a week it was the farm boss's job to butcher a beef and several hogs. The smoke house was built over the eyelone cellar west of the Academy and north of the huge woodpile near the engine-boiler house, and here a good supply of pork was kept on hand. Mr. Saddler had a tobacco patch near the log house where he and his mother lived with the Blakes, and the seeds for the bermuda grass that still grows on the east slope of the old academy grounds was planted by him, Mr. Blake attests. Another pleasant memory associated with Emahaka was the evenings spent around the fireplace in the log house, when the children popped corn and "Grandma" Saddler smoked her clay pipe, picking up live coals from the fire hearth with her fingers to keep her pipe lighted.

Mr. Blake also remembers the interesting process by which the farm boss cured his own tobacco. He would take a length of

hickory sapling, about two feet long and five or six inches in diameter, and drill a three-inch hole through the center with an auger. Then a plug was put in one end of the hole, and half a dried peach prepared by "Grandma" Saddler was tamped down tightly inside the hole against the plug. Next, stemmed tobacco leaves which had gone through the "sweat" process were tamped into the hole with a stob and a mallet, until a layer about half an inch thick was attained. Another half of dried peach was added, then a second layer of tamped tobacco. This process was repeated until the length of hickory was filled, then another plug was wedged into the open end of the hole against the tobacco. Green hickory was used, too, so the juices could work on the tobacco, supplementing the peach flavor. When the farm boss had thus prepared several caches of "plug" tobacco, he would toss them into the hay in the shed loft behind the log house, and here the tobacco would season, ready for use some months later.

Other memories Mr. Blake has of Emahaka school days include the occasion he was carried out into deep water in the pond southeast of the academy building and was obliged to learn to swim; the winter that ice was cut from the pond and stored in kegs in a makeshift icehouse for use the following summer; the barrel of apples with the crock of applesauce in the middle that the superintendent received from Maryland each Christmas; the time he saw a huge pile of walnut poles at Wewoka which were cut for the government to be used for gunstocks; and the incident of a male teacher who, about to punish a big Indian girl for some infraction of the rules, got pushed into a handy laundry basket and "accidentally" got tumbled down a flight of stairs, fortunately getting no broken bones in the process.

Yes, Byron S. Blake has many fond memories associated with school days at Emahaka Academy. And even though his early school experiences were definitely unusual, aside from the regular sessions of spelling, reading, arithmetic and "Barnes' language lessons," there is not a day of it which he regrets having experienced.

APPENDIX

William Packer Blake was born in Martinsburg, Pa., November 14, 1857. He was the son of James Blake, Sr., who, having lived in Martinsburg since 1820, was declared "the oldest male resident of Martinsburg" in his obituary story that appeared in *The Martinsburg Weekly Herald*, issue of July 9, 1896. After attending the public schools of Martinsburg, W. P. Blake learned the printer's trade, which he followed for three years at Singer's Glen, Va. He was a member of the Baptist church, and he began preaching at Singer's Glen prior to a

two-year course of study he pursued in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky. In 1880 he became pastor of a church in Weldon, N. C., and remained there until 1883, when he succeeded Dr. H. F. Buckner in general missionary work among the Creek and Seminole Indians. He resided at Eufaula during this early missionary work, and helped to edit a denominational organ entitled *Indian Missionary*. (Ref., *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 29, p. 488.) In the fall of 1884 he went to Herington, Kansas, where he organized a Baptist church and was its pastor for two years. He returned to Indian Territory in 1887 as missionary to the Seminoles, at the request of the Rev. John Jumper, former Principal Chief, and was made superintendent of the Seminole Academy for girls at Sasakwa. Usually there were about thirty boarding pupils at the Sasakwa school, and he remained here until removing to Emahaka Academy, where he was both superintendent and postmaster until 1906, at the close of that year's school term. (Seminole Indian education and the control of tribal revenues passed to the Department of Interior with the passage of the Five Tribes Act in 1906.) Afterward, he was a general missionary for a short time, then superintendent of an orphan home at Unchuka, Choctaw Nation. Later, for a two-year period, he was at Okmulgee, at the Creek Indian Orphan's Home. His relationship with the Seminoles brought him into close fellowship with the whole Nation, and the effects of his nineteen years work among the full-bloods, mixed-bloods and the Negroes among them is felt to this day.³

The following letter was written 3/3/37 by W. P. Blake, addressed to Grant Foreman, Oklahoma Historian. It is found in the "Indian-Pioneer Papers" (Foreman Collection), Vol. 77, pp. 213-216, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Hyattsville, Md., 3/3/37

Dear Mr. Foreman:

Now in my 80th year, I am not so sure I can recall much of interest of my work with the Seminoles, tho' I think I am wide awake enough to the present condition, to retain my seat on the Supreme Court, if I happen to be there, and I am sorry about the attack.

My relation with the Seminoles were of such a nature as to bring us into intimate fellowship the whole Nation, both of the full-bloods, mixed bloods and the negroes among them.

Caesar Bowlegs, well-known in the Nation once said, when shaking hands with me, "Why, Mista Blake, you's de Fadda of all the Seminole children—" This grew out of the fact that I was Superintendent of one of their schools for about 19 years. Some of the girls who were there in our first years, later sent their children.

Rev. John Jumper, was Principal Chief when I was called to the school, and through him, the America Baptist Home Mission Society of New York, commissioned me as Missionary to the Seminole Government on November 14, 1887, 30th anniversary of my birthday— That suggests the sort of man — Bro Jumper was over six feet tall, large body, and very dark for an Indian. He was a Baptist preacher, and greatly beloved as their Chief. He had a close friend, Rev. James Factor, who in their early life in the South, before their removal to

³ See the Indian-Pioneer Papers (Foreman Collection), Vol. 77, pp. 213-217, for a more detailed account of William Packer Blake's work among the Seminoles. Also see D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory Descriptive Biographical and Genealogical* (New York and Chicago, 1910), pp. 667, 668.

Indian Territory, had been whipped publicly for professing Christianity. That was, I think before Bro. Jumper was Chief. Both these men were Christians, tho' some time troubled by drink, which was common in those days.

May I say here, in my contact with the Seminoles, I found, drinking intoxicating liquor, did much harm to them. It was hard for them to resist an invitation to drink, and Christian character suffered much.

I thought then, and am sure now that their early drinking of osofke as children created an appetite for whiskey etc. Drink is a curse.

Rev. Hulputta, who succeeded Jumper as Principal Chief, was much interested in his people, a loyal friend of the schools and carried on much the same as Bro. Jumper. During Hulputta's incumbency they thought seriously of a removal into Mexico, and Hulputta in company with others went down into Mexico to view the country. He could talk a very little English, so that an interpreter, Mrs. Alice B. Davis, a half-blood, accompanied the party as interpreter. However, nothing came of this trip.

This Mrs. Alice B. Davis, was a sister of John F. Brown, who succeeded Holputta as P. Chief of the Nation. Mr. Brown was in merchandise business at Sasakwa when I first met him, and I had called on him to get the keys of the academy building. He was, I think the real leader of the interests of the Nation, even while Jumper and Holputta were in the Chieftancy. His Bro. Jackson who was treasurer of the Nation was in business at Wewoka, merchandise. This Brown family, John F., Andrew Jackson, and Mrs. Alice Brown-Davis, were undoubtedly the real leaders, and did much to advance their people.

They were highly favored by birth, their father having been a U.S. Surgeon Physician, a Scotchman, in the U. S. Army, located at or near Ft. Gibson in the early days— He was a linguist and master of several languages, (as I was told). Any way John F. Brown and Mrs. Davis and Jackson received considerable education, which added to inherited talent fitted them for leadership.

In the affairs of the Seminole Nation with the U.S. Government—in arranging the Educational part of it, two large brick buildings, and necessary other buildings for schooling purposes were erected and as I understood it, a sufficient sum of money was set apart to maintain the schools. These were boarding schools to accommodate 112 pupils. We tried them one year as co-educational, and then decided it would be better to make one a Boys' school and one a Girls' school I should say it was first a Girls' School—capacity about 30—when the new buildings were ready we tried the co-ed plan.

As I then understood, it was my impression, the Educational question was practically settled for years to come. Provision had also been made for attendance of some of the children at Public Day schools—So far as the Seminole support of the schools was concerned, and the money allotted each of the Boarding Schools was believed sufficient for all expenses.

At first the A. B. H. M Society was associated in the support of the school. About 1894 the Society withdrew, with the full consent of the Seminoles, who gladly took over the support of myself and other helpers, and we were under the management of the Supt. of Education of the Seminole Nation. I was given a free hand, so to speak, and carried on just as I had when in cooperation with the ABHM Society.

SEMINOLE INDIAN SCHOOLS.

EMAHAKA MISSION,

REV. W. P. BLAKE, SUPT.

MISS SADIE PRICKETT, Principal Teacher.
MISS JENNIE KESLING, Intermediate Teacher.
MISS ZANNA PRICKETT, Primary Teacher.
MISS C. M. HOLMES, Instrumental and Vocal Music.
MRS. LULA G. BLAKE, Principal Matron.
MISS DELLA RANKIN, Industrial Matrons.
MISS FLORENCE TALKINGTON, Industrial Teacher.
MISS L. A. EIDER, Missionary and Industrial Teacher.

Emahaka, Ind. Terr., Sept. 2nd, 1896.



W. P. Blake.

EMAHAKA MISSION, SEMINOLE NATION

Letterhead, 1906, showing names of the Superintendent and members of the Staff.

Later we came under the management of the Indian Agency at Muskogee, which also gave me a free hand, and we carried on just the same — Having begun in 1887 as a mission school, and being retained in charge as the changes in management came on, we carried on as a Mission School, to May 1906.

During these years the Brown family were leaders — At my suggestion Mrs. Alice Brown Davis succeeded me as Superintendent of the school.

As I recall it, Thomas McGeisey, a full blood, was Supt. of Education when I begun my work. I think he was followed by Rev. Dorsey Fife, who was a frequent visitor to the school, and a good influence among the people. Later Staunton (?) Brown was chosen Superintend. Wm Factor was on the School Board. The Brown Brothers, John F. and A. J. had associated with them in business Mr C. C. Long in the name of the Wewoka Trading Co. His opinion as he expressed it to me, of John F. Brown, was "he is the soul of honor." My business relations with the Browns were always pleasant, and they treated me with the respect, that made me appreciate them among my dearest friends. None of them perfect. Neither was I, but in our work together we welded a friendship that holds, and it would be a joy to-day, to meet any one of them — It is a hope of mine that some, at least, of their children will hold up the high standards of those who have gone on.

Now, you may have to write me again, if you wish to know more.

Respectfully,

W. P. Blake

LIEUTENANT WM. E. BURNETT: NOTES ON REMOVAL OF INDIANS FROM TEXAS TO INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Raymond Estep**

PART I

Much of the pre-Civil War history of Oklahoma is the story of its Indian inhabitants, with the addition, after 1803, of the U. S. Army's operations in the area. After 1820 the Indian story is primarily that of removal to and resettlement in the Indian Territory (generally in the eastern half of present Oklahoma)—a story that has been well told by Grant Foreman and others. Although most of the Indians resettled in Oklahoma were moved from the east and north, several groups removed voluntarily or forcibly to the western part of Indian Territory from south of Red River, before the Civil War period that saw the founding of Fort Cobb.¹ Texas—as a republic, and later as a state—like states east of the Mississippi, had her problems with Indians, problems that were faced in different ways by her several chief executives. In their policies, they alternated between employment of the rifle and extension of the olive branch, between open warfare and establishment of reservations. In the end, however, the ever increasing pressure of settlement forced the removal of most of the Indians from Texas soil.²

* Dr. Raymond Estep, Professor of History in Research Studies, Air University, U.S.A.F., Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama, is a former contributor to *The Chronicles* ("First Panhandle Land Grant," Vol. XXXVI, No. 4, pp. 358-70). His contribution here, "Removal of the Texas Indians . . .", includes letters of Lieut. William E. Burnett to his father, Hon. David G. Burnett, first president of the Republic of Texas, published with introduction and annotations. These letters present a record of events in Oklahoma that occurred in the two-year period immediately preceding the Civil War, as seen by a young lieutenant of the First Infantry Regiment, U.S.A. The length of Dr. Estep's manuscript necessitates the presentation of the Burnett letters as a series published in *The Chronicles*, of which the first appears here as Part I, the others to be continued in following numbers of the magazine. The text of the letters is given as found in the originals in the Rosenberg Library at Galveston, Texas, with the original form and spelling. Only in a few instances have simple punctuation and paragraphing been added for clearness in the printed text.—Ed.

¹ For earlier articles on Fort Cobb published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, see Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," Vol. XXXIV (Spring, 1956), pp. 53-71; C. Ross Hume, "Historic Sites Around Anadarko," Vol. XVI (Dec. 1938), pp. 410-424; B. B. Chapman, "Establishment of the Wichita Reservation," Vol. XI (Dec. 1933), pp. 1044-1055; Grant Foreman, "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation," Vol. XIX (June 1941), pp. 129-140.

² Walter P. Webb and H. Bailey Carroll (eds.), *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1952), Vol. I, pp. 879-882. The story of the Texas Indians and their removal is told at length in Anne Muckleroy, "The Indian Policy of the Re-

With the conclusion of the Mexican War a new element began to exert its influence on Indian affairs in Texas. This new element, the U. S. Army, became a key factor on the Frontier with the construction by the Government of a line of defense posts beyond the areas of settlement from Red River into southwestern Texas. The original outposts were erected in response to a joint resolution addressed to Congress by the Texas Legislature on March 20, 1848, asking the establishment of "a chain of military posts, in advance of the settlements, between Red River and the Rio Grande, and that said posts shall be removed from time to time as the settlements advance."³

In 1848-1849 the Army built and manned Fort Worth, on the Trinity; Fort Graham, on the Brazos; Fort Gates, on the Leon; Fort Croghan, on a tributary of the Colorado; Fort Martin Scott, near present Fredericksburg; and Fort Inge, on the San Antonio-Eagle Pass road. In less than two years white settlers had passed this line of forts and were again demanding protection. In response to their pleas, the Texas Legislature, in a joint resolution of January 28, 1850, petitioned Congress asking that an "adequate and sufficient force be placed upon the frontier and borders of the State . . . to protect lives, persons and property . . ."⁴ This request, like that of 1848, brought positive action by the government. In 1851 Major General Persifor F. Smith, Commanding General of the Department of Texas, with headquarters in San Antonio, personally selected sites for a new exterior chain of forts beyond the line of settlement. Beginning at its northern terminus at Fort Belknap, on the Brazos, the line extended southwestward through Fort Phantom Hill, on the Clear Fork of the Brazos; Fort Chadbourne, on a branch of the Colorado; Fort McKavett, on the San Saba; Fort Terrett, on the Llano; and reached its southern outpost at Fort Clark, on Las Moras Creek.⁵

public of Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vols. XXV and XXVI (1921-1922); Lena C. Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy of Texas, 1845-1860," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII and XXIX (1924-1925); George D. Harmon, "The United States Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVII (Dec. 1930), pp. 377-403; W. P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers* (Boston-New York, 1935), pp. 151-172; Averam B. Bender, *The March of Empire: Frontier Defense in the Southwest, 1848-1860* (Lawrence, 1952), pp. 206-217.

³ Ben G. Oneal, "The Beginnings of Fort Belknap," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXI (April 1958), p. 509, quoting H. P. N. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas* (10 Vols., Austin, 1898), Vol. III, p. 206.

⁴ Oneal, *loc. cit.*, 509-510, quoting Gammel, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 523.

⁵ Smith to Lt. Col. Wm. G. Freeman, July 19, 1853, in M. L. Crimmins (ed.), "W. G. Freeman's Report on the Eighth Military Department," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LIV (Oct. 1950), pp. 211-216. Smith declared that General Belknap had already chosen the site for Fort Belknap when Smith reached that place.

General Smith's plan originally provided for the newer exterior line of forts to be manned by infantry units and the older interior line by cavalry troops, the latter being so located because of the desire to place them nearer settled areas where sources of forage for horses were more readily available. This plan of Smith's did not prove workable in practice, and in the late summer of 1853 the policy of maintaining a two-line system of posts was abandoned, the inner posts were closed, and personnel and equipment were moved to the new posts on the outer line.⁶

Shortly before this time another agency of the Federal government, the Indian Office, also began to exert its influence on Indian affairs in Texas. To this agency passed administrative control of all Indian tribes within the boundaries of Texas upon the admission of Texas into the Union. One of the first problems faced by Washington in the handling of its new wards was that of finding a home for them within the settled areas of Texas or along its frontier, a problem complicated by the fact that Texas had retained all of its public lands upon becoming a state. Lacking land on which to establish reservations in the area, the Federal government temporized while waiting for Texas to designate some of its public lands for the purpose. This the Texas Legislature finally did on February 6, 1854, by authorizing the establishment of two four-league (18,576-acre) reservations on the Brazos River in western Texas just to the east of the line of the newly-located Army posts.⁷ The first of these, the Brazos Indian Reservation, subsequently doubled in size, was located by General Randolph B. Marcy in the summer of 1854 some twelve miles south of Fort Belknap in three huge bends of the Brazos River. Here some 2,000 Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Tawaconi, Tonkawa, and Waco Indians erected their villages and began farming operations.⁸ Some forty-five miles to the west Marcy located the Comanche Indian Reservation on the Clear Fork of the Brazos. To this reserve originally came some 450 Penateka ("Honey-eaters") Comanches after their signing of the treaty of August 30, 1855.⁹

The irresistible pressure of white settlement was to make these reservations only way-stops on a journey that was eventually to take the Indians to present Oklahoma. For, contrary to some expectations, concentration of the tribesmen on the Brazos reserves did not bring an end to raids by Indians, alone or in small groups, on isolated frontier farms, ranches, and vil-

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 215-216; "Freeman's Report," *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁷ *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 384.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 209-210, 882, 954; II, 267; Rupert N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, 1933), pp. 210-232; Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942), p. 97.

⁹ *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 384-385; Vol. II, p. 267.

lages, raids marked by theft, arson and sometimes death. Although the reservation Indians probably were largely guiltless of these activities in which the Plains Indians were known to be engaged, the reserve groups, being near at hand and easily located, bore the brunt of the accusations. Hardly had they been relocated when new pleas went forth to Austin and Washington for relief in the form of more protection from or removal of the Indians from Texas. Regardless of whether the reservation Indians were the guilty parties—and many, especially Army personnel, maintained they were not—the ultimate decision—*removal*—was foreordained.

In the face of mounting pressure, events reached a climax with the appearance of John R. Baylor at the Brazos Reservation on May 23, 1859, at the head of several hundred white settlers threatening to attack the Indians. In the ensuing skirmishing three persons were killed and several wounded. Although casualties had been few, Indian agents and Army officers feared the worst, and dispositions were made to defend the Lower Reserve with troops from Fort Belknap and Camp Radziminski. Texas, for its part, moved a Ranger unit into the area.¹⁰

With rabble rousers fanning anti-reservation sentiment to a fever height in the frontier press, government representatives realized that the Indians could not be peacefully maintained in Texas and hurriedly took steps to move them north of Red River. On June 11, 1859, orders were issued for the removal of all the reservation Indians.¹¹ A week later (June 18) a site-selection party, headed by Elias Rector, Superintendent of the Southern Superintendency, set out from Fort Arbuckle in search of a suitable location for the Texas Indians. After visiting Medicine Bluff Creek in the present Fort Sill area, the group continued north to the Washita where Rector chose a reservation site near present Fort Cobb. On June 30, the party returned to Fort Arbuckle where Rector conferred with Robert S. Neighbors, Superintendent of the Texas Indians, who arrived from Fort Belknap on the same day. On July 1, with Neighbors leading the discussion, the chiefs of the Texas Indians approved Rector's designated location for their new home.¹²

Neighbors returned to Texas on July 5, and immediately took the necessary steps to move the tribes to the reservation on the Washita. The Comanches, under agent Mathew Leeper, with

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 219; Richardson *op. cit.*, pp. 233-266.

¹¹ *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 384; Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, p. 95.

¹² W. S. Nye, *Carbine & Lance* (Norman, (1943), pp. 26-27; Chapman, *op. cit.*, 1047; Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, 95-97; Foreman, "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation," *loc. cit.*, p. 133.

support of one infantry company, started north on July 30. Superintendent Neighbors and Agent Shapley P. Ross, with the tribes of the Lower Reserve, got under way on August 1. The two contingents, travelling by different routes, met at the Red River crossing on August 7. On the following day this vast pilgrimage of over 1,400 Indians, with all they could transport of their worldly goods, forded Red River and headed north in flight from their Brazos reservation homes.¹³ Rejoicing at his so-far-successful hegira, Neighbors wrote his wife: "I have this day crossed all the Indians out of the heathen land of Texas and am now out of the land of the Philistines."¹⁴ Protecting the Indians from their Texas enemies in their march to the Washita were two Second Cavalry companies under Major George H. Thomas and two First Infantry Companies under Captain Joseph B. Plummer.¹⁵ Major Thomas' troops left the migrants on August 15, before they reached the Washita, and returned to Camp Cooper. Captain Plummer departed for the same post with his infantry units on the 19th.¹⁶

On August 16 the refugees reached Major Steen's crossing on the Washita. On the following day they moved about three miles up the river and camped in a "beautiful high valley," where they remained until the end of the month.¹⁷ During the

¹³ See also Burnet's letter of July 28, 1859, below. The events of the migration are briefly reported in Superintendent Robert S. Neighbors, "Memorandum of Travel from Brazos Agency Texas to False Ouachita Agency, C. N.," July 31-Aug. 29, 1859. In his "Census Rolls," dated Aug. 1, 1859, Neighbors reported the following numbers of Indians migrating: An-ah-dah-ko, 218; Cad-do, 244; Tah-wac-can-no, 200; Ton-ka-hua, 245; and Wa-co, 144. Agent Leeper, in his "Census Rolls" of July 28, 1859, enumerated 370 Comanches among his charges. Neighbors, in his "Statement of Deaths," Sept. 1, 1859, revealed that the following died en route and in camp to Sept. 1: 2 Anadarko men, 1 Anadarko woman, 1 Caddo boy, and 2 Comanche women. All of the above manuscript records are in Special Case 81, Record Group 75, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.—Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, p. 97, and *The Last Trek of the Indians* (Chicago, 1946), p. 282, in giving 1,492 as the number of migrants, says that was the number of Indians on the reservations on March 30, 1859.

¹⁴ Neighbors to Mrs. Lizzie A. Neighbors, Aug. 8, 1859, MS., Neighbors Papers, Univ. of Texas Archives, quoted in Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, p. 171.

¹⁵ The strength of the escort force is variously given in secondary sources. Neighbors, "Memorandum," *loc. cit.*, says two companies of the 2nd Cavalry and one company of the 1st Infantry accompanied his group from the Lower Reserve and that one company of the 1st Infantry escorted the Comanches under Agent Leeper. Burnet, writing two days before the first movement began (see letter of July 28, 1859, below), believed that four cavalry and two infantry companies were to constitute the military contingent. For some reason, unknown to Burnet, it was decided to send only two of the cavalry companies.

¹⁶ Neighbors, "Memorandum," *loc. cit.* George F. Price, *Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry* (New York, 1883), pp. 636, 638, indicated that Companies G and H of the 2nd Cavalry arrived at Camp Cooper on August 21.

¹⁷ Neighbors, "Memorandum," *loc. cit.*; Neighbors to A. B. Greenwood, Wichita Agency, Sept. 3, 1859, MS., Special Case 81, Record Group 75, The National Archives.

last two weeks of August Superintendent Neighbors and Agents Leeper and Ross scouted the area selecting locations for the different tribes. Samuel A. Blain, the Wichita agent, located the site "for his Agency on the South side of the False Washita about 4 miles above Maj. Steen's crossing on the site of the old Keechi village, and the [Texas] Indians . . . made their selections at from 3 to 10 miles from the Agency . . ."¹⁸ On September 1, Blain, acting under orders from Superintendent Rector, officially accepted delivery of the Texas Indians and their property from Neighbors,¹⁹ who returned to Texas where he was murdered on September 14.²⁰

To protect the Indians in their new homes, the army ordered Major William H. Emory, the commandant at Fort Arbuckle, to locate a military post in the immediate area. On October 1, he designated a site on Pond (now Cobb) Creek a few miles west of the Wichita Agency. At the new post the Army initially stationed Companies D and E of the 1st Cavalry and Companies B and C of the 1st Infantry. Regular Army units in varying numbers continued to man the post until the spring of 1861, when they, along with other troops in present Oklahoma loyal to the Union, withdrew into Kansas.²¹

An active participant in the events of 1858-1861 on the frontier in Texas and Indian Territory was Lieutenant William Este Burnet, for most of the period a member of Company C of the 1st Infantry. In almost weekly letters young Burnet sought to keep his father, David Gouverneur Burnet, informed of conditions on the frontier as they affected the Indians. Although the father's side of the correspondence is not available, it is certain that he still maintained the keen interest in the Indians he had first shown in a two years' stay with the Comanches soon after his arrival on the Texas frontier.

For more than four decades David G. Burnet had been active in Texas affairs. Born on April 4, 1788, to a prominent

¹⁸ Neighbors to Greenwood, Sep. 3, 1859, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* See also Nye, *op. cit.*, 27-28; *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 210, 384.

²⁰ Nye, *op. cit.*, 28; *Handbook of Texas*. Vol. II, p. 268.

²¹ Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*. p. 96; Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Wright, *loc. cit.*, 56; Hume, *loc. cit.*, p. 413; C. C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881* (Cleveland, 1928), p. 65. Emory, in reporting his action in locating the post, wrote: "I have selected the site for Fort Cobb, west of the Texas Indian reservation, and twelve miles west of the agency at the junction of Pond creek and the Wachita [*sic*] river. The Indians being allowed the first choice it is the best I could make."—36th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., Vol. II. No. 2, p. 386. The number of units assigned to Fort Cobb is variously given by different writers. As Burnet's letters show, the number changed from time to time. On March 5, 1861, at the time of its abandonment, the post was garrisoned by Companies B, C, D. and F of the 1st Infantry. See Dean Trickett, "The Civil War in the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII No. 3 (Sept., 1939), p. 318.

New Jersey family,²² he had participated in Francisco Miranda's revolutionary attacks on Spain's viceregal forces in Venezuela in 1806 and 1808, before coming to Natchitoches, Louisiana, just east of the Spanish boundary, in 1813. Here he failed in a trading venture, and then, ill with tuberculosis, rode west to the headwaters of the Colorado River of Texas where he found a home among the Comanches who nursed him back to health. After studying and practicing law in Ohio and Louisiana from 1819 to 1825, he settled in Texas in 1826, and in the same year secured from the Mexican State of Coahuila y Texas a 300-family *empresario* contract which he disposed of to the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company.²³ Marrying Hanna Este²⁴ in Morristown, New Jersey, on December 8, 1830, he brought her to Texas and established a home that he called "Oakland" on a bluff overlooking Burnet's Bay, one mile south of present Lynchburg. Active in Texas politics after 1833, he was named first president of the Republic by the Convention of 1836 which drafted the Declaration of Independence from Mexico and also drew up the Constitution of the Republic. He held this office until October 22 of the same year when he resigned to permit Sam Houston, newly-elected to the presidency in the popular election held in the autumn of 1836, to take charge of the government. Subsequently, he was vice president of the Republic under President Mirabeau Bounaparte Lamar from 1838 to 1841, and served from 1846 to 1848 as secretary of state in the administration of Governor James Pinckney Henderson, the first governor of the new state of Texas. Thereafter, he devoted his time to the practice of law and farming until after his wife's death in 1858, when he moved to Galveston and established his residence in the home of his friend Sidney Sherman. An opponent of secession, Burnet was elected to represent Texas in the U. S. Senate in 1866, but was not permitted to take a seat in the Senate when that body decided that Texas was still an unreconstructed state and therefore not entitled to representation in Congress. He died in Galveston on December 5, 1870.²⁵

²² His mother was Gertrude Gouverneur, his father's second wife. His father, William Burnet, was a noted physician and member of the Continental Congress. An older half-brother, Ichabod, was Washington's aide-de-camp and a friend to Lafayette. Another half-brother, Jacob, was U. S. Senator from Ohio and a judge of the Ohio Supreme Court. His own brother, Isaac, was mayor of Cincinnati for 12 years.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929), Vol. III, pp. 292-293; Dorothy L. Fields, "David Gouverneur Burnet," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XLIX (Oct. 1945), pp. 215-232; John H. Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* (Austin, 1893), pp. 128-129.

²³ *Handbook of Texas*, vol. I, pp. 252-253; *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 292-293; Fields, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Much information on the Este and Burnet families is found in Edward N. Clopper, *An American Family* (Huntington, W. Va., 1950).

²⁵ *Handbook of Texas*, I, 252-253; *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, p. 293 Fields, *loc. cit.*

The son, Lieutenant William E. Burnet, one of four children, was born at "Oakland" on July 7, 1833.²⁶ Part of his boyhood was spent at "Beechwood," the home of his uncle, Joseph C. Clopper, on the outskirts of Cincinnati. He may have been tutored by the Cloppers, or perhaps attended school at the nearby Clifton District School.²⁷ His higher education was completed at Kentucky Military Institute, then located at Franklin Springs, Kentucky, a few miles out of Frankfort. From KMI he received A.B. and C.E. degrees in June 1855, and an honorary M.A. degree in 1858.²⁸ Following graduation he taught for perhaps one and one-half years at Caleb G. Forshey's year-old Texas Military Institute at Galveston.²⁹ On February 21, 1857, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in the 1st Infantry Regiment,³⁰ and began a military career he was to follow until his death eight years later.

All of William E. Burnet's regular Army service seems to have been spent in frontier outposts in northwestern Texas and western Indian Territory.³¹ Resigning his commission in the U. S. Army on July 17, 1861,³² in St. Louis, Burnet, in order to reach the Confederacy, turned west to Fort Leavenworth and Fort Smith. Leaving the Arkansas fort soon after August 27,³³ he journeyed to Richmond, where on September 9 he was commissioned First Lieutenant of Infantry, Confederate States Army.³⁴ In October 1862 he was promoted to Captain of Artillery on the staff of Brigadier General W. L. Cabell, C. S. A.³⁵ On April 4, 1863, he was promoted to Major of Artillery, and on August 19, 1863, was again promoted, this time to Colonel of Artillery on the staff of Major General D. H. Maury, C. S. A.³⁶ In October 1862 he led Maury's artillery with "skill and effi-

²⁶ Information located and copied by J. D. Matlock, Austin, Texas, from the Burnet family *Bible*, Univ. of Texas Library; Fields, *loc. cit.*; Clopper, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266, 269, 298.

²⁷ Clopper, *op. cit.*, pp. 409 and 461.

²⁸ William T. Simpson, KMI Alumni Secretary, to the author, Oct. 27, 1959; Clopper, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

²⁹ See Burnet's letter of May 25, 1860, below.

³⁰ F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1930), Vol. I, p. 264.

³¹ Burnet's correspondence reveals a number of posts where he was stationed. Military records also show that he was on duty at Fort Mason, Texas, on June 26, 1858. See Margaret Bierschwale, "Mason County, Texas, 1845-1870," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LIII (April 1949), p. 386, note 15.

³² Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 264.

³³ See letter of Aug. 27, 1861, below.

³⁴ Service Record, William E. Burnet, MS., The National Archives.

³⁵ *List of Staff Officers of the Confederate States Army* (Washington, 1891), p. 24.

³⁶ Service Record, Burnet, *loc. cit.*, Cabell and Maury both USMA graduates and Regular Army officers, resigned their commissions and joined the Confederate Army.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 390-391; Vol. XII, pp. 427-428.

ciency" in the battles of Corinth and Davis' Bridge. From August 1863 to the end of the war he commanded Maury's bay and river batteries around Mobile.³⁷

As the Civil War drew to its close, Union forces under General Edward Canby moved on the defenses of Mobile from Pensacola in an effort to surround or defeat the Confederate troops defending the port city. On the morning of March 31, 1865 (nine days before Lee's surrender at Appomatox), General Maury and Colonel Burnet crossed Mobile Bay to Spanish Fort to supervise the location of a new battery. While thus engaged, Burnet, whom Maury described as a "man of rare attainments, of extraordinary military capacity, and unshrinking courage," became the only Confederate "officer of rank" casualty in the Battle of Mobile when he was struck in the forehead by a rifle ball and died a few hours later.³⁸

The letters that follow, except for those of January 12, 1859, and May 9 and 26, 1859, are from the David G. Burnet Collection of Letters in the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. They reveal young Burnet's views on the frontier situation in Texas and present Oklahoma from Van Dorn's attack on the Comanches in October 1858 to August 1861, on the eve of Burnet's departure from Fort Smith to offer his services to the Confederate government at Richmond. Although these letters probably constitute no more than one-half of all those Burnet addressed to his father—those preserved are filled with his fears that many had not been delivered to their destination—still the ones remaining furnish a revealing glimpse of Indian removal from Texas and of the early days at Fort Cobb.

THE LETTERS OF 2ND LIEUTENANT WILLIAM E. BURNET,
1ST INFANTRY REGIMENT, U.S.A.

Camp at Wichata^{38a} Mountains
October 11th 1858

My Dear Parents

I have just learned that an express will leave our camp tomorrow morning & have a little time to write a few lines to let you

³⁷ *The War of the Rebellion . . . Records* (Washington), Series I, Vol. 17, Part I, pp. 384, 394, 395, 404; Vol. 26, Part II, pp. 157, 275, 403; Vol. 32, Part III pp. 32, 39.

³⁸ Maury to Davis, Dec. 25, 1867, in Dunbar Rowland (ed.) *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (Jackson, Miss., 1923), VII. 234. In this letter, written over two years after the event, Maury erroneously gave April 4 as the date Burnet was killed. The date of Burnet's death (March 31) is given in *War of the Rebellion Records* Series I, Vol. 49, pp. 226, 318.

^{38a} The spelling found in the original, Wm. E. Burnet letters, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas, is followed throughout in the text here in *The Chronicles*. Only in a few instances has simple punctuation been added, and a break in paragraphing been made for clearness in the printed text.—Ed.

know that I am quite well. There was quite a severe fight with the Comanchies took place a few days ago.³⁹ in which they were completely whipped; having 60 killed on the field; how many were wounded is not known, but there must have been at least 100; the 60 were counted; but, I have no doubt that there were many more killed, as part of the fight took place in a ravine covered with brush-wood where of the dead may have escaped notice. Our loss was considerable—Lieut Van Camp⁴⁰ was killed on the spot, shot through the heart with an arrow. Three Privates were killed dead on the field and a sergeant has since died of his wounds one other man will not get well I think he is wounded in ten different places: Nine others were wounded, besides Major Van Dorn,⁴¹ who was very desperately wounded by an arrow, which passed through the lower part of his body, just above the belt and an other struck his wrist and came out at the elbow making a very sever wound. Mr. Ross⁴² who came in Command of the Indians was shot in the shoulder by a rifle

³⁹ This battle at the Wichita Village, near present Rush Springs. Oklahoma, took place at daybreak on October 1, 1858. The expedition returned to the Otter Creek camp at the foot of the Wichita Mountains on October 10. Cavalry units participating in the engagement were Companies A, F, H, and K of the 2nd Cavalry Regiment. The official reports of the campaign and engagement are found in the "Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1858," in 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc., No. 1, Vol. II, pp 26-27, 268-278. See also Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23; Price *op. cit.*, pp. 68-71, 665; W. S. Nye, "The Battle of Wichita Village," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XV (June 1937), pp. 226-227; Heitman, *op. cit.* vol. II, p. 404.

⁴⁰ 2nd Lt. Cornelius Van Camp, USMA 1855, saw service in Texas frontier posts from 1856 until he was killed in the Battle of the Wichita Village—site about 4½ miles east of Rush Springs, in Grady Co., Okla.—G. W. Cullum. *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (Boston & New York, 1891), vol. II, p. 609; Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 546-547. Nye, *Carbine & Lance*, p. 22, describes the encounter in which Van Camp met his death.

⁴¹ Major (brevetted major, Aug. 20, 1847) Earl Van Dorn, grandnephew of Mrs. Andrew Jackson, USMA 1842, served in the Mexican War, and later on the Texas frontier. On the outbreak of the Civil War he resigned his commission, joined the Confederate Army, rose to major general, and became commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department. He was assassinated in Maury County, Tenn., May 8, 1863 (Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II. pp. 149-150; *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 830-831; *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIX, pp. 185-186; Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-277). Van Dorn had started north from Fort Belknap on Sept. 15 with four companies of the 2nd Cavalry and 50 men of the 1st Infantry on an expedition designed to punish the Comanches. He was preceded by 135 Wichita, Caddo, and Tonkawa scouts, who selected a camp site on Otter Creek near present Tipton. Van Dorn reached the site, later named Camp Radzimirski (see below), on Sept., 23. Nye, "The Battle of Wichita Village," *loc. cit.*, pp. 226-227; Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Price, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁴² Lawrence Sullivan "Sul" Ross, leader of Van Dorn's party of friendly Indian scouts from the Brazos Reservation. Ross, the son of Indian agent, Shapley Prince Ross, rose from private to brigadier general in the Confederate Army, was governor of Texas from 1887 to 1891, and later was president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 506-507.

ball, very severely but he is doing well, as are all the wounded except poor Taylor,⁴³ who has the ten wounds. The Sutler Mr. Ward got a slight scratch in the arm. There were near 500 Indians in the party encamped near the Wichata Village about 90 miles from this place. The Indians made a better stand than they do generally: They did very good fighting for a while: about 300 horses and mules were taken; these were all given to the friendly Indians as was agreed to in the first place to stimulate them to find the Comanches.

Poor Van Camp, he is greatly regretted by all, he was among the first officers I got acquainted with and I liked him very much: he was engaged to be married, but that did not amount to much, young ladies easily console themselves in such cases, as a general thing. Major Van Dorn had a very narrow escape indeed and is not yet out of danger: but, I hope, soon will be, as he is an excellent officer and a very pleasant man. I hope that this will satisfy our lying Governor,⁴⁴ who states that there has been nothing done by the troops in Texas. One mail has arrived but I got nothing, I suppose mine have not yet got around from McKavett.⁴⁵ I hope, [t]hat the next mail will bring letters from home as I am very anxious to hear from you, my dear Mother, I hope and trust that you are all quite well and that I can soon hear that such is the case. I must close: we do not know when we will return. But when we do I can get a leave for some time to come home and I look forward with great pleasure to the time when I can see you again—Remember me to those in the kitchen and write often, giving all the news.

From your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Galveston Jan 12th 1859⁴⁶

My dear Aunt.⁴⁷

Your kind favour of Dec 24th has been received with much pleasure by me, never was I more in want of the sympathy of friends for it seems to me as if there was but little left in the

⁴³ Corporal Joseph P. Taylor of A Company apparently recovered. First Sergeant John W. Spangler of H Company was complimented in General Orders for having killed six of the enemy in personal combat. For names of those killed and wounded in this engagement, see "Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1858," *loc. cit.*, pp. 269-278; Price, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

⁴⁴ Hardin Richard Runnels (1820-1875), Governor of Texas. 1857-1859. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 515.

⁴⁵ Fort McKavett, Texas. Burnet's former station (see below).

⁴⁶ This letter is from the Edward N. Clopper Papers in the collections of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati. Much of it was printed in Clopper, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-466.

⁴⁷ Mary Este Clopper, sister of William's mother, Hannah Este Burnet. The sisters, daughters of Revolutionary War veteran Moses Este, had been born and reared at Morristown, New Jersey. Clopper, *op. cit.*, p. 146 ff; Fields, *loc. cit.*, p. 219.

world for me now. but with the hope that I have I would not call my mother back to this world which was indeed one of trial and privations to her; she is now happy if ever departed spirit was & I would not now doubt it for worlds. It was a dreadful shock to me, I did not know before that I could feel. It had been nearly four months since I had got a letter from home. The last one told me that Mother had been quite sick but was better. I had been on a distant expedition and no news had reached me for all those long months and I was very anxious to hear—We had a camp at the Wichata Mountains and my letters were to be forwarded to that camp—We had been out for nearly a month and were returning to our camp almost worn out by cold and exposure,⁴⁸ our only expectation that of getting news from our friends. when we were within two days march of our camp we were obliged to stop, the horses could go no further without rest: an express was sent in to camp for our mail. The ground was covered with snow and we had no shelter and but little fuel. The day the express was to get in it did not come and we had all gone to sleep around our scanty camp fires when the mail arrived. I did not hear it when it came, but soon one of my brother officers came and called me and gave me the letter—It was the first I had got from home for months and by the moon light reflected from the snow (the fire was out) I read my Father's letter telling me of my mother's death,⁴⁹ of her long illness, of her last thoughts of me. I felt the cold no more but such a night I had never passed. it seemed as if it would last for ever. morning came at last and I started for home; five hundred miles of almost unbroken wilderness was before me ere I could get to San Antonio but I rode it in eight days I changed horses at the different Military Posts on the rout six times and every one I left was broken down.

During those eight days I did not sleep at any time more than four hours out of the twenty four. I found in rapid motion some relief: At San Antonio I took the stage and soon reached home—to find it desolate indeed. I saw in a few days that it would be impossible for my Father to live there (at our place) and I set myself to work to get him to leave there and go where he could live with some comfort: There he was dependant on the servants who although they are good in their way cannot take the proper care of a house without some one to direct them, and Father knew less of such things than they did—Then he could not live alone—without some society he could do nothing but brood over the great loss and affliction we had sustained. Considering all these things I induced Father to rent the place and

⁴⁸ This would indicate that Burnet, an infantry officer, accompanied Van Dorn's cavalry companies in their fruitless search for Indians subsequent to the battle at the Wichita Village. See notes below to letter of March 25, 1859.

⁴⁹ Mrs. Burnet died Oct. 30, 1858. Fields, *loc. cit.*, p. 232.

hire the servants out and move to Galveston. we are now boarding with Genal Sherman⁵⁰ who has been a warm Friend of Father's for years—I can see a great change for the better in Father, here he can meet many of his old friends and has something to divert his mind from grief. It is a great relief to me to have him here where he can be comfortable and cheerful. As for myself, although I thank you for your good wishes in my behalf, I cannot profit by your advice. I am too poor to think of a wife—I would not wish to take one except from the refined walks of life and I would not wish to make such a one share my hard fortune. I might accumulate wealth but it would take years of toil and perhaps at the end I might not enjoy it. As I have now but few ties I can well afford to risk my life in the service of the country, few will suffer less loss than I can now. Father does not wish me to leave the Army.⁵¹ I may rise in it and I may not, the future alone can tell I hope you will write often—I do not know where I shall be when this reaches you—I shall leave here to join my Company about the 25. Direct here to the care of Father, he will know where to send the letter as soon as I can let him know where I will be. Give love to all from your affectionate nephew

Wm E Burnet

San Antonio Texas
January 30th 1859

My dear Father

I arrived here last night safe but very tired. The Ship did not leave Galveston until near daylight on Wednesday, at [but] got to Powderhorn⁵² the same evening: the sea was rather rough and the Mexico is so much out of water that she rolls very badly: so we had rather an unpleasant trip. I left Powderhorn on the stage for this place on Thursday morning. The road from Powderhorn to Victoria is the worst I ever saw on one part of it we were nine hours going twelve miles, we were obliged to take off[f] all the load and lift the stage out of the mud three

⁵⁰ General Sidney Sherman, commander of the 2nd Texas Regiment in the Battle of San Jacinto, and a major general of Texas militia from 1843 to 1845. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 603-604; Clopper, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁵¹ Father and son apparently were not wholly in agreement as to which was most interested in the son's remaining in the Army. Writing about William to his sister-in-law, Mary E. Clopper, on March 9, 1860, D. G. Burnet stated: "I sometimes think his fatigues and exposures and privations will eventually wean him from all his fondness for military life, but early attachments are hard to be overcome—if I had the means of placing him in some good business I should be most happy to do so, but I have not, and must yield to circumstances however trying." Clopper, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

⁵² Original name for Indianola, Texas, a port on the western shore of Matagorda Bay, through which passed military supplies for many of the U.S. Army posts in Texas.—*Handbook of Texas*, vol. I p. 883.

times that night: it was the worst road I ever saw.⁵³ Above Victoria the road was better and we got on faster. but it was a very long tedious trip; we had no sleep until we got here, at nine O'clock last night.

I reported to genl Twiggs⁵⁴ this morning and I am ordered to go to Fort McKavett to take Command there until Capt Plummer⁵⁵ returns, he is at Fort Belknap⁵⁶ attending a Court Martial held on a Lieutenant up there. I shall be there until the last of next month, or some time in March, when I will go on to join Major Van Dorn, if nothing happens out of the proposed order of things. I do not know whether McKavett will be broken up, or not, it has not been determined yet; but, I think, it is likely that it will be, some time in the summer. I am rather tired and as I must get off in the morning I cannot write much: but as soon as I get to the Fort will write by every opportunity and you will, I hope, write often and long letters, giving me the news of the day and any little items about those I know in Galveston which you can find. I hope you will visit about some and try to pass your time as pleasantly as possible.

I shall go from here to Fort McKavett on horse-back. I met Lt. Major⁵⁷ here he has just got down from the Wichata Mountains, he came down with orders. He tells me the winter has been very severe many horses and mules have died & there can be nothing more done until April; so I am rather fortunate in

⁵³ The distance from Powderhorn (Indianola) to Victoria was 42 miles. "Freeman's Report on the Eighth Military Department," *loc. cit.*, LIII (April 1950), pp. 469-473. Other distances between Texas posts given in these footnotes are from this source. Lt. Col. W. G. Freeman, who travelled the route in May 1853, stated that the 40-odd miles to Victoria ran over a "hog-wallow" prairie almost impassable in wet weather *Ibid.*, Vol. LI (July 1947), p. 58.

⁵⁴ Brig. Gen. David Emanuel Twiggs, veteran of the Mexican War, was named commander of the Department of Texas in 1857. He surrendered Federal forces and stores to Texas authorities in Feb. 1861, and in May 1861 was commissioned a major general in the Confederate Army. He died in July 1862. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 812; *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIX, p. 83.

⁵⁵ Capt. Joseph Bennett Plummer, USMA 1841, served in the Mexican War. Promoted captain, 1st Infantry, May 1, 1852, he was stationed at Fort McKavett, Texas, 1855-57, 1858-59. He was assigned to Fort Cobb, 1859-61. In the Civil War he served as colonel in the 11th Missouri Volunteers and later was named brigadier general of U. S. Volunteers. He died Aug. 9, 1862, at Corinth, Miss. Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 85-86.

⁵⁶ Fort Belknap was located in present Young County, Texas, some 60 miles southwest of Wichita Falls and some 130 miles northeast of Fort Chadbourne. For details on the establishment of Fort Belknap, see Oneal, *loc. cit.*, pp. 503-521.

⁵⁷ 2nd Lt. James P. Major, USMA 1856, served in the 2d Cavalry from Dec. 1856 until his resignation on March 21, 1861, to enter the Confederate Army, where he rose to the rank of brigadier general. In the battle at the Wichita Village, Oct. 1, 1858, he killed three Indians with his own hands. Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 655-656; Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 548-549. Nye, *Carbine & Lance*, 22, describes his shooting of Mohee in this battle.

being sent to McKavett for a month or so. I shall have to close and I hope, my dear Father, that this will find you in good health. Write soon and direct to "Fort McKavett." Remember me to Gen Sherman and the family & to others. Write soon. I shall have rather a lonesome time at McKavett and letters will be looked for with earnestness and received with pleasure.

From your affectionate Son

Wm E Burnet

P.S. Jan 31st I will get off this morning and will be about a week going to McKavett I will write as soon after getting there as possible—I am quite well

your affectionate son

Wm E Burnet

Fort McKavett⁵⁸ Tex. Feb. 25th/59

My Dear Father

Capt Plummer returned day before yesterday, something sooner than was expected on account of the movements to be made. I will leave here for the Camp at the Wichita Mountains tomorrow morning and it will take me from 15 to 20 days to get there as I take a train of wagons as far as Ft Chadbourne and they make short marches. This Post will be abandoned about the 20th of March. I do not know whether I will remain at the Wichita or come back to the Camp on the Brazos. The wether is very fine for traveling now and I hope it will continue so, as I have a long ride to make. I am very busy getting ready and have but little time to write. I will write every chance I get and give you all the particulars of any interest. And I hope you will write often giving the local and general news. We get a mail tomorrow and I hope to get a letter. Do you learn how Mr Mason⁵⁹ is getting on at the place and how Puss and Em⁶⁰ are doing?

Your affectionate Son

Wm E. Burnet

⁵⁸ Located in present Menard County, Texas, southeast of San Angelo. Fort McKavett was some 160 miles northwest of San Antonio.

⁵⁹ A native of Maryland to whom D. G. Burnet rented Oakland after the death of Mrs. Burnet. D. G. Burnet to Mary E. Clopper, Oakland, Jan. 1, 1859, in Clopper, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-465.

⁶⁰ Negro slaves. D. G. Burnet left Puss and her family at Oakland for one year with the Mason family who had rented the farm. Of the Masons, he wrote: "They appear to be a moral and well organized family and I think will treat them well." With regard to Em, he added: "Em I have hired at Lynchburg to a decent family where she will be well cared for" (D. G. Burnet to Mary E. Clopper, Oakland, Jan. 1, 1859, in Clopper, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-465). Burnet later took the two slaves to his place of residence in Galveston (D. G. Burnet to Mary E. Clopper, Galveston, March 9, 1860, in Clopper, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-467).

Fort Chadbourne⁶¹ Texas
March 6th 1859

My dear Father

In my last I told you that I was about to leave Fort McKavett on my way to join Major Van Dorn's Expedition at the Wichita Mountains. I left McKavett as I expected and arrived here on the fourth day, after rather an unpleasant march, as there came up a storm which made the traveling rather bad. It cleared off before I got here: but I was obliged to stop here for an Escort as the Indians enfest the road between here and Fort Belknap and it is not considered safe for a small party. The Surgeon, Dr. Babcock,⁶² of this Post has been ordered to the Camp at the Wichita and he was only waiting to be relieved here by the Medical Officer who is to replace him; he arrived yesterday morning and we expected to have started this morning, but yesterday there came up a most singular storm, a very strong wind and a most tremendous cloud of dust: about four O'Clock in the afternoon it became dark Enough to have lights, the sun was entirely obscured: this dust must come from Llano Estacado. The wind continued all night and [is] still blowing very hard; if it continues this way to-morrow I shall not start as it is very disagreeable to be out in such weather. The dust is so fine it sifts through every thing, it comes in the houses although they are quite secure against rain. I never say any thing like it before and don't want to see the like again soon for it is the most unpleasant storm I have seen for a long time. Now it is snowing quite fast and the dust has stoped flying, which is some improvement, but still it is not pleasant by any means and unless it improves I will remain here tomorrow, but I hope the storm will abate as I have been here long enough and should be getting on as fast as possible. Dr. Babcock goes up with me which makes it much more pleasant than going alone would be, as he appears to be a very pleasant man. When I left McKavett Capt Plummer expected to leave about the 17th of this month I am sorry we have to abandon Fort McKavett for there had been a great deal of work done by the troops there; good quarters had been built for all. The garden had cost much labor and had well repaid it, but it is all to be left and, I think, to repeat the movement of the French Army, when "The King of France, with a thousand men, marched up the hill and then marched down again."

⁶¹ Located in present Coke County, Texas (some 50 miles southwest of present Abilene), approximately 95 miles northwest of Fort McKavett.

⁶² Dr. William H. Babcock, appointed Assistant Surgeon, Aug. 29, 1856; died of disease, Oct. 3, 1859 (Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 178). Babcock was on the staff of Major Van Dorn in his 1859 campaign against the Comanches that culminated in the battle on the Nescutunga (see below).—A. G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry* (New York, 1865), p. 201.

For I do not think this move will amount to much more. We will be scattered along the route of the Overland Mail, I think between Belknap and El Paso: The Indians have given great trouble to the line of late and the agent told me this morning that it would be impossible for the line to go on unless there was more protection given to them. Now there are no troops on the rout between here and El Paso. I think the line should be protected and helped on as it is certainly a good thing, the opening of a Pacific Rail Road. One can go from this Post to St Louis in ten days, to El Paso in four and to San Francisco in about 18. That is doing very well and is of great advantage for mail facilities. It will take a large force to protect them though: for it is a long rout and in some places very much Exposed to the Indians: there are several passes among the mountains where the Indians can hide very easily and do mischief and be hard to get at or dislodge. The mail of yesterday brought news of a fight in the Pass of the Guadalupe Mountains between Lt Lazell⁶³ and a large body of Apaches, in which Lazell was very badly wounded and lost some of his men and could not drive the Indians out; they held the Pass, which is long and very narrow, and made it good against him. It is thought that Lazell will not recover from his wounds. The fight was within thirty miles of El Paso. I did not hear how many Indians there were, or how many men Lazell had; but it was a very severe fight and an unfortunate one. I do not know Lazell, but have heard him highly spoken of and it will be a pity if he should die in such a way.

I think that the wind is going down and the snow does not fall as fast as it did a few hours ago. We will be able to get off in the morning: I hope it will do, for I want to get on. We will go very comfortably as we have an ambulance and four good mules. I came from McKavett to this place on horseback. I shall not be able to get any letter from you for some time as the Express has been stopped from McKavett and my letters directed to that place cannot come on until the Companies move and it will be the last of this month before they get to the Clear Fork of the Brazzos which will be the first place that an Express will be established. But you must write regularly and give all the news, it will be acceptable when it does come to hand. Dr. Carswell⁶⁴

⁶³ 2nd Lt. Henry M. Lazelle, USMA, 1855, assigned 8th Infantry, Oct. 9, 1855, was shot through the lungs in a skirmish with Mescalero Apaches in the Sacramento Mountains, Feb. 8, 1859. He survived to become colonel of the 16th New York Volunteers, Oct. 23, 1863.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 636-637.

⁶⁴ Dr. William A. Carswell, appointed Assistant Surgeon, Nov. 29, 1858, resigned March 25, 1861, and served in the Confederate Army as a Surgeon from 1861 to 1865.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 287.

tells me that the Camp on Otter Creek⁶⁵ at the Wichita is to be moved some sixty miles west of the present location to a point on the North Fork of Red River. I hope it will be a better place than Otter Creek. I shall not be able to go very fast and it will not be much before the last of this month when I get to the Camp: I will go on as fast as I can, but Dr. Babcock is obliged to go by Camp Colorado,⁶⁶ and that is nearly one hundred miles out of the direct rout. Remember me to Gen Sherman and his family and to any others who take the trouble to ask. Write soon and direct to the "Care of the Quarter Master at San Antonio." In your letters give me all the local news and any political news of any interest. I hope your time passes more pleasantly than it did; do try to get on as well as possible. I am quite well and hope your health is good. I must close for the present: I will write again as soon as possible.

Your affectionate Son
Wm E. Burnet

Camp, near the Wichita Mountains,
I. T. March 25th 1859

My dear Father

My last letter to you was written from Fort Belknap, about the 13th of this month. I hope you have, or will, receive it as it will show how we get along. I arrived here on the 20th ult. [inst.] We had a great deal of high wind and dust, which made the trip from Belknap to this place very uncomfortable; and here it is not much better; the wind blows constantly and keeps clouds of dust flying all the time. This dust is so fine that a tent is very little protection against it for it sifts through and will even find its way into a trunk. Things are in rather a bad state up here. Since I left, more than a hundred horses have died and about fifty mules;⁶⁷ the rest look as if they might go at any time. There has been no rain since I left but a good deal of snow: The grass has not begun to sprout and there is very little of the old

⁶⁵ The original location of Camp Radziminski (see fn. 71 below). (This location of Van Dorn's first camp in 1858 was at the Otter Creek crossing on what was later known as the "Old Radziminski Trail," about 5 miles northeast of present Tipton in Tillman County, Oklahoma. This approximate location was that of the "Otter Creek Camp," an outpost of Fort Sill in 1871, visited by Col. R. S. Mackenzie, Fourth U.S. Cavalry.—Ed.)

⁶⁶ Located in present Coleman County, Texas, about 26 miles north of the Colorado River on Jim Ned Creek.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 279.

⁶⁷ After the battle at the Wichita Village in the previous October (see above), the cavalry companies of the expedition had marched from 1200 to 1500 miles scouting all of the Wichita Mountain area and the region considerably to the west bounded by the Antelope Hills on the north and the Brazos River on the south. In the process the horses and mules had been so broken down that proposed winter campaign had to be called off.—Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-74.

For I do not think this move will amount to much more. We will be scattered along the route of the Overland Mail, I think between Belknap and El Paso: The Indians have given great trouble to the line of late and the agent told me this morning that it would be impossible for the line to go on unless there was more protection given to them. Now there are no troops on the rout between here and El Paso. I think the line should be protected and helped on as it is certainly a good thing, the opening of a Pacific Rail Road. One can go from this Post to St Louis in ten days, to El Paso in four and to San Francisco in about 18. That is doing very well and is of great advantage for mail facilities. It will take a large force to protect them though: for it is a long rout and in some places very much Exposed to the Indians: there are several passes among the mountains where the Indians can hide very easily and do mischief and be hard to get at or dislodge. The mail of yesterday brought news of a fight in the Pass of the Guadalupe Mountains between Lt Lazell⁶³ and a large body of Apaches, in which Lazell was very badly wounded and lost some of his men and could not drive the Indians out; they held the Pass, which is long and very narrow, and maid it good against him. It is thought that Lazell will not recover from his wounds. The fight was within thirty miles of El Paso. I did not hear how many Indians there were, or how many men Lazell had; but it was a very severe fight and an unfortunate one. I do not know Lazell, but have heard him highly spoken of and it will be a pity if he should die in such a way.

I think that the wind is going down and the snow does not fall as fast as it did a few hours ago. We will be able to get off in the morning: I hope it will do, for I want to get on. We will go very comfortably as we have an ambulance and four good mules. I came from McKavett to this place on horseback. I shall not be able to get any letter from you for some time as the Express has been stoped from McKavett and my letters directed to that place cannot come on until the Companies move and it will be the last of this month before they get to the Clear Fork of the Brazzos which will be the first place that an Express will be established. But you must write regularly and give all the news, it will be acceptable when it does come to hand. Dr. Carswell⁶⁴

⁶³ 2nd Lt. Henry M. Lazelle, USMA, 1855, assigned 8th Infantry, Oct. 9, 1855, was shot through the lungs in a skirmish with Mescalero Apaches in the Sacramento Mountains, Feb. 8, 1859. He survived to become colonel of the 16th New York Volunteers, Oct. 23, 1863.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 636-637.

⁶⁴ Dr. William A. Carswell, appointed Assistant Surgeon, Nov. 29, 1858, resigned March 25, 1861, and served in the Confederate Army as a Surgeon from 1861 to 1865.—Heitman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 287.

tells me that the Camp on Otter Creek⁶⁵ at the Wichita is to be moved some sixty miles west of the present location to a point on the North Fork of Red River. I hope it will be a better place than Otter Creek. I shall not be able to go very fast and it will not be much before the last of this month when I get to the Camp: I will go on as fast as I can, but Dr. Babcock is obliged to go by Camp Colorado,⁶⁶ and that is nearly one hundred miles out of the direct rout. Remember me to Gen Sherman and his family and to any others who take the trouble to ask. Write soon and direct to the "Care of the Quarter Master at San Antonio." In your letters give me all the local news and any political news of any interest. I hope your time passes more pleasantly than it did; do try to get on as well as possible. I am quite well and hope your health is good. I must close for the present: I will write again as soon as possible.

Your affectionate Son
Wm E. Burnet

Camp, near the Wichita Mountains,
I. T. March 25th 1859

My dear Father

My last letter to you was written from Fort Belknap, about the 13th of this month. I hope you have, or will, receive it as it will show how we get along. I arrived here on the 20th ult. [inst.] We had a great deal of high wind and dust, which made the trip from Belknap to this place very uncomfortable; and here it is not much better; the wind blows constantly and keeps clouds of dust flying all the time. This dust is so fine that a tent is very little protection against it for it sifts through and will even find its way into a trunk. Things are in rather a bad state up here. Since I left, more than a hundred horses have died and about fifty mules;⁶⁷ the rest look as if they might go at any time. There has been no rain since I left but a good deal of snow: The grass has not begun to sprout and there is very little of the old

⁶⁵ The original location of Camp Radzinski (see fn. 71 below). (This location of Van Dorn's first camp in 1858 was at the Otter Creek crossing on what was later known as the "Old Radzinski Trail," about 5 miles northeast of present Tipton in Tillman County, Oklahoma. This approximate location was that of the "Otter Creek Camp," an outpost of Fort Sill in 1871, visited by Col. R. S. Mackenzie, Fourth U.S. Cavalry.—Ed.)

⁶⁶ Located in present Coleman County, Texas, about 26 miles north of the Colorado River on Jim Ned Creek.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 279.

⁶⁷ After the battle at the Wichita Village in the previous October (see above), the cavalry companies of the expedition had marched from 1200 to 1500 miles scouting all of the Wichita Mountain area and the region considerably to the west bounded by the Antelope Hills on the north and the Brazos River on the south. In the process the horses and mules had been so broken down that proposed winter campaign had to be called off.—Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-74.

grass left; to take advantage of what was left, the Camp has been scattered, and now extends for about six miles along the Creek. Unless we move from here soon or the grass begins to come out we shall not have a horse left or a mule: but if we could find good grass now it would not take long to put the animals we have left in gretty good order. Major Van Dorn is out now looking for a place and I think we will move in a short time to some point on the North Fork of the Red River. I do not know that it will be much of an improvement for this country as far as I have seen is very much alike and all as poor as it can be. I think it would be as well to let the Indians have it for white men can never make a living here unless at the cost of great labor and money. The land is very poor, without timber, except a very little on a few creeks. There is but little water and that is generally unfit for use: The climate is too cold for stock. They could not live through the winter: The country is only fit for Buffalo and wolves. These are found in abundance. So many horses having died the wolves have collected in great numbers around our camp and at night they make so much nois that it is troublesome. There are a great many Buffalo here. When we were coming up, about ten miles below here on the road, a large herd came across the Road and we were obliged to stop the Ambulance to let them pass. There must have been several thousand of them.

Congress has adjourned some time since: has Mr. Bryan⁶⁸ done any thing? His term is out, is it not? I fear there is not much chanee of getting any thing from that quarter for some time but it appears to me that they cannot overlook such a clame so well proved as that is, but it is hard to tell what they will do. And now they are doing everything they can to reduce the Expenses cutting down every thing except their own pay: so it is a bad time to try to get any thing out of them. Who has the best chance of being elected in Mr. Bryan's place, do you think? I hope it will be some one who you know and will do more than he has done, he might have got that thing through session before last, but I don't think he could this last. There is nothing new here but as this cannot go for several days I will not close as something may happen worth notice in that time.

[P.S.]

March 27th

The mail will leave this morning and there is nothing new to tell. Since I wrote the above the Express has got in but I did not get any letter. They must have gone around to McKavett and have not had time to get here. I hope I shall hear soon that you are quite well and comfortable. The Express brought word

⁶⁸ Representative Guy Morrison Bryan, nephew of Stephen F. Austin, represented the Western District of Texas in the Thirty-fifth Congress, 1857-1859.—*Handbook of Texas*, vol. I, pp. 233.

that there was still some prospect of a diffieulty at the Indian Reserves. I hope nothing of the kind will take place, but there is no telling what fools may do. We will leave this Camp in a few days for a place about 20 miles north of this and among the Mountains, good grass and water has been found there. Write often, my dear Father, for I am very anxious to hear how you get on. I am quite well and trust you are in good health.

from your affectionate Son

W. E. Burnet

Camp Cooper⁶⁹ Texas

May 2nd 1859

My dear Father

I arrived here yesterday and found two letters from you: one dated March 1st and the other April 5th. As these were the first I had received from you for a long time; they gave me much pleasure. I am indeed happy to learn that your health has improved since you came to Galveston and I trust as Spring advances and the weather gets pleasant that you will derive even more benefit from the change. I have not written to you for a much longer time than usual, as I have been so situated that writing was out of the question. We went out on a short scout, along the "North Fork of Red River"; but found no sign of Indians. When we got back, I found that Lieut Reynolds⁷⁰ had been sent to Camp Radziminiski,⁷¹ to relieve me, and that I was to join my Company at this place. I left the Wichita Mountains on the 22nd of April, with my detachment of fifty men, and a train of sixteen wagons. The route by which we first went to the Wichita Mountains was through Fort Belknap and since that has been abandoned and the troops stationed at

⁶⁹ Located in present Throckmorton County, Texas, some 80 miles southwest of present Wichita Falls.

⁷⁰ 1st Lt. Samuel H. Reynolds, USMA 1849, promoted 1st Lt., 1st Infantry, Dec. 8, 1855, served on the Texas frontier, 1856-59, and was on duty at Fort Cobb, 1859-61. Resigning his commission, July 28, 1861, he served the CSA as a colonel of 31st Virginia Infantry.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 399-400; Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 825.

⁷¹ Occupied in 1858 by the Van Dorn Expedition. The first Camp Radziminiski was located on the southeast bank of Otter Creek in present Tillman County as an outpost of Fort Belknap. It was named for 1st Lt. Charles Radziminiski of K Company, 2d Cavalry, a Polish-born veteran of the Mexican War, who had served as an engineer on the American-Mexican Boundary Commission before joining the 2d Cavalry. He had recently died (Aug. 18) of tuberculosis while on sick leave in Memphis (*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 283; Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 35, 331, 469, 587, 615). Nye "The Battle of Washita Village," *loc. cit.*, pp. 226-227, says the first camp was located near present Tipton, that the camp was twice moved, and that the last site was at the Narrows about four miles northwest of present Mountain Park, Kiowa County.

this point fifty miles almost due west from Belknap: the old route became very circuitous: and when I started down Major Van Dorn requested me to try and strike a direct course from his camp to this place I did so and came out within five miles of this Camp: but the Country is very rough, but up by small creeks with steep banks and deep ravines and some high hills. The route crosses all those streams the Brazos the big and little Wichita and several creeks, so high up that they are broken into small streams and the Country is very rough but as it saves about seventy miles it can afford to be a little rough. We were obliged to do a good deal of work cutting down the banks of the creeks and ravines and at the Crossing of the Big Wichita we had a good deal of trouble: Where we struck the river it was so boggy that it was impossible to cross and we were obliged to hunt for an other place. We found one after some trouble and by going about three miles out of our course.

Just on the other side of the Brazos we came to a large tract of Post Oak the only Post Oak that I know of between Belknap and 'Cash Creek'⁷² in the Choctaw Nation. This timber was very thick and some of it very good, it was so thick that I concluded to go around it rather than cut a road through it especially as I thought we were near the western end of the tract; by going about three miles out of the way we got around it. We were obliged to change our course so often that I believe all the men thought I was lost and I was almost of the same opinion myself but I went on just as if I knew exactly where we were going &, fortunately for my reputation with the men, I came out right—Such things are of very little importance in themselves but they help to give the men that confidence in an officer which is so necessary in military life. When I last wrote I expected to go on a long scout along the Arkansaw, but Major Van Dorn did not start as soon as he expected to on account of the condition of the horses. He will start about the 5th of this month.⁷³ When I got here I found that Capt. Plummer had gone with the

⁷² Cache Creek. (This is the Cache Creek of present Cotton and Comanche counties, the region a part of the Choctaw Nation until 1866.—Ed.)

⁷³ Van Dorn started north on April 30 with Companies A, B, C, F, G, and H of the 2d Cavalry and some 50 Indian scouts from the Brazos Agency. On May 13, in the valley of the Nescutunga, a tributary of the Arkansas, some 15 miles south of old Fort Atkinson, Kansas he inflicted severe punishment on Buffalo Hump's Comanche band. The expedition returned to camp Radzimin-ski in two different groups at the end of May. For a detailed account of this expedition, see Joseph B. Thoburn, "Indian Fight in Ford County is 1859," *Collections*, Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. XII, Part 7 (1911-1912), pp. 312-329. For Van Dorn's description of the battle of Nescatunga and the names of the officers of the expedition see Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-201. See also Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80, 665-666; Richardson *op. cit.*, 242; Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 404; Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 297.

Company to the lower Indian reserve⁷⁴ which is about 18 miles below Belknap and if the Mail tomorrow does not bring some order in regard to my movements or those of the Company I shall start next day to join him there. This is quite a pleasant Camp and Capt. King⁷⁵ who is in Command, is a very pleasant Gentleman and a fine officer; he is the one I went on with, when I first joined, from San Antonio to Fort McKavett. I am very glad you saw Lt. Major and his wife—I like him very much. We have been together a good deal and I have had a chance to know him very well: I hope he will find his change in life for the better and that his better half will merit the name. The Mail gets in tomorrow and I will not close this until it comes as I hope it will bring a letter from you. I trust that I shall not be disappointed.

Camp at the Lower Reserve⁷⁶
May 9, 1859

[My dear Father]

When I closed my last letter, we had reason to expect from all accounts, there would be a fight in a day or two, with some white men who had organized to drive the Indians from this and the Upper Reserve. I mentioned something of this in a letter from Belknap some time ago. At that time, there were more troops here than they cared to meet, and they did nothing. But the troops being nearly all removed, they appeared to think it would be a good time for them to make their attack. As there will be a good deal said about it, if there should be a collision, I will try to give you some account of matters as they now stand, and the causes which have led to the difficulty.

The people in the border counties have lost some horses in the last year, and one or two persons have been killed by Indians. These people profess to believe it was done by the Indians of this

⁷⁴ The Brazos Indian Reservation located some 12 miles south of Fort Belknap in the bends of the Brazos River, and so designated because it was located farther down the river than the Penateka Comanche Reservation (Upper Reserve) to the west. In the Lower Reserve were located between 1,000 and 2,000 Caddo, Anadarko, Waco and Tonkawa Indians in their own villages under the direction of Agent Shapley P. Ross.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 209-210.

⁷⁵ John Haskell King was commanding officer of Fort Clark, Texas, and also of Company I of the 1st Infantry at that station on Aug. 1, 1853. He became a major general of volunteers in the Union Army during the Civil War.—“Freeman’s Report,” *loc. cit.*, LIII (July 1949), pp. 71-72; Heitman, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 599.

⁷⁶ This letter appeared in the *Galveston Weekly News*, May 31, 1859, p. 2, cols. 2-3, under the heading: “Extract of a letter from Lieutenant Wm. E. Burnet, U. S. A., in Major Van Dorn’s Command, to his Father in this City.” It was located and copied by J. D. Matlock, Austin, Texas, from the University of Texas Library collections.

Reserve, and without a shadow of proof that this is the case, they are threatening the destruction of all the Indians in the two Reserves, who are settled on lands given to them, and under a solemn treaty that they shall be protected by the government. They say that the Indians are a set of murdering thieves, and should be exterminated. But when the conduct of the agents, Major Neighbors,⁷⁷ Capt. Ross,⁷⁸ and Mr. Leeper,⁷⁹ was investigated by a Commission appointed for that purpose last Fall, not only nothing was proved against them, but even those who preferred the charges, failed to appear before the Board, although it remained in session more than three weeks, expecting them. When the trouble began, early in the Spring, Major Neighbors represented the matter at Washington, D.C., and an order was issued by the Department of the Interior, to remove the Indians beyond Red River, to as barren and inhospitable a region as can be found in the United States. But this order did not satisfy the people below, who, giving as an excuse, that Unele Sam is too slow, have again attempted to destroy the Indians; at least they have talked much to that effect.

The people say they have lost a thousand head of horses in the last year. This Reserve consists of only eight leagues; and as they have the right to come and look for their horses at any time, it would be easy to find some of them within so small a space, if there were any there; but none have ever been found. These are facts to show that these Indians have not been guilty of the charges made against them. Some of them have always been friendly to the Whites. You will remember Old Placido⁸⁰ in Austin. He has fought for Texas for twenty-nine years. The Shawnees, Caddos, Delawares and one or two remnants of tribes, are of great service as guides in the war against the Comanches. In fact, it would almost be useless to go out without some of them.—If it had not been for them, Major Van Dorn would not

⁷⁷ Robert S. Neighbors, veteran Texas and U. S. Indian Agent, served as General Supervisor of all Indians in Texas from 1854 until his assassination by Edward Cornett at Fort Belknap. Sep. 14, 1859.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 210; Vol. II, pp. 267-263. The story of Neighbors' work as an Indian agent is told at great length by Kenneth F. Neighbours in "Robert S. Neighbors in Texas, 1836-1859: A Quarter Century of Frontier Problems" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Univ. of Texas, 1955).

⁷⁸ Shapley P. Ross, Indian agent on the Brazos Indian Reservation (Lower Reserve from 1855 to 1859.—*Handbook of Texas*. Vol. I, p. 210; Vol. II, pp. 507-508.

⁷⁹ Mathew Leeper, agent for the Penateka Comanches, and later Confederate agent at the Wichita Agency at Fort Cobb.—Nye, *Carbine & Lance*, pp. 25, 28-29.

⁸⁰ For more on the role of this Tonkawa Indian Scout's cooperation with the Texans in their wars with the Indians, see *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 383. Nye tells how Placido met his death at the hands of a raiding party of Kansas Indians southeast of present Anadarko on Oct. 24, 1862.—See *Carbine & Lance*, p. 31.

have seen a Comanche, nor would Captain Ford.⁸¹ Every fight that has taken place, within the last two years, has been had through their knowledge of the country and skill in following a trail. On several occasions they have taken horses from the Comanches, and returned them to these very people below, from whom the Comanches had stolen them. They have never refused to go out, alone or with citizens or troops, against the hostile Indians and have received no compensation, except a share of the spoils, and in some cases, where one had been employed as a guide at a post.

The Whites, without any proof that these Indians have done wrong, and with many well known facts, showing that they have done much good to the frontier, have determined to exterminate them; and they say, all connected with them, agents, with their families, etc. Their first attempt was committed last December, and was worthy of them and their cause. A party of Indians, consisting of two men, a boy and four women, being the family of an old Indian,⁸² well known through the country, were out, with a pass from the Agent, to look for some of their cattle. They were attacked by a party of men from Palo Pinto County, while asleep at night, and one man, the boy and three women were killed in their beds. The others escaped. No resistance was made. One white man was shot accidentally by one of his own party. In this cowardly and murderous act, they were sustained by the community, and by the press of these upper counties. Since that time, they have contented themselves with boasts and threats, until about the first of this month, when word was brought that they were assembling in some force, intending to make an attack. Capt. Plummer was here with a part of his company. I had just returned with the rest of the company from Wichita and was waiting for orders.

About twelve o'clock, on the night of the third inst., an express arrived from Capt. Plummer for reinforcements. Capt. King sent for me immediately, and some time before day-light, I was on the march, and got here before nine o'clock the next morning. I expected to be attacked on the road as it was reported those people would try to cut off all supplies coming into the Reserve, but they allowed me to pass without trouble. I saw no one on the road until I got within twelve miles of this post, when I came to a house where I was told that a party of fifty men was camped a few miles below the road, and would be

⁸¹ John Salmon (Rip) Ford, leader of Texas Ranger force that fought the Comanches on the Canadian in 1853.—Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, pp. 151-161; *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 617-618.

⁸² Burnet probably refers to the incident involving 27 Indians under Choctaw Tom who were attacked on the night of Dec. 26, 1858, while on a hunting expedition in Palo Pinto County. Seven of the Party were killed in their blankets by white men from Erath County.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 210; Neighbours, *op. cit.*, p. 563 ff.

likely to give me a fight; but they did not see fit to do so or to show themselves, if they were there. When I got here, I found the Indians had abandoned their houses and fields and were encamped close around the house of the Agent, Capt. Ross and Capt. Plummer also in camp close by. We kept on our guard, but nothing happened until the day before yesterday, when a party of Indians (who had been carrying an 'express' from this to Fort Arbuckle, and were returning with despatches from that Fort,) came into camp very much excited and stated that they had been attacked by about 20 men (there were seven Indians in the party) some nine miles from here; and that one of their horses had been killed and five led horses stolen from them, and one of their party was missing. The missing Indian was the Chief of the party, and had the saddle bags with the letters, etc.

At about half-past three o'clock, P. M., I started with one hundred Indians and two soldiers and a Dr. Sturm,⁸³ who is living here, to see if I could find the missing Indian and the papers and the horses.⁸⁴ We went to the place where the attack had been made; found the dead horse, but not the Indian. After some time spent in the search, we found his tracks and concluded they had taken him off a prisoner. We followed their trail at a gallop about a mile and a half when we came to a house, one of the stations of the mail route to California. There I learned that a party of men from Jack County, calling themselves the Jacksborough⁸⁵ Rangers, numbering fifteen men, had been there about twelve o'clock, and were eating and grazing their horses, when they saw the Indians about half a mile off, on what is called the Arbuckle trail, which leads directly to this camp. As soon as these men saw the Indians, they caught up their horses and started after them. The Indians, not knowing of these troubles, and thinking themselves safe, as they were carrying the government express, did not attempt to escape until the men fired upon them. The first shot did no harm, and the Indians turned off from the trail into the post oaks, but not

⁸³ Dr. J. J. Sturm, the farmer for the Lower Reserve.—Neighbors, *op. cit.*, pp. 563, 567.

⁸⁴ Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 225, writes as follows in describing this event: "In May, an army officer acted in a very indiscreet fashion by leading a large party of Brazos reservation Indians into the town of Jacksboro, whither they had gone in search of a party who had killed in brutal fashion an Indian named Fox [. . . a dispatch bearer from Fort Arbuckle, killed by a party of Jack County rangers.] This incident furnished the radical party an excellent torch with which they now set the whole frontier aflame with excitement." Neighbours, *op. cit.*, pp. 606-607, 651-652, briefly describes the events recounted by Burnet, and quotes Major Neighbors on the character of Fox, the Caddo Indian dispatch bearer who had served as a scout with the Ford and Van Dorn expeditions.

⁸⁵ County seat of present Jack County, Texas, some 24 miles east of the Brazos Agency, redesignated Jacksboro in 1899.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. 5, p. 900.

quick enough to get clear, as a second shot brought down one of their horses. They then abandoned their led horses and scattered; the one whose horse was shot, going on foot. They all got in safe, except the one we were looking for. The man at the station told men [me] that the Rangers returned to his place, bringing the Indian and six horses, two rifles and a Colt's pistol, with the saddle bags and the mail, which they broke open and read some public documents and a letter from the Agent in the Indian Territory (Mr. Blair)⁸⁶ to Capt. Ross, he remembered were among them. He told me they had cursed and abused the Indian, telling him he had no business with the papers and no right to be there. After reading the papers, they started on the road to Jacksborough, which is the California mail road. The party had been gone nearly three hours when I got to the station and as soon as I got the facts as above, I started after them, having sent a runner to report progress at the Agency. We followed their trail on the road for twelve miles, when we found the body of the Indian shot through the breast and *scalped*, lying about twenty steps from the road. The sun had just set. The Indians gathered around the dead man, and each looked at him, but no one spoke a word. There was a brother and a cousin of the murdered man in the party. They wrapped him in a blanket, and carried him to a small ravine hard by and covered him with boughs—the others stood by their horses but said nothing. When the two came back, they gathered around me and I spoke to them. While they were disposing of the body, I was reflecting on what it was my duty to do, and had determined to follow those mail robbers and murderers as long as possible, and if I overtook them, to arrest or put them to death. I did not tell this to the Indians, but that I wanted to follow the men and get the papers and the horses. We were detained about a quarter of an hour with the corpse, and then pushed on. It was thirteen miles farther to the town, and I expected to find the party there, perhaps drinking and merry making over their 'victory'.

After riding about eight miles, I came to a house in the timber, and got quite near it before I saw it. I scattered the Indians to surround it, and advanced by a rail fence, enclosing a small yard, and the moon gave light enough to see very well beyond the shade of the trees. Just as I rode up to the fence, the lights in the house were put out, and a man called out, "who's there?" I replied "Come and see." He answered "No, you don't." "Very well," said I, "I'll come to you," and dismounted and got over the fence, followed by the Doctor and the two soldiers. As I came up, I saw 3 men standing on the porch with guns. The man who had spoken, asked who I was and what I wanted. I said I was an officer looking for a party of men called

⁸⁶ S. A. Blain.

the Jacksborough Rangers. The men then put aside their guns, and the spokesman told me to come in and he would tell me what he knew about them. He said they had passed just after sundown—that one of them had a scalp tied to his saddle and said they had had a fight, killed an Indian and taken 6 horses. He said they had the saddle bags but did not tell who the Indian was nor where the fight took place. They stopped but a few minutes and went on towards town. He told me I had better not follow them—that we were not strong enough—that they were desperate men and would hurt us. I told him I thought he was mistaken, and gave the signal for the Indians to advance peaceably. Silently and as spectres, they came from behind every tree and brush, and great was the man's astonishment, to find his yard filled in less than a minute, with well armed Indians. They all carried rifles and bows and some had Colt's six-shooters. Our host said he had a son-in-law in the town who had been opposed to all the proceedings against the Reserve Indians; and he hoped, if there was a fight, I would not hurt him or his family. I told him I could make no promise, but if he would go with me or send someone to let me know his son and where he lived, I would try to keep him out of danger. One of the men with him, volunteered to go and in a few minutes had a horse ready. Just as I was starting, two men rode up. I asked them if they had seen a party on the road. They said no; no one. It was five miles to the town and when I got to it, I was surprised to find it quiet. I stopped within about one hundred yards of the first house. There are about twenty-five houses in the place—there may be thirty.

I left the Indians there, telling them I was going to look for the men, and if they heard a shot fired, to give the war whoop and charge to where they heard the firing. The man who joined me at the house we had passed, said if I would go with him to the house of his friend, he would tell me where the men were, if they had been in town. So I went with him, and as his friend lived nearly at the opposite end of the town, we went around, not to give any alarm. When we reached the house, I told the man to go in and bring his friend out quietly. He did so, and I inquired if any party of men had been in town that evening from an Indian fight. He said there had been none that he knew of, and he thought he should have known it if any had come in. Just then I heard a shot fired in the town—for an instant I listened, expecting to hear the wild yells of the Indians, and to see the quiet town a scene of confusion; but all was quiet. I sent the Doctor to the Indians to keep them back until I should sound the whoop myself.

I then went in the direction of the shot, but seeing a light and hearing voices, I turned off to them, and found three men,

one of them just coming out of his house in his drawers, and the other two appeared to have just arrived on horseback. I asked them if any party had come to town that evening. The man in his drawers said none had been in. I asked if he was certain. He said he was—that he kept a public house, and if any party had come in, some of them would have been with him. The others I recognized as the two men I had seen at the house on the road, the two who had come in just as we were starting from the house on the road. I asked them why they had come back so soon, (they had said at the house they had come out to fish,) and they replied, the creek was too high for fishing—but I expect they had come in to give the alarm. I then asked if they knew who fired the shot just before. They said they did not; but they lied, as I afterwards learned. I went all over the town and satisfied myself the party was not there and then returned to the Indians. The Doctor had moved them up nearer the town, and they were all ready to charge. The Chief told me that two men had passed them and one of the men fired his pistol up in the air just after they passed—that he saw him fire and therefore knew it was not me, and therefore they did not advance. I told the Indians I had been all over the town—that the men we were seeking were not there, and I wanted them to go back to a creek about four miles, and camp and rest their horses, and in the morning we would find the trail and go on after them. I had some fear they would not want to leave the town in peace, but they marched off as quietly as disciplined veterans could have done. I learned afterwards that many of the young men were for taking the town anyhow, and having revenge; but the Chief and the older men had restrained them, telling them they had all promised to obey me, and that they must do so and they did in everything.

We went to the creek and camped. It had been clouding up for some time and soon after we laid down, it began to rain very hard. In the morning I found the trail was entirely washed out, and after looking in vain for a while for some trace of the Rangers, I concluded to abandon the chase as our horses were badly worn down, and ourselves in a poor condition. I had eaten nothing since breakfast the day before and had ridden at least fifty miles since half-past 3 o'clock A.[P]M. the previous day. We got back to the Agency without any further occurrence of interest. The Indians are very much exasperated and will have revenge for these things some time or other. The people of this frontier have done nothing but abuse the army, and now say they will scalp us; they are murdering women in their beds, and violating every law of God and man—equalling the atrocities of the Comanches of the Plains, and still cry for sympathy and help.

Camp at the
Brazos Ageney,⁸⁷ May 23rd 1859

My dear Father

I was not able to write by the last mail as we were very busy getting ready to receive the visit of our friends from below who have made very unkind promises in regard to our future condition; viz—that they will hang us all.

I wrote near two weeks ago giving you a detailed account of my movements since the date of the previous letter and also of the outrages enacted by the people of the adjoining Counties. Soon after the date of my last letter we heard that quite a force was collecting at Jacksborough for the purpose of attacking this place and a few days after we learned that they had moved up within eight miles of here and the same day we got that news a man came in and told us they were within half a mile, five hundred of them. There was a great deal of confusion among the women and children at this news, more running and screaming than I had ever saw before. It proved to be a false alarm, but one woman has died from the effects of the fright. We learned that there were about five hundred men camped about eight miles below us and they said that they were going to attack us. As we did not have force enough to protect so many women and children against so many we went to work making some works of defense; and, by working hard two days and one night, we put up a picket work, large enough to hold all hands, arranged with flanking bastions & traverses: and strong enough for our force to hold against 800 to 1000 men w[h]o have no Artillery; we got one six pds gun from Camp Cooper with seirapnal [*sic*] shells and cannister shot. If nothing but a fight will do those fools we can give them such a one as they will not soon forget. They are still camped at the same place stealing cattle from the Indians and such of the people around as are not with them in their mad adventure. They have stopped a train of Wagons loaded with flour for this place and they say that they will starve us out, but when they get us reduced to short rations we will go to their Camp and whip them but they cannot reduce us for our supplies come from Cooper and below and from Belknap and they have not force enough to invest the place. I have never heard of such outrageous doings. They are led by a man named Baylor⁸⁸ who was once local agent for the Co-

⁸⁷ Headquarters for the Brazos Indian Reservation. It was located a few miles southeast of Fort Belknap, and about 3 miles east of present Graham, Texas. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 210.

⁸⁸ John Robert Baylor, agent to the Penateka Comanches on their reservation near Camp Cooper until dismissed following a disagreement with Indian Superintendent for Texas, Robert S. Neighbors.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 124.

manche reserve and was discharged for stealing public money; that is the cause of his hostility. I hope they will come here—They have deserved hanging for the outrages they have already done and the law will never reach them; but if they come here a good many of them [will] find their reward in swift destruction. The poor fools don't know much about war or they would not have made some of the moves they have or some of the idle boasts.

It is a disgrace to the state that such things are permitted, if the Governor⁸⁹ was worth the powder that would kill him he would do something to stop such proceedings. You need not be anxious on my account. I have not the most distant idea that they will come here or they would have done so before this and if they do come they can't hurt us. I will write as often as I can but, as they beset the road, my letters may not reach you. They would as soon rob the mail as any thing else. I have not had any letters since I wrote to you and do not know any news except what I have given. Write often and give all the local news: The news papers come very regular and are very welcome—The War in Europe seems to be almost certain. I got the Texas Almanac⁹⁰ with the map: The map of the upper portion of the country is not very correct but will do very well. Write soon. I hope you are quite well. My health is good—Some of your letters must be lost, I think. your affectionate son

W. E. B.

Camp at the Brazos Agency⁹¹

May 26, 1859

[My dear Father]

The war has opened now in good earnest. On the morning of the 24th [23rd] we had another stampede of all the women & children. It was the third one & they had got a little accustomed to it—they all went in to the picket work in pretty good order. In ten minutes after the report, which caused the stampede, came in, we were ready for Mr. Baylor: the women & children under care; the works manned & skirmishers thrown well forward to hold the outhouses & all available points & combustibles ready to fire the houses as they were abandoned. All was fixed "secundum artem", besides a reserve of mounted Indians under cover in case Baylor was obliged to retire, to show him the pleas

⁸⁹ H. R. Runnels.

⁹⁰ An annual publication, first issued by the *Galveston News* in Jan. 1857, for the purpose of serving as a "compendium and report on Texas."—Stuart McGregor, "The Texas Almanac, 1857-1873," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. L (April 1947), pp. 419-430.

⁹¹ This letter appeared in the *Galveston Weekly News*, June 21, 1859, p. 3, col. 3, under the heading: "Extracts of a Letter from Lieut. W. E. Burnet to his Father". It was located and copied by J. D. Matlock, Austin, Texas, from the Univ. of Texas Library collections.

ures of a light cavalry pursuit. No troops make better "chas-seurs" or would annoy a retreating enemy more than these Indians.

Another company of the First Infantry had arrived under Capt. Gilbert⁹² & Lt. Farran[d].⁹³ Less than a thousand men without artillery could not have forced our position, if all our own had done their duty; & I expect they would, as it was to be a "combat a mort;" for Mr. Baylor had said he would take no prisoners. Baylor had been camped some 8 miles south of us. The spies reported he was approaching in that direction & was within a mile & a half. Just as we finished our preparation more of our spies came in & said Baylor had turned off to the left—others soon came in, saying he had halted & drawn up his men in about half a mile of us, but out of sight, a high rocky ridge covered with scrub postoaks, running between us & the plain he occupied. We waited some time for him to make a demonstration, & the soldiers concluded, as it was very warm & had rained hard the night before, Baylor had drawn up his men in the sun to let them dry. Capt. Plummer got tired of waiting & sent Capt. Gilbert with 50 men to ask him what he wanted. I went along to get a look at them. We found as the Indians had reported that they were drawn up just beyond the ridge. If he had tried, Mr. Baylor could hardly have taken a worse position for a fight. His men were all mounted & in single rank. He had five companies, averaging I think, 57 men each. He evidently knew nothing of the range of the Minnie rifle, for his line was within 200 yards of the foot of the ridge where the rocks & trees gave perfect cover, & the plain in which he stood, was not more than half a mile wide & three quarters long, & bounded one side by a deep creek with timbered banks, on the other side was the ridge which ran down to the creek, & the other side was narrow & much obstructed by timber, thus making three sides difficult to pass. We posted our men in cover & I took command, while Capt. Gilbert went to see Baylor. I did not know what he might do to Capt. Gilbert when he had him alone but I knew we could empty about 30 of his saddles the first fire, & as many more before he could get out of the sack he had run into. Capt. Gilbert went out on foot & as he came up to the line a man rode out to meet him & they talked for some time, when the Captain came back.

⁹² Charles C. Gilbert, USMA 1846, participated in the Mexican War, served on the faculty at USMA, 1850-55, promoted captain, 1st Infantry, Dec. 8, 1855, saw service on the Texas frontier, 1855-59, stationed at Fort Cobb, 1859-61, and participated in the march of loyal units from Fort Cobb to Fort Leavenworth in 1861. He rose to brigadier general in the Union Army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 272-273.

⁹³ 2nd Lt. Charles E. Farrand, USMA 1857, assigned 7th Infantry, Jan. 2, 1858, transferred to 1st Infantry, June 24, 1858, stationed at Fort Cobb, 1859-61.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 698.

Capt. Plummer had sent to demand why Mr. Baylor was in the Government Reserve with an armed force? Baylor replied that he was there for the purpose of attacking & destroying certain bands of Indians, but that he did not wish to come in collision with the United States troops—& that if Capt. Plummer would draw off his men, none of them should be hurt! When this message was delivered to Capt. Plummer, he sent back to tell Mr. Baylor that he (Capt. Plummer) had been sent there with the troops under his command to protect the Indians on the Reserve against the attacks of armed bands of citizens & that he would do so to the best of his ability & with the arms in his possession. Baylor replied that this message did not alter his determination to attack the Reserve & that he would destroy the Indians if it cost him the life of every man in his command. One of his men then spoke up, saying: "Yes, we will all die but what we wipe them out."

Baylor asked me if we knew the civil authority was far beyond the military & that we were all liable to be tried & hanged if a citizen was killed by a soldier. I told him I did not pretend to know much about the civil law, & could not say how much Capt. Plummer knew, but I would take the risk of being hanged. He went on to talk about the law but I cut him off by telling him I had said all I came to say & got his answer & would return. I left him & his men in the place where I found them. I reported his answer to Capt. Plummer who said it was about what he expected.

We waited some time expecting him to make his attack but he did not come. We had Indians watching his movements & some of them came in & said Baylor had taken an old Indian & was moving off. At this all the Indians who were mounted, started after him & the others began to get their horses. In a short time another came in & reported that Baylor had killed the Indian & scalped him & that a woman was found killed & scalped. This made the Indians furious & away they went. The Indians who were watching Baylor & saw them kill the old man, began the attack by firing on them from every available point, & as others joined, they continued the attack with more effect. Baylor retreated for 6 or 7 miles keeping up a running fight until he came to the place of Mr. Wm. Marlin, a very worthy man, whom Baylor had threatened to hang some time ago. When Marlin saw Baylor's party coming, he mounted his horse & took to flight leaving the family to take care of the house. Baylor took possession of the house, out-houses & pens & a deep ravine near by & there made a stand. He had near 300 men, & I don't think more than 60 or 70 Indians went out from here. Capt. Ross kept all back he could to guard the women & children; thinking that Baylor's move was a feint to draw the Indians off. The Indians annoyed Baylor until night & then returned to this place. They

reported that they had killed 5 or 6 of the party; & they lost one man killed & 5 wounded, one very badly. We have since heard that only two of Baylor's men were killed & six wounded. Eight or ten of his horses were killed or lost.

Mr. Baylor reports that he was fired on by the troops. This is false. The troops had nothing to do with the affair & if he had not killed the old man & the woman, he would not have been molested by any one. The old Indian whom they took & murdered on the Reserve was about 90 years of age. Old Placido (this Placido is a Tonkawa Chief who fought bravely with us in the Cherokee campaign of 1839.) D.[avid] G. B.[urnet] says it is the first time he ever fought against the white people, but he has often fought with them against the wild Indians.

We learned that Major Van Dorn has had another fight with the Comanches & killed 50 of them & taken 30 odd prisoners.⁹⁴

He had two men killed & several wounded. Capt. Smith⁹⁵ was wounded, & Lieut. Lee⁹⁶ reported mortally. I hope not—he was a very good young officer & a pleasant companion. Major Van Dorn had fifty of the best warriors from this Reserve with him, & says he is indebted to them for his fight with the Comanches. It is the last service of the kind they will render the people of this frontier, who repay them by trying to murder their women & children. We have sent runners to them & they will be here in a few days. The fools in this country have opened a sore that will bleed for years. Operations against the Comanches cannot be carried on with any effect, without the help of the friendly Indians as guides & spies. It is their own work & they can blame no one justly but themselves. We don't know what Mr. Baylor's next move will be; but I think he has seen enough.

⁹⁴ References to sources of information on this engagement are given in note 73 above.

⁹⁵ Capt. Edmund Kirby Smith, USMA 1845, served in the Mexican War. Promoted capt., 2nd Cavalry, March 3, 1855, he served on the Texas frontier, 1856-61. He resigned his commission on March 3, 1861, was commissioned colonel, C. S. A. and rose to full general. —*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. X, pp. 424-426; *Handbook of Texas*, II, 622; Cullum, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230.

⁹⁶ 2nd Lt. Fitzhugh Lee, nephew of Gen. Robert E. Lee, USMA 1856, assigned to 2nd Cavalry, Jan. 1, 1858, served in Texas frontier posts, 1858-60. Recovering from wounds suffered at Nescutunga, Lt. Lee continued to serve on the Texas frontier until he resigned his commission, May 3, 1861. Joining the C. S. A., he rose to major general. From 1886 through 1889 he was governor of Virginia. Named U. S. Consul General in Havana in 1896, he was commissioned major general of U. S. Volunteers in 1898, and retired as a brigadier general in 1901.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XI, pp. 103-105; *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, p. 43; Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 671-72.

Camp at the Brazos Reserve
June 12th 1859

My dear Father

I received your letter, dated May 20th, but our last mail: and it gave me much pleasure to hear that you were in good health. I see you have not got my letters dated from this place; I hope you will get them, as they give some account of the affairs of this upper Country; which have been the cause of much excitement on the frontier; and it may have extended to the lower Country. When my last was written, I could not exactly tell what was the state of affairs, and did not say much about it: But now, I think, I may safely say, that the war is over; for some time, at any rate.

After the little brush on the 23d of May, Baylor scattered his men, holding them under a pledge to return in six days with all the recruits they could muster. Many of them returned and their force amounted to between six and seven hundred men; they report 860. They were camped about eight miles from us and had their parties scouting in every direction, so that it was not safe for the Indians to go out of sight of our camp, except at night. We were obliged to keep the Indians camped very close around the stocade, as we expected a night attack. Having so many camped in so small a space and the Indian camp not being very clean, caused a great deal of sickness: a disease, something like the Cholera, broke out among the Indians first and then among the soldiers. The Indians died very fast. The disease appeared very suddenly and in five or six days about forty Indians had died but many of them were very sick and the list was increasing very rapidly. It was evident this could not last much longer; four or five more days, of such Confinement, would get us all down; and Baylor & his party could have an easy time with us. We all talked the matter over and, though nothing definite was said, it was generally understood that, unless some move was made the next day, we would rouse their Camp the next night in a way which would be more interesting than pleasant. This conclusion was reached in the after-noon: and that night I took two Indians and Capt Ross' son and went to their Camp to reconnoitre. We went pretty near and waited until just before day light, when we went to the top of a high and rocky hill, which overlooked their Camp: from this hill, when it became day, we could see every thing; and I went to work to make a Topographical sketch of the Camp, and the ways of approach, &c, to serve as a guide. The top of the hill was not more than three hundred yards from the Camp of their main guard and their Picket Guard was out side of us, but the hill was very rough & covered with bushes, so that it made very good cover and there was not much danger of their seeing us. I used

a very fine Opera Glass, belonging to Capt Gilbert, to make my observations. We staid there nearly an hour after sunrise and then left: having got all the information we wished. We found our horses safe, where we had left them (in a deep ravine) the night before, and returned to the Agency without being molested. At one time I thought we would have the Camp at our heels, one of their Videttes came so near that I thought he would see us: but he passed on, fortunately for us, and certainly so for him. I had written to Major Van Dorn, at the request of Capt Ross, (the Agent), to send down all the Indians (about 60) belonging to this reserve and asking him to give them such assistance as he could: for we heard that Baylor expected to cut them off. As soon as Major Van Dorn got the letter he started the Indians and five companies of his Command to our assistance: Thre of the Companies came here and two went to the upper Reserve. The report go out in Baylors Camp that Van Dorn was coming with all his forces and the he would attack them wherever he found them. This was more than they could stand and they scattered: On the same morning I was at their Camp they broke up and the Indians we had watching their Camp, came in and reported that they were all gone: and the next day we learned that they had all left. I don't know where they have gone, but they are not near enough to give us any trouble. We have scattered the Indians along the Creek and the progress of the disease has been stoped among them and the Soldiers; none of the latter have died and the sick are getting well and the Camp will soon be healthy again, I think. My health has been good, all the time: The weather has been very hot, the Thermometer standing at 95° & 100° in the shade; this, and the close camp and diet of so much fresh beef, as we were obliged to have, was enough to kill any one. Baylor left in time to save the lives of a good many men—if we had attacked his Camp about an hour before day light, with the men we had (about 300) his 700 would have had as much as the[y] wished to attend to; fortunately the issue was not made. I hope they will stay away, as a civil war is not pleasant. The war in Europe has begun and bids fair to be a severe one: it will involve all Europe and perhaps the United States before it ends. Our Government should make some preparations to meet it. I am under orders to go to Fort Smith Arkansas, but the orders have been suspended on account of the troubles here: and now I do [not] much expect to go, but cannot tell yet. Write often and give me all the news about town. I hope you will find it agreeable to visit Mr. Hughes' occasionally, remember me to them when you do. I hope you are quite well. Your letter saying that you had been sick did not reach me. your affectionate son

Wm. E B—

Camp at Brazos Agency

June 19th 1859

My Dear Father

A few days ago I wrote to you; explaining what I wished done in relation to my letter giving an account of the killing of that Indian, and my pursuit. I wished you to make a statement of the facts relating to the killing of the Indian; but had no idea, that you would understand me as wishing to have my letter published. The details of such matters had better be left out; and besides, I do not wish my private letters put in the papers—my letters to you, even though they may treat on general subjects, I wish to be considered as private in each and every case. I write them for your information but not for publication: it is strictly prohibited for an officer to publish the operations of forces in war, except officially.

I hope, my dear Father, you have not put any more of my letters in print: The results may be disastrous to me and to others concerned in this unfortunate affair. I do not remember exactly what I have written; but, I know much has been written which I would very much dislike to see in print. In such affairs, as we have had here, no Officer can gain credit: and any one is unfortunate who becomes, in any way, identified with such doings. I hope you will consider the details of my letters as strictly private or at any rate never put any of my writing in print.

We have been quiet here for some time and, I think, will remain so. The Gentleman sent out by the Governor left satisfied, I believe, that things were conducted properly here and had been so. But it is hard to tell what sort of a report they will make, as they are all Politicians and the movements against us are very popular through the upper part of the state. I don't know how far it extends: not very far, I hope, for the credit of the Country.

The mail will be here soon from Belknap and I want to get this off. I am uneasy about the publication of those letters. Please send me a copy of all that you have published: so that I may know what I have to meet, in case any issue is made in the matter. I hope you are quite well—my health is good. If any more of those letters are published—why “it's no use to cry over spilt milk”—what's done is past and can't be mended. They may do no harm; but I had much rather not trust them. Write as soon as you get this and send me all that has been published.

Your affectionate son
W m E. Burnet

(Continued in Part II)

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF SURVEY OF INSCRIPTIONS
ALONG SANTA FE TRAIL IN OKLAHOMA

August 15, 1960

Report of Committee

Under the joint sponsorship of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Science and Arts Foundation, this Committee has completed its investigation of the various inscriptions and autographs along that portion of the Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma and submits herewith this preliminary report.

INTRODUCTION

Santa Fe is one of the oldest cities in the United States, and while the area of the Southwest was under Spanish control the town was the capital of the northern provinces. The first recorded visit to Santa Fe overland by an American is that of James Purcell who reached Santa Fe in June, 1805, after many wanderings across Mid-United States.¹ Without doubt there had been earlier intercourse, as it is reasonable to assume that French and Spanish contact was made during the 18th Century between Santa Fe and such French outposts as Ferdinandina, a trading post located in what is now Kay County, Oklahoma. Pike's expedition of 1806, however, is the earliest detailed account of a journey between the United States and Santa Fe. He reached Santa Fe under Spanish military escort in February, 1807.²

Early in the 19th Century the possibilities of commercial trade with Santa Fe and the surrounding regions became something of great preoccupation with the American people. Reports that common calico sold for as much as \$3.00 for a Spanish yard of 33 inches³ fired the imaginations of countless traders and adventurers.

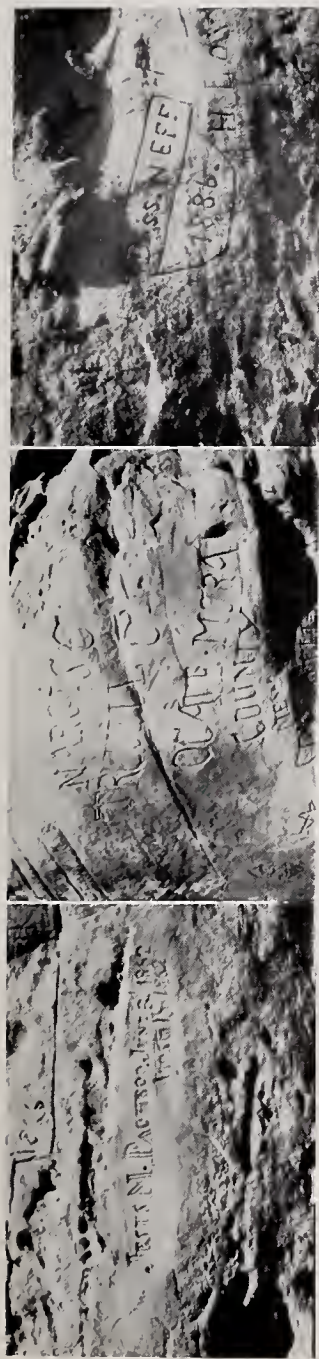
Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri became the leader of an organized movement to provide a road to New Mexico, and the Santa Fe Trail was the creature of his political sagacity. By Act of March 3, 1825,⁴ Congress appropriated \$30,000 for the survey of a route. Of this sum, \$20,000 was ear-marked for the acquisition of right-of-way from local Indian tribes.

¹ Gilbert, *The Exploration of Western America* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 162.

² *Ibid.* p. 156.

³ Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York, 1844), Vol. II, p. 112.

⁴ 4 Stat. 100.



AUTOGRAPH ROCK, CIMARRON COUNTY
Inscriptions, Site 2. Photos, 1960.



Looking north from
stockade gate.

Footings, S.E.
corner of stockade.

FORT NICHOLS, CIMARRON COUNTY
Ruins on Site, 1960.

West wall of Fort
looking north.

On March 16, 1825, President Adams appointed Ben H. Reeves and George C. Sibley of Missouri and Pierre Menard of Illinois Commissioners to accomplish the work of surveying and marking the Trail. Menard did not serve and Thomas Mather was appointed in his place.⁵ The Commissioners selected Joseph C. Brown of Missouri as the surveyor. His choice was a fortunate one, and he brought to the project a vast amount of prior experience.

The survey commenced July 17, 1825, and Fort Osage, a post east of present Independence, Missouri, was selected the eastern terminus of the route. The surveying party entered what is now the Oklahoma Panhandle on October 6, and the Field Notes⁶ of Brown and Sibley's Journal give an interesting glimpse of the appearance of present Cimarron County.

The Committee checked carefully all sites in Cimarron County along the trace of the Santa Fe Trail to determine the possible existence of autographs and inscriptions. The Trail is well defined across the County and its exact location is well known. Often as many as four to six parallel and deep scarred ruts are plainly visible across the open country.

The Journal of Sibley and the Field Notes of Brown may be followed closely; and it is possible with reasonable certainty to check the various springs and other natural features mentioned by them.

Water was of paramount importance, not only to the surveying party but to the countless immigrants who traveled the Trail. Accordingly, the Trail was located so as to take maximum advantage of available water, and it should be noted that the route was of added length in order to follow natural water courses.

At springs and other water sources, it became common for the parties of travelers and immigrants to make camp. Depending on weather and other local conditions, especially the state of repair of the wagons, harness and other gear, immigrant parties might delay several days at the various camping sites. Several such sites in Cimarron County are located near bluffs or ravines with outcroppings of stone.

The outcrop is a member of the lower Dakota sandstone, which is considered Upper Cretaceous⁷ in age. The stone is

⁵ Kate L. Gregg, *The Road to Santa Fe* (Albuquerque, 1952) p. 8. In this volume are collected the Journals and Diaries of Sibley, Reeves and the Commissioner's Report. This is an invaluable volume for students of the Santa Fe Trail.

⁶ The Field Notes of Joseph C. Brown are in *Eighteenth Biennial Report*, Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka, 1913) pp. 117 *et seq.* It does not appear that Brown's notes and maps have ever been officially published by the United States Government.

⁷ Oklahoma Geological Survey, *Bulletin 64*, (Norman, 1943), p. 86.

relatively soft and is ideal for the carving of autographs and inscriptions. Climatic conditions are advantageous to permit the inscriptions to remain over a substantial period of time.

All favorable sites along the Trail were examined and it was found that four separate localities bear inscriptions and autographs. These have been arbitrarily designated by the Committee with the site numbers hereinafter utilized. At each location, modern inscriptions, autographs and other initials are evident, and it is obvious that the carving of initials is continuing at the present time. Except for the inaccessibility of the rocks and the fact that the locations of the existing inscriptions are not generally known, it would be reasonable to expect that defacing would progress at a much higher rate than that at present. The possibilities of future defacing are such that the Committee desires to make a detailed report of each existing inscription, including such photographs as are technically possible.

After reviewing all of the inscriptions remaining legible, the Committee determined arbitrarily to exclude all inscriptions that appear from their character to be modern and of recent origin and to exclude all those bearing dates subsequent to 1930. While perhaps arbitrary, such appeared a reasonable cutoff date for those of historical interest.

The Committee was concerned with the large number of inscriptions, apparently of greater age, that are no longer legible. In many instances, later inscriptions appear to have been placed directly over older ones, thus obliterating the former. As the process of weathering continues more and more of the writings will become illegible. Those that are read today with extreme difficulty will probably in another generation become entirely illegible. It is essential that detailed data be recorded at this time, so that with the passage of time the older writings will not in like manner become lost. The Committee photographed in excess of 100 of the more legible inscriptions and the photographs are submitted herewith as a part of this report.

In collecting this data, the Committee used 3 by 5 index cards, and prepared separate cards for each inscription. In each case, the cards were numbered starting at the left (as one faced the rock) and proceeding to the right. Each card bearing an inscription was assigned a number, and the numbers accordingly are from the left to the right of each location. Such numbering system will facilitate the future location of any particular inscription.

In some instances, especially when they were accompanied by a date, the Committee has included initials. It is recognized that initials by themselves are of minor significance, since they

give no clue as to identity nor other information. In a few instances, initials were of artistic merit, finely inscribed, and it is a pity that the maker did not leave further information as to his identity. All initials accompanied by a date are included in the report.

SITE 1

This site is located in the Northeast Quarter of Section 4, Township 4 North, Range 4 East. The bluff is on the North side of a sharp ravine which is a tributary of Cold Springs Creek. The bluff faces directly to the South, with several overhangs and is situated favorably for the preservation of the inscriptions. Unfortunately, perhaps as much as twenty feet of the east end of the bluff had been utilized during the early portion of the present century as a quarry, and all inscriptions on that portion of the bluff have been of course removed. Several parties in the locality told the Committee that they remember seeing inscriptions on building stone quarried from the site.

It was at this point that the Trail entered arroyo or valley of Cold Springs Creek. The Trail moved into the valley from the East, crossed the creek a short distance practically due West of the bluff in question, and then proceeded in a southwesterly direction along a gentle rise out of the valley.

The Committee noted that the dates of the inscriptions of Site 1 are earlier than those at the other sites. It is believed that this is more likely due to a better state of preservation, although it is the Committee's opinion that Site 1 was used as a camping site earlier than the locations at sites 2 and 3. Every legible inscription at Site 1 was carefully catalogued, and an alphabetical list of all legible names is submitted as *Appendix—Site 1*. The Committee was particularly impressed with an excellent pictograph of a horse, and a photograph is submitted as a part of this report.

SITE 1-A

This site appears to be so closely related to *Site 1* that it is considered in connection therewith rather than treated as an independent location. It is in the Southwest Quarter of Section 5. As the Trail progressed westerly into the arroyo of Cold Springs Creek, bluffs facing the creek along its eastern bank were reached. Undoubtedly, on the flat ground between the bluffs and the creek countless immigrants made camp. The Committee was surprised that these particular rocks did not bear more inscriptions than were in evidence, but for some reason, the inscription writing popularity of this particular site was never in vogue. The Committee noted a date at this location which appeared to be 1802, but it was rejected as being so unlikely that it was believed by the Committee to be either a

modern hoax or some other date now partially illegible. At Site 1-A are a number of initials of little or no interest and some modern drawings and pictures, all of which have been disregarded by the Committee. *Appendix Site 1-A* gives the list of inscriptions at this site.

SITE 2

This is the principal site, and the rocks facing the stream now known as Cold Springs Creek are of substantial importance. The bluff bears a great number of inscriptions and has become known as Inscription Rock or Autograph Rock. This particular location with its excellent water supply was important not only on the Santa Fe Trail but also on the cattle trails crossing from Texas to Montana⁸ and other northern grazing grounds. Substantial weathering has occurred at Site 2 and it may be expected that at some future time more and more of the writings will become illegible. Autograph Rock is located in the Northwest Quarter of Section 8, Township 4 North, Range 4 East, and is on the property of R. H. Gayler.

This locality was referred to by Brown as Mire Spring. However, the name Cold Springs Camp must have come into use shortly after the Trail was opened, as Gregg⁹ in 1844 used that name in his "Table of Distances" given for travelers on the Trail.

The Committee noted on the high flat ground south and east of this site distinct and well defined ruts of the Trail. This trace is several miles south of and parallel to the route discussed in connection with Site 1, and indicates another and more southerly crossing of Cold Springs Creek. Perhaps this route came into use later than the crossing adjacent to Site 1. If so, it would account for the circumstance that the dates of the inscriptions for Site 2 are generally later than these at Site 1. The Committee attaches herewith as *Appendix—Site 2* an alphabetical list of all legible inscriptions appearing at Site 2 together with explanatory notes. The photographs of each inscription accompanying this report should be considered in the use of this list.^{9a}

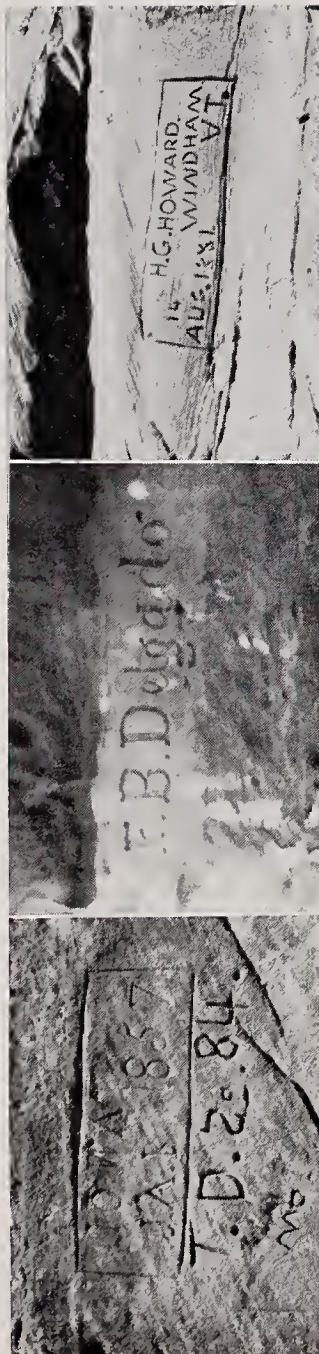
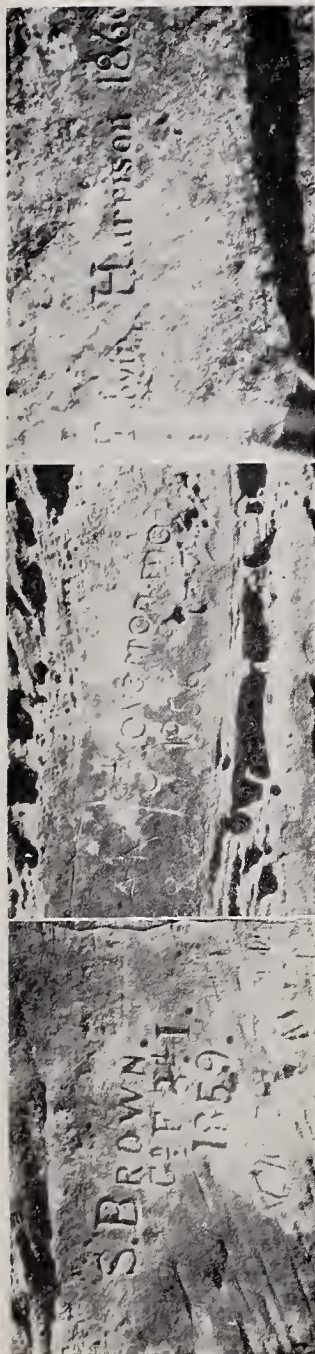
SITE 3

This site is across Cold Springs Creek from Site 2. Here the bluff faces to the south and looks out upon an excellent

⁸ Moita Dorsey Davis. "Boss Neff," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, (Summer, 1948) p. 164.

⁹ Gregg, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 313.

^{9a} All photographs of inscriptions accompanying this report are filed under the title, "Autograph Rock Inscriptions, Santa Fe Trail—Cimarron County, 1960," in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. A card index giving all inscriptions as found on the three sites reported is also on file in the Library collections.—Ed.



AUTOGRAPH ROCK, CIMARRON COUNTY

Inscriptions on rock bluff, Site 2, at Cold Springs Camp Ground on Old Santa Fe Trail. Photos, 1960.

camping ground on the west bank of the creek. The site is located in the Northeast Quarter of Section 7. In the flat adjoining the creek, there is located an excellent artesian spring. This has now been capped and the water is piped for use locally. The ruts or traces discussed in connection with Site 2 come directly to this spring, now walled and capped; and if the difference in dates between Site 1 and Site 2 is of significance, apparently the Trail shifted several miles to the south during the 1860's.

The bluff at Site 3 has suffered the greatest amount of deterioration and only a few of the inscriptions are today legible. No photographs were made by the Committee at this site. Attached as *Appendix—Site 3* is a list of those inscriptions remaining legible at this site.

Respectfully Submitted,

William G. Fisher, Chairman*

John Freed

Bill J. Hall

George H. Shirk

Committee.

* Mr. Fisher is Assistant State Insurance Commissioner, State Capitol, Oklahoma City. Mr. John Freed is Director of the Oklahoma Science and Arts Foundation, Oklahoma City.

APPENDIX — SITE #1

Mary Ellen Ames	J. C. Dent
E Ayers	L. Dent
D F B	Wm
K H B ¹⁰	Detamore
W 1859	J. Dixon
C. Baker	1847
J N Baker	Douglas
J. M. Ball	C. H. Egbert 1865
E H Beal	O. C. Estes
E. Bean 1858	F. J. Ga sgow ¹¹
D. Beaty	1844
1850	GWG
S.. Beebe	Jerrey : Gardner. Mar. 14. : 65
W. B. Bohon June 28/1847	E. B. Gibbs
Arch Brite	1925
De: 1 1900	Earl
J. Brown	A
Scotland Aug 96	Gillis
Pete Bryan	Feb 6
Nov. 24 1925	G. W. Givens 1846
T. R. Byrd	Riley Gregg 1884
C. A. C.	WPH ¹²
1881	J. Hall. June 26, 1848
A. O. Capps 1852	John Hagans
G. W. Carr 1877	T. J. Hardin
J. M. Case	R. Haverstick
J. B. Clark	O. E. Haynes
1888	Mar 16, 75
L. L. Clowers	J. Headington July 4 1880
L. Coleman	Chaon Hoe Sr. ¹³
Aug 1899	Andy Hood
John L. Corly	1894
I D Curd	T. J. Howard 1847
Ill	J. L. Hughes 1917
R W D 1844	Alta James March 92
C. F. Dagget	Hugh James
July 4 1880	F. L. James
1850 C. Davis U. S. A. 2nd Art.	W. T. James
J. E. Dean	Charley Kinzey
E Delgado	

¹⁰ These initials are accompanied by a Masonic emblem.

¹¹ All letters of the last name are not legible.

¹² These initials are accompanied by an anchor.

¹³ Spelling of first name is uncertain.

JVL 1864	T. Ringo
H. Leak	Jerry Ryan ¹⁵
D. D. McClellan ¹⁴ 1866	James E Ryan 1866
P. B. Marple	W. R. Shannon — 1846
J. Jn Martin	J. Shaw
M. Martin Hardin	J W Simpson William Stratton Aug 7 — 93
D. Matthews	Geneva Taylor
H. A. Milton Liberty Mo June the 18 1849	H. Taylor Aug 27 86
Ben T. Moore	R. T. Taylor
S. Parker 1861-4-5	A. K. Thompson — 1846
Louis Patell 1856	W. B. Tipton 1859
Chas W Patten Augl 8 — Oswego N Y	S. M. Tuttle June 16, 1849
C. W. Patterson	Clay Ty 1848 ¹⁶
H. T. Peck	N. D. Van
R R Poe 1846	W B W 1890
F. L. Potter	E C W 1927
E W Previtt	W W Webb 1851
J. P. Rector 56	B. White
	B. F. White — 1846
	D. Willock 1846
	H. J. Younger . . . 19 1847 ¹⁷

APPENDIX — SITE #1-A

ALC 1857, July 4th	Antonio Pablo
F. B. Delgdo Marzo 19 = 68 ¹⁸	Gallelos F 13 — 1858 ¹⁹
	D. Sullivan Jun. 30 188

APPENDIX — SITE #2

W. H. Abbott ²⁰ Mich 1866	J Alexandro Snta Este
Jose Abodaca Jullo 19 1887	J. E. Altman
Josi Alexandro Julio 2 1860	F. G. Austen 18 June 97

¹⁴ Below the year date appears a Latin cross and an anchor.

¹⁵ There is a Jerry Ryan Creek in northern Cimarron County.

¹⁶ All letters of the last name are not legible.

¹⁷ Month illegible.

¹⁸ Last name is misspelled.

¹⁹ Year is followed by a well-executed Maltese Cross.

²⁰ Between the two lines is a finely-executed Masonic emblem.

Lewis B	H. L. Cave	
A E Babcock 1908	1858	
J. T. Babens 1897	H L. Cave 1858	
Booneville	J. F. Christian ²¹	
Mo	Ap 20 1904	
R. Beatty	O. S. Coffin	Leavenworth ²¹
Sept. 20th 1865	1866	Ks
Dayton, Ohio	P. Conne y ²³	
Iowa	G. R. Craig	
J A B 1857 ²¹	E. D. 1856 ²⁴	
J. C. Beaty	JBD	
H W Benton	Aug 5, 1856	
1876	Mary DeLand Davis ²⁵	
S. Bibo	F. B. Delgado	
28 April 1868	Junio 18 = 66	
P. C. Brite	A Decker	
E. Brookhart	1860	
1909	J. Deleny	
M E Brookhart	F. B. Delgado AB = 28 = 62	
July 4, 09	F. B. Delgado	
M V Brookhart	H B Dixon	
1909	1908 Mo	
S. Brown	Nov. 1	
Co F 3d I	Walter Kate Dixon	
1859	Sept 19, 1926	
J. R. Buckner	J. Doheny	
D.V. Man Mo.	Nov. 5, 1880	
W. Burnett ²²	D. M. Drake	
Feb 20 80	1858	
Burns 1866	Anna Duey	
B. E. C. 865.	Ill 18	
S. T. C. ²¹	Emma Duey	
Oct 23, 1860	Ill 1883	
W. Calaham	J. Duey	
Sim Calley	Ills. 85	
C. C. Calvin	J. S. Duey	
Hardin Co. Ky	83	
Johnson Co. Mo.	Ab. 20 1860	
1855	JAE	
I D Campbell	A. S. Eaton	
R. L. Campbell	Aug 19 1889	
	J. S. Esguidel ²⁶	
	1893	

²¹ The entire inscription is enclosed in a frame.

²² At the left of the month appears a symbol resembling a monogram.

²³ Although the last name is partially illegible, the name is believed by the Committee to be Connelly.

²⁴ The last name is illegible and is thus not shown here.

²⁵ The name is in extremely well-executed script. Below the name is another line of text that is now entirely illegible.

²⁶ Below the last name is a well-executed heart.

M. W. Foley			Sept
V. Foos	1856	Ind ²¹	4 1927
Francie			Evelyn Hadden
George Fren ²⁷			Joe W. Hadden ³⁴
Fulgen			1927-28
T. A. G. ²⁸			Ruth 1927
1861			Hadden
V. G. Vicente G ²⁹			B. L. Hankla
Abril 22, 1856			1897
J. T. Gage			1859
F. Garcia			F. Hampson
W. Garric			John Harper ³⁵
J. E. L.			W. C. Harper
1863			1858
H. D. Gillespie	57 ³⁰		Edwin Harrison
Gonzalez			1860
Martin			R. M. Hartell
D. J. Gonzalez			John A. Hartzell
Agosto 18 de 1881			1866
R. Gonsales	June 19	³¹	Iowa
H. D. Gorham			Henary
1861			Hatfield
1859 J. 28			Geo. H. Hawkins
John N. Graves			Mo 1856
R. A. Gregory			Harris
21 Dec 1873			Alfred Hays
C. A. Gre ³²			J. M. Henderson
C. Green ³³			Herb ³⁶
1859			J J Herrera
Levi Grimes			Nov 22 1866
JAH 1895			J I Highsaw
			C. Hill
			27 of Apl 1867
			Hulan Hill
			1900
			J. A. Hood 95

²⁷ Although the last name is partially illegible, the name is believed by the Committee to be French.

²⁸ The three initials are enclosed in a finely designed frame, and below the frame are three Latin crosses, resting upon what appears to the Committee to be an Alter.

²⁹ Other than the initial "G" the last name is entirely illegible.

³⁰ The appearance of the inscription makes it obvious to the Committee that the year is 1857 rather than 1957.

³¹ The year is illegible.

³² This inscription was of much interest to the Committee. The letters are large, well-executed and very distinct. Apparently they were cut by someone named Green, and due to unexpected circumstances, the work was not completed.

³³ Above the name is a large well-prepared Latin Cross.

³⁴ The entire inscription is enclosed in a frame.

³⁵ The name is followed by several words of illegible text which could almost be believed to read "the water boy of . . . ? . . ."

³⁶ Below the name is a cattle brand appearing as a Lazy S inside a lazy half moon.

H. G. Howard³⁷
14 Windham
Aug. 1881 Vt.

Hoxie
J 4th 1868

J. M. Hudnut 1852

Neb May 1908
Edgar Davis Humbolt

Lizzie Hurt 1885

Luis I
June 10 1892

MTK
Luis. SA

C. A. Kendall

J. S. King

J. W. Kline
Lebanon, Pa. 1866

F. C. Jarot
Dayton O.

Jessie Mae L
6. 1. 1909

L Mc L

Pablo. L

Floyd Lance
8 — 21 — 23

1887
J. M. Leeper

H. A. Lester
1886

H. A. Lilly

Don Lobato

H. Lovell
60

A. M. Lucero

E. B. Mc 16 De.
1858

J McQuarrie
1881

J. F. S. I. M. 1858

James M
Cruz Maranjo en 1879

Mateo de
Luna J. 20 1860

M. M. Matlock
1907

W. H. Middlebuscher

A. Miller
Com^y K 1st Cal Vols

Ruth Miner

U. A. Mogutieres
1867

J. M. Moon
Mo

B. M. Morgan
1888

M. Murphy
Aug. 5 62

H. H. Narron
Mo.

H. H. Narron

Anna Narron
Mo 85

J. C. Narron
1885

Boss. Neff 34
1886

J D Ochoa
Sept 28 66

G. Ortiz

J Overton. Mo.
1856

Jose Teodoro Oyer
July 11th 1860

Silbello
Elillas Pacheco

Jesus M. Pacheco June 3^d 1862³⁸
Agust 15 1862

Jose
Teodoro 1876
Palaco
Taus

³⁷ The entire inscription is enclosed in a large frame.

³⁸ Apparently Pacheco visited the rock at least twice.

Rt. Paul ³⁹	Geo. P. Robinson
Rober Paul 1879 ⁴⁰	Wakefield
A. H. Phillips	R.I.
1917	Aug 1 80
AEF ⁴¹	G. P. Robinson ⁴⁴
J. T. Plummer ⁴²	Wakefield
Sep 21	R. I.
1863	Aug 4 80
J. Porter 7 6 — 85 ⁴³	Lewis Rodgers
B F Potter	1865
T Potter	Hilario Romero
1856	1860
D. M. Potts	Jose E Romero
T. Potts	June 3, 1862
26	T. Romero
J. W. Prall	Abril 27 1861
June 4 1885	Antonio Rueno
1885	1897
J. W. Prall	J. Ryan ⁴⁵
Atanacio Polinario	1890
Tomas Prieto	W
1887	Agapito Sandobal
P. R. T.	Julio 19 1887
B R 1858	Julian Sandoval
Jacob Reasoner	Abril 10 1860
18	Benyno Santys
J. H. Renick	Texan 1888
J. Rider	Loy P. Schamaun... ⁴⁶
F. C. Riggs	Holland
May 11 1913	M. B. Scott
Roalarid	1864
Junio 18 1866	W. Scovill
Alfred N. Robertson 1859	1860
	John Sego
	I. W. Sh . . .ttnor ⁴⁶

³⁹ The letter "A" of the last name was inadvertently omitted, and added later by placing it below its proper place in the name.

⁴⁰ Mr. Paul must have had difficulty with his spelling. There is no evidence that there was ever a letter "T" in the first name.

⁴¹ The reference without doubt is to American Expeditionary Force.

⁴² Above the name is a Latin Cross enclosed in a frame.

⁴³ The name is followed by both a Masonic and Odd Fellows emblem.

⁴⁴ The inscription is enclosed in a frame. Outside the frame are a skull and cross bones, the symbol KKK, a Lazy Eight symbol and other markings. This is probably the most elaborate inscription on the entire rock.

⁴⁵ See footnote 15.

⁴⁶ Several of the letters of the last name are illegible.

L. C. Shultz Mo. Aug 7	N. Trujillo ⁴⁹ Ocate N. M. Sept 30 = 93
Cha's S. Sieber Sept 20 65	Narcisco Trujillo
T. W. Simmons	Ocate — Mura County
J. D. Smith March 19, 1864	New Mexico Sep. 10th 1893
Edith Smith	May 5 — 95
R. H. Smith ⁴⁷ 18	Trujillo Hermano Bros ⁵⁰
May Snearly 1907 Texas	Van. New. Turner ⁵¹ Lebaon Tenn.
J. H. Strong	J. E. Turner
D H T NY 1880	Ben W 1881 N. M.
Tabor	R. Wagner
Tomas	C. H. Wagnon 1888
Tafolla June 15 1866	H. C. Wallace Missouri 1860
T Z Taylor July 8, 1858	J. E. Watson
E. Toler 1861	A. Wellenreuther ⁵² ... 31 1855
Jose Tomas Lobato 1866	D. H. Williams
Jose Tomas 1869	W. P. Williams Ap. 4 1905
R Torrey	W R York 28
E. M. Trujillo ⁴⁸ 97	Chapmond Young
J. B. Trujillo	W. Zane

APPENDIX — SITE #3

Jose Buso	G. Trujillo
Narcis ⁵³	Luis T.
Los Trujillos	May 2 95
Mar 6 84	Trujillo & Co.
Louis Trujillo	Elisco T. 1891

⁴⁷ The last two numbers in the year are illegible.

⁴⁸ The inscription is in beautifully-executed script.

⁴⁹ The inscription is accompanied by a five pointed star and a double pointed arrow.

⁵⁰ Between the two words of the name is a monogram or cattle brand.

⁵¹ The name of the town is misspelled.

⁵² The month is illegible.

⁵³ Probably a diminutive for Narcisco Trujillo.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

COUNTY SEAT WAR IN MCINTOSH COUNTY

The contest between Checotah and Eufaula for the location of the county seat in McIntosh County soon after Oklahoma statehood was climaxed by a real battle. The following story is contributed to *The Chronicles* by Mr. W. R. Withington, an attorney of Oklahoma City and member of the Historical Society, who lived in Eufaula in 1908:

CHECOTAH-EUFAULA COURT HOUSE RIOT

When I came to South McAlester in the Indian Territory as a boy in the Fall of 1907, I hardly expected to see, much less take part in, one of the historical events of the old Indian Territory part of Oklahoma.

One of my first employments was that of a telephone operator at Crowder, Oklahoma, some few miles north of South McAlester. After working at Crowder for awhile I was promoted in May, 1908, to the position of telephone operator at the flourishing town of Eufaula, then working for what had been originally the South McAlester-Eufaula Telephone Company. In 1905, the Pioneer Telephone and Telegraph Company bought the controlling interest in the South McAlester-Eufaula Telephone Company, and the name of the company was later changed to the Pioneer Telephone and Telegraph Company. I remember the company as the Pioneer Telephone and Telegraph Company, which I understand was the forerunner of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company.

I was too young then to pay any attention to politics. However, I did know that about the time I commenced working at Eufaula both Eufaula and Checotah were competing for the county seat of McIntosh County. A special election had been called by Governor C. N. Haskell for Saturday, May 23, 1908, to determine which of these towns would become the county seat of McIntosh County, Oklahoma. According to an article appearing in the *Indian Journal*, which is still being published at Eufaula at this time, it appeared that Eufaula had won the county seat election by some fifty odd votes. Checotah also claimed to have won the election.

The building in which the telephone office was then located is still standing on the corner of Main Street and Foley Avenue across the street from the old Tully Building. The telephone office was on the second floor.

Nothing unusual occurred after the election until Sunday, June 7, 1908. About noon on this Sunday, I was on the job working at the telephone switchboard, answering the few calls that came in. There was no sign of impending danger; everything was calm and peaceful; and the atmosphere, you might say, was the usual one to be expected in a small town on a Sunday morning in the summertime—"all quiet along the Potomac" as it were.

Suddenly, things began to happen. The M.K.&T. ("Katy") train from Muskogee and Checotah was late and arrived in Eufaula about noon. A group of men from Checotah got off the train, stiff with guns, and they began scattering out over the town of Eufaula preparatory to taking it over. Part of them went north, circling around to the court house for the purpose of taking the county records and carrying them to Checotah. The rest of them went to different parts of the town. Some of them came up Foley Avenue between the Telephone Building and the old Tully Building, shooting as they came, some of the bullets hitting the telephone building. The intersection of Main Street and Foley Avenue, adjacent to the telephone building, was a "no man's land" and also the central point of the battlefield.

I sought security behind the telephone switchboard, and I did not come out until the shooting had subsided. A number of the citizens of Eufaula had appeared upon the scene armed and the situation was tense for quite awhile until an armistice was agreed upon. When I felt that it was safe to go down on the street, I found out that one of the men from Checotah, Mr. Frank Jones, had told Deputy Constable Woods of Eufaula and Deputy City Marshal Kleiser of Eufaula to get out of the street and out of town or he would give them the contents of his gun. A Mr. Parmenter of the Checotah group was said to have shot Deputy Constable F. M. Woods of Eufaula. Whether it was Mr. Parmenter or someone else, Deputy Constable Woods was badly wounded and died, as I recall, later that day. The Checotah group was not successful in securing possession of the County records. Eufaula became the county seat of McIntosh County, things quieted down, and I survived this "wild and wooly" event in the history of the old Indian Territory part of Oklahoma.

—W. R. Withington

THE NAME "LOOKEBA" IN CADDO COUNTY

Mr. Nat M. Taylor of Lookeba is a well known local historian and author of *A Brief History of Roger Mills County* published in 1947. By special request of the Editorial Department, Mr. Taylor has kindly contributed the following item giving the history and the pronounciation of the name Lookeba:

HOW LOOKEBA GOT ITS NAME

The name of the town Lookeba is probably the most mispronounced name in the state of Oklahoma. The first impression upon seeing the name of this Caddo County town is that it is an Indian word but it is not. There is no name like it in the United States, or in the World for that matter. Lookeba is a coined name, and has no connection with any other word in the English language. So in this respect, it is unique.

When the townsite of Lookeba was established in 1902, three men were interested in promotion of the town, and their names were Lowe, Kelly and Baker. When the three men were surveying the townsite in August, 1902, there was no restaurant around so they took their meals with a Mrs. Scholten who lived in a tent. One day after the survey was finished and the men had eaten their dinner, they were discussing what they should name the town. Several names were suggested but none suited them. Finally, Mrs. Scholten made the suggestion that they take the first syllable of the name of each of the three men and form a name in their honor. This was done, and the name of the town became Lowe-kel-ba.

When application was made for a post office, changes appeared in the spelling of the name Lowe-kel-ba: In the first syllable, *o* was substituted for *we*; in the second syllable, the *l* was dropped, and the third syllable remained intact. Thus, the name officially became *Lookeba*, pronounced by the founders and the present citizens Lō-kē-'bä, with the accent on the second syllable. This is the correct name today.

—Nat M. Taylor

HISTORY AWARD TO MR. R. G. MILLER

The American Association of State and Local History at its annual convention this September in Iowa City, Iowa, announced the presentation of an Award of Merit honoring Mr. R. G. Miller, Associate Editor of *The Daily Oklahoman* and *Oklahoma City Times*, for his stimulation of local history through his "Smoking Room" column in the *Times* and in statewide history tours. People in every part of Oklahoma are pleased that this honor has come to Editor R. G. Miller who is better known at large than any other person, with friends and acquaintances in every city, town and village and along every highway and country road in this state. Mr. Miller has done a great work in promoting local history, and the American Association's Award of Merit is justly due him who is held in high esteem throughout Oklahoma.

A special committee of the American Association of State and Local History annually seeks out individuals throughout

the Nation and makes the award "to pay tribute to those people who promote a better understanding of America's heritage at the local level."

OKLAHOMA CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Commemoration of the Centennial of the Civil War in the state, extending through 1965, will center around participation of the Indian nations of the Indian Territory in the great War as planned under the sponsorship of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is honored in the appointment of several members from the Board of Directors to this Centennial Commission, named by Governor J. Howard Edmondson and announced last August: Mr. Henry B. Bass of Enid, to serve as Chairman of the Commission is well known as a specialist on Civil War history with a fine collection of Lincoln material, and has been a long-time member of the National Civil War Round Table; Col. George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, is well known for his writing and activities in the field of State History; Hon. Jenkin Lloyd Jones is prominent as Editor of *The Tulsa Tribune*; Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, serves as Secretary of the Centennial Commission. Dr. Charles Evans now retired and for many years connected with the administration of the Historical Society was appointed Chairman Emeritus of the Commission.

The other honored members of this Commission named by Governor Edmondson are: Dr. Rob Roy McGregor of the History Department, Oklahoma City University; Dr. Leroy Fischer and Dr. Homer L. Knight, both of the Department of History, Oklahoma State University; Dr. A. M. Gibson, writer on Oklahoma historical subjects and archival director in the Department of History of the University of Oklahoma; and Dr. Charles C. Bush, authority and writer on American military history, of the Department of History in the University of Oklahoma.

All the appointments to the Centennial Commission by Governor Edmondson extend to January 13, 1963. Centennial commemoration plans now underway through the Oklahoma Historical Society include the marking of the Civil War battlefields in the state and restoration work on some important historic sites of the period. The Annual Tours of the Historical Society during the Centennial years will point up events of the Civil War and will visit the sites where they took place in Oklahoma.

RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

The following list compiled by Mrs. Edith Mitchell, Cataloger, gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of Oklahoma Historical Society, from July 1, 1959 to July 1, 1960.

- Abernethy, Byron R. *Private Elisha Stockwell, Jr. . . . Civil War*. Norman, Oklahoma: University Press, 1958. 210 pp.
- Adams, Ramon F. *A Fitting Death For Billy the Kid*. Norman, Oklahoma: University Press, 1960. 310 pp.
- Adams, Ramon F. *The Rampaging herd . . .*. Norman: University Press, 1959. 463 pp.
- Adams, William B. and Martha L. *and descendants*, by Morrow and Hays. Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, 1958. 180 pp.
- Addington, Henry U. *Residence in U. S. A., 1822-1825*. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. 115 pp.
- Alabama Historical Quarterly, 1956, 1957. Wetumpka, Ala. Printing Company. Vols. 18, 19.
- American Genealogical - Biographical Index, 1959. Middleton, Conn. Churchill - Clark. Fremont Rider, Editor.
- American Heritage . . . *Book of the Pioneer Spirit*. New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1959. 393 pp.
- American Jewish Historical Society. *Publications*, 1956, 1957. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Vols. 46, 47.
- American Library Directory. 1960. New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1105 pp.
- Americana Annual . . . *events of 1959*. Washington, D. C., 1960. 912 pp.
- Ames, Judge Charles Bismark, 1870-1935. *Memorials* by friends.
- A. F. & A. M. Official Proceedings, 1959, 1960. Guthrie, Okla.
- Anthony, William Bruce III. *Wesley I. Nunn—a thesis*. Norman, Okla.: Published by friends, 1959. 110 pp.
- Arderly, Mrs. William B. *Kentucky records . . .* Baltimore, Md.: Southern Book Company, 1958. 206 pp.
- Arese, Count Francesco. *A Trip to the prairies . . . 1837-1938*. New York: The Harbor Press, 1934. 217 pp.
- Arkansas Historical Quarterly, 1958. Van Buren, Arkansas: Historical Association. Vol. 17, 401 pp.
- Armstrong, George W. *Memoirs . . .* Austin, Texas: The Steck Company, 1958. 414 pp.
- Bacon and allied families—a family directory. Culver City, California: Murray and Gee. 1958. 370 pp.
- Bakeless, John. *Turncoats and heroes*. Philadelphia and New York: Lipincott Company, 1959. 406 pp.
- Barker, Burt Brown. *The McLoughlin Empire . . .* Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Company, 1959. 376 pp.
- Bass, Henry B. and John H. *Metho-dism in Enid*. Oklahoma City: Semco Color Press, 1959. 54 pp.
- Beebe, Lucius and Clegg, Charles. *U. S. West The Saga of Wells Fargo*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1949. 320 pp.
- Betzinez, Jason & Nye, W. S. *I fought with Geronimo*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Company.
- Bird, Isabella L. *A Lady's life in the Rocky Mountains*. Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. 252 pp.
- Blodgett, Harold William. *Samson Occom*. Hanover. N. H.: Dartmouth College, 1935. 230 pp.
- Blough, Roger M. *Free man and the Corporation*. New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1959. 126 pp.
- Blum and Blum, Compilers. *The Baylis family of Virginia*. Washington. D. C., 1958. 669 pp.
- Boatner, Mark Mayo. *The Civil War dictionary*. New York: David McKay, 1959. 974 pp.
- Bossu, Mr. *Travels through North America, called Louisiana*. London: Printed for T. Davies, 1771. 2 vols.
- Braddock's defeat. Charles Hamilton, Editor. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 134 pp.
- Brent, Millard Doan. *History of Dodd City, Texas* (Thesis) Dodd City High School, 1959. 22 pp.
- Brisbin, Gen. James S. *The Beef Bonanza . . .* new ed. Norman:

- University of Oklahoma Press, 1959, 208 pp.
- Butterfield Overland Mail in Arkansas. Little Rock: Arkansas Historical Commission, 1957. 16 pp.
- Calhoun, John Caldwell. *The Papers of . . . 1801-1817*. Columbia, South Carolina: University Press, 1959. 469 pp.
- Cameron, Viola Root, Compiler. *Emigrants from Scotland to America, 1774-75*. Baltimore: Southern Book Co., 1959. 117 pp.
- Canadian Historical Review. Toronto, Canada. 1958. 372 pp.
- Carroll, Thomas B. *Historical sketches of Oktibbeha County, Miss.* Gulfport, Mississippi: The Dixie Press, 1931. 263 pp.
- Carter, Clarence E. *Territorial papers of the United States*. Washington, D. C., 1959.
- Carter, Capt. Robert G. *The Old Sergeant's story . . . 1870-76*. New York: F. H. Hitchcock, 1926. 220 pp.
- Catholic Historical Review. John Tracy Ellis, Editor. Washington, D. C., 1958. Vol. 44. 544 pp.
- Catlin, George. *Life among the Indians and last rambles*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 357 pp.
- Catton, Bruce. *Grant moves South*. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1960. 564 pp.
- Chickasaw Nation. *Constitution, laws and treaties, 1832-1866*. Parsons, Kansas: Foley Ry. Print. Co., 1899. 549 pp.
- Chittenden, Hiram Martin. *American fur trade of the Far West*. Stanford, Calif., 1954. 2 Vols.
- Clark, Thomas D. *The Ante Bellum South, 1825-1860*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 406 pp.
- Cleaves, Freeman. *Meade of Gettysburg*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. 384 pp.
- Collins, Carr P. *Collins genalogy*. Dallas, Texas, 1959. 297 pp.
- Colorado Magazine, 1955-1958. Denver, Colo. Colorado Historical Society. 2 Vols.
- Colton, Ray C. *Civil War in the Western Territories*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 230 pp.
- Connelley, William Elsey. *Quantrill and the border wars*. New York: Pageant Book Company, 1956. 542 pp.
- Connelley, William L. *The Oil business as I saw it*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. 177 pp.
- Constitution and Enabling Act of Oklahoma. R. L. Williams, Annotator. Kansas City, Missouri: Pipes-Reed Book Co., 1912.
- Cooke, John Esten. *Wearing of the Gray*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1959. 572 pp.
- Corwin, Hugh D. *Comanche and Kiowa captives in Oklahoma and Texas*. Guthrie, Okla.: Co-Op. Publishing Company, 1959. 237 pp.
- Cotner, Robert C. *James Stephen Hogg*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959. 617 pp.
- The Countryman Book . . .* J. W. R. Scott, Editor. Long Acre, London: Oldman's Press, 1948. 308 pp.
- Crocker, George N. *Roosevelt's Road to Russia*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1959. 312 pp.
- Crow Indian Beadwork . . . New York: Heye Foundation, 1959. 55 pp.
- Dale, Edward E. *Frontier Ways; Life in the Old West*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959. 265 pp.
- Davis, Bailey Fulton. *Amherst County, Virginia, 1761-1765*. Amherst Court House, Deed Book A. 50 pp.
- Davis, Burke. *To Appomattox, nine April days, 1865*. New York: Rinehart & Company, 1959. 433 pp.
- Delaguna, Frederica *Story of a Tlingit community . . .* U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 172. 254 pp.
- Deuel, Thorne. *American Indian ways of life . . .* Springfield, Ill. 1958. 76 pp.
- DeVoto, Bernard Augustine. *Across the Wide Missouri . . .* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1947. 481 pp.
- Donohe, Rev. Thomas. *The Iroquois and the Jesuits*. Buffalo, New York: Catholic Publishing Company, 1895. 276 pp.
- Doolin, John B. *Field, Forest and Stream in Oklahoma*. Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-Op. Publishing Company, 1912. 159 pp.
- Drake, Samuel Adams *Border wars of New England . . .* New York: C. Scribner's Sons. 1897. 305 pp.

- Driggs, Howard R. *The Old West speaks*. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. 1956. 220 pp.
- Dyk, Anne. *Mixteco texts*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. 243 pp.
- Edwards, William B. *Story of Colt's revolver*. . . Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1957. 470 pp.
- Edwards, William Hopple. *Genealogical and ancestral notes*. Ser. 2 *Ancestors of Mary E. Billard*. Meridan, Conn., 1959. 204 pp.
- Embry, John. *The Namic philosophy*. Oklahoma City: Utterbach Company, 1951. 225 pp.
- Emerson, Ellen Russell. *Indian myths*. London: Trubner & Company, 1884. 677 pp.
- Essex Institute. *Historical collections*, 1958. Salem, Mas. 403 pp.
- Ewers, John Canfield. *Blackfeet raiders on the Northwest plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. 349 pp.
- Ewing, Cortez A. M. *Presidential elections—A. Lincoln to F. D. Roosevelt*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. 226 pp.
- Ford, James Alfred. *Eskimo prehistory . . . Alaska*. New York, 1959. 272 pp.
- Fothergill, Gerald, Compiler. *Emigrants from England, 1773-1776*. Boston: New England Historical-Genealogical Society, 1913. 206 pp.
- Frantz, Joe Bertram. *The American cowboy; the myth and the reality*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press. 1955. 232 pp.
- Freed, Stanley A. *Changing Washo kinship*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. (Anthropological records. V. 14, no. 6).
- Georgia Historical Society. *Quarterly*, 1958. Savannah. v. 42. 454 pp.
- Giles, Janice Holt. *Johnny Osage*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1960. 313 pp.
- Goetzmann, William H. *Army exploration in American West, 1803-'63*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959. 509 pp.
- Golden, Virginia Noble. *History of Tallassee for Tallasseeans*. Tallassee Mills of Mount Vernon-Woodbury Mills, 1949. 75 pp.
- Goodspeed's *History of Southeast Missouri*. . . Cape Girardeau: Ramfree Press, 1955. 1215 pp.
- Gordon, Colonel H. R. *Logan, the Mingo*. . . story of the frontier. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1902. 337 pp.
- Graham and Wedgwood. New York: John B. Watkins Company. 1948. 118 pp.
- Greater America—Essays in honor of H. E. Bolton*. by his students. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945. 723 pp.
- Gridley, Marion E., Editor. *Indians of Today*. Chicago: Towerton Press. 1960. 232 pp.
- Guttery, Mrs. John DeQueen. Compiler. *Guthrie-Guttery-Allied families*. Jasper, Alabama. 1956. 84 pp.
- Fundaburk, Emma Lila. *Southeastern Indians — Life portraits*. 1564-1860. Luverne, Alabama, 1958. 135 pp.
- Hafen, Leroy R. *Relations with the Indians of the Plains*. Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Company, 1959. 310 pp.
- Hafen, Leroy R. & Ann W. *Hand-carts to Zion, 1856-1860*. Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Company, 1960. 328 pp.
- Handbook of South American Indians*. Washington, D. C., 1959. (U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology. v. 7. 286 pp.
- Harrington, M. R. *The Ozark Bluff-Dwellers*. New York: Heye Foundation, 1960. Vol. 12, 185 pp.
- Harris, R. J., Editor. *Journal of Politics* 1957-58. Gainesville, Fla. Vols. 19, 20.
- Harrison. Walter Munford. *Log of the 45th*. Oklahoma City, 1941. 81 pp.
- Harvey, Winfield Scott. *Biography; Diaries; Correspondence*. 1868-1871.
- Hathaway, Benjamin. *The League of the Iroquois and others*. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Company. 1882. 319 pp.
- Headley, Joel Tyler. *Lives of Winfield Scott and Andrew Jackson*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1852. 341 pp.
- Henry, James. *Moravian life and character*. Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1859. 316 pp.
- Hertzog, Carl. *Some Southwestern trails*. El Paso, Tex., 1948.

- Heymen, Max L. *Prudent soldier . . . Major-General E. R. S. Canby*. Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Company, 1959. 418 pp.
- Hibbin, Frank C. *Prehistoric man in Europe*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1958. 317 pp.
- Hoffman, Charles Fenno. *Wild scenes in Forest and Prairie*. London: Richard Bentley, 1840. 2 vols. 292, 284 pp.
- Holy Bible*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Globe Bible Pub. Company, 1611. 1338 pp.
- Hoole, William Stanley, Ed. *Alabama Review . . .* 1958. vol. 11, 320 pp.
- Hudson, Arthur P. *Humor of the Old Deep South*. New York: McMillian Company, 1936. 548 pp.
- Hyde, George E. *Indians of the High Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 231 pp.
- Indiana Historical Society. *Magazine of History*, 1958. Bloomington, Indiana. Vol. 54. 425 pp.
- Indiana Pioneers Society. *Year Book*, 1959. Indianapolis. 146 pp.
- Indians of the Plains*, by American Heritage Editors. New York, 1960. 1960. 152 pp.
- Iowa State Historical Society. *Almanac*, 1860 (Reprint) Iowa City. 35 pp.
- Iowa State Historical Society. *Iowa Journal of History*, 1958. Iowa City. Vol. 56. 384 pp.
- Iowa State Historical Society. *The Palimpsest*, 1958 Iowa City. Vol. 39. 564 pp.
- Iowa State Department of History and Archives. *Annals of Iowa*, 1957-1959. Des Moines, Iowa. Vol. 34, 642 pp.
- Jackson, Grace. *Cynthia Ann Parker*. San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1959. 138 pp.
- Jackson, William Henry. *Diaries*, 1866-1874. Edited by Hafen & Hafen. Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark Company, 1959. 345 pp.
- Jameson & Sunderland. *History of American Bar Association . . .* c1953. 251 pp.
- Johnson, Hunter L. *The Natural Government of Mankind*. New York: Comet Press Books, 1956. 388 pp.
- Johnson, Rossitor. *A History of the French War*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1882. 374 pp.
- Johonnot, James. *Neighbors with wings and fins*. New York: American Book Company, 1885. 229 pp.
- Kansas Historical Society. *Quarterly*, 1958. Topeka, Kansas. Vol. 24. 506 pp.
- Kentucky Historical Society. *Register*, 1957, 1958. Louisville, Ky.
- Kentucky pension roll*. U. S. Secretary of War, 1959.
- Kentucky Year Book*, 1917. Society of Colonial Wars. Wash., D. C.
- Kilman, Edward W. *Cannibal Coast*. San Antonio: Naylor Company, 1959. 294 pp.
- King, J. Estelle Stewart. *Abstract of wills . . .* Fairfax County, Virginia. 1742-1801. Baltimore: Southern Book Co., 1959. 117 pp.
- King of Great Britain. *Proclamation sciling Plantation of Virginia* Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1625. 39 pp. (reprint).
- Knoll, Robert E. *Robert McAlmon, expatriate publisher and writer*. Lincoln: Nebraska University, 1957. 89 pp.
- Knorr, Catherine L. *Marriages of Orange County, Va., 1747-1810*. Pine Bluff, Arkansas: Perdue Company, 1959. 122 pp.
- Knowles, Ruth S. *The Greatest gamblers*. New York. McGraw-Hill Company, 1959. 346 pp.
- Kraenzel, Carl F. *The Great Plains in transition*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. 428 pp.
- Langer, William L. *Our Vichy gamble*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. 412 pp.
- Lavender, David. *Bent's Fort*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1954. 450 pp.
- Layne, J. Gregg. *Western wayfaring routes . . .* Los Angeles, Calif. 1954. 63 pp.
- (The) *Leisure hour*. A family journal . . . London, 1865. Vol. 14, 828 pp.
- Leonard, Zenas. *Adventures . . .* Edited by John C. Ewers. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 172 pp.
- Lewis, Anna. *Chief Pushmataha, American patriot . . .* New York: Exposition Press, 1959. 204 pp.
- Long, John Davis. *Resolutions and addresses*. Boston, 1916. 18 pp.
- Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac*, 1813. Natchez: Cramer & Co. 72 pp.

- Marquis, James *The Cherokee Strip* . . . New York: The Viking Press, 1945. 294 pp.
- Maryland Historical Society . . . *Magazine*. 1958. Baltimore. Vol. 53. 452 pp.
- Massachusetts General Court. *Manual* . . . 1959-60. Boston. 791 pp.
- Massachusetts Historical Society. *Proceedings* 1953-1957. Boston. Vol. 71, 557 pp.
- Matthews, Sallie R. *Interwoven: A Pioneer Chronicle*. El Paso, Tex.: Carl Hertzog, 1958. 226 pp.
- McCracken, Harold. *George Catlin and the Old Frontier*. New York: Dial Press, 1959. 216 pp.
- McDermott, John Francis. *George Caleb Bingham. River Portraitist*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 454 pp.
- McGraw, James Joseph . . . in appreciation by friends. Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1928.
- McMurtrie, Douglas C. *Mississippi Imprints, 1798-1830*. Beauvoir, Miss.: The Book Farm, 1945. 168 pp.
- McNess, W. H. *William and Jane McCormick McNees*. Imperial, Pennsylvania, 1942-1959. 738 pp.
- Men of Affairs* . . . *Institutions of Oklahoma*. Tulsa: World Publishing Company, 1916.
- Michigan History Commission. *Michigan History*. Lansing, Michigan, 1956, 1957, 1958.
- Michigan Pioneer Historical Society. *Collections*. Lansing, 1886. 695 pp.
- Milfort, Louis. *Memoirs* . . . *my travels in the Creek Nation, 1775-1802*. Kennesaw, Georgia: Continental Cook Co., 1959. 230 pp.
- Miller, J. K. P. *Diary* . . . Edited by Andrew F. Rolle. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. 143 pp.
- Millspaugh, Francis C., Compiled. *Melsbach-Millspaugh* . . . Swampscott, Mass., 1959. 312 pp.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Association. *Historical Review*, 1957, 1958, 1959. Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- Missouri S. A. R., *Society of*, 1901-1903. St. Louis: Woodward & Tierman Print Company. 232 pp.
- Missouri Historical Society. *Bulletin*. 1958.
- Missouri Historical Society—Jefferson Memorial. *Collections*. 1928-1931. St. Louis, Missouri.
- Monaghan, Jay. *The Life of General George Custer*. Boston: Little-Brown & Company, 1959. 469 pp.
- Montgomery County Story, 1776-1957*. Charles W. Crush, Editor & Compiler. Jamestown, 1957. 167 pp.
- Moore, Powell A. *The Calumet Region* . . . Indiana Historical Bureau, 1959. 654 pp.
- Morgan, Dick Thompson. *Memorial addresses* . . . U.S. 66th Congress, 1921. 41 pp.
- Murphy, Edmund R. *Henry D. Tonty, Fur trader of the Mississippi*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1941.
- National Safety Council. *Safety in the 60s*. Chicago, 1959. 433 pp.
- Neal, Clark B., Comp. *Leonard Shoun . . . and descendants*. Olympia, Washington, 1957. 259 pp.
- Nebraska Historical Society. *History Quarterly*, 1958. Lincoln, Nebraska. 394 pp.
- Neff, Lewis Edwin, compiled. *May-lower descendants in Oklahoma*. Oklahoma City: Semco Color Press, 1959. 174 pp.
- Neilson, William P. *The Doctor was here*. Guthrie, Oklahoma: Co-Op Publishing Company, n.d. 121 pp.
- New Age Magazine*. 1957. 1958. Washington, D. C.
- New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1957. 364 pp.
- New Jersey Historical Society. *Proceedings* . . . 1958. New Ark, N. J. 315 pp.
- New Mexico Historical Society. *Historical Review*, 1958. 342 pp.
- New York State Historical Association. *New York History*. Coopers-town, 1958. 406 pp.
- Noback, Charles R. *The Heritage of the human brain*. New York: American Museum of Natural History. 1959. 30 pp.
- North Carolina State Department Archaeology & History. *Historical Review*, 1958. Raleigh, N. C. 557 pp.
- Northwestern Ohio Historical Society. *Quarterly*. 1957-58. Toledo, Ohio. 222 pp.
- Ohio Historical Society. *Quarterly*, 1958. Columbus, O. 420 pp.
- Oklahoma Historical Society. *Chronicles*. 1958. 500 pp.
- Oklahoma and Mid-Continent Oil Field*. James O. Jones Co., Com-

- plers. Oklahoma Biographical Association. 1930. 500 pp.
- Oklahoma 27th Legislature. Official Session Laws, 1959. 541 pp. ,
- Olds, Fred A. *North Carolina wills, 1760-1800*. Baltimore: Southern Book Company. 1954. 330 pp.
- Order of Eastern Star of Oklahoma. *Proceedings of the "Golden Milestone Session"* Grand Chapter. Guthrie, 1958. 368 pp.
- Oregon Historical Society. *Quarterly*, 1957. Portland. 462 pp.
- Paget, Amelia M. *The People of the Plains*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 199 pp.
- Panhandle Plains Historical Society. *Historical Review*, 1958. Canyon, Texas. 125 pp.
- Pauline Young Genealogical Society. *Equity records of old 96 and Abbeville District*. Liberty, South Carolina, 1957. 100 pp.
- Pender, Seamus M. A., Editor. *A Census of Ireland . . . 1659*.
- Pennsylvania Historical Society. *Magazine of History and Biography*, 1958. Philadelphia. 532 pp.
- Pfeiler, William Karl. *German literature in exile . . .* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1957. 142 pp.
- Plaut, W. Gunther. *The Jews in Minnesota*. New York: American-Jewish Historical Society, 1959. 347 pp.
- Poppino, Hattie E. *Jackson County, Missouri. Census 1830, 1840, 1850*. Kansas City, Missouri, 1959.
- Postage Stamps of the United States, 1847-1957*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957. 248 pp.
- Powell, Donald M. *The Peralta Grant*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. 186 pp.
- Preece, Harold. *Living pioneers; epic of the West*. Cleveland, N. Y.: World Publishing Company, 1952. 317 pp.
- Presbyterian Historical Society. *Journal of History*, 1957, 1958. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
- Preuss, Charles. *Exploring with Fremont . . . Diaries*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1958. 162 pp.
- Prichard, James A. *Overland Diary . . . from Kentucky to California, 1849*. F. A. Rosenstock: Old West Pub. Co., 1959. 221 pp.
- Pulos, C. E. *The New Critics and Language of Poetry*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1958. 93 pp.
- Rachlis, Eugene & Ewers, J. C. *Indians of the Plains*. New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1960. 153 pp.
- Read, William A. *Louisiana-French*. Baton Rouge: State University Press. 1931. 253 pp.
- Renas, Tyrell (Mrs. Max) Compiler. *Oklahoma Lock Stock and Barrel*. Published by the Comanche News c1957. 85 pp.
- Rider, Fremont, Editor. *American Genealogical-Biographical Index*. 2nd Ser. Middleton, Conn., 1960. 2 vols.
- Roscoe, Theodore. *The Web of Conspiracy*. Englewood Cliffs. N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1959. 562 pp.
- Sandoz, Mari. *Hostiles and Frendlies . . .* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959. 250 pp.
- Santovenia, E. S. *Memorial Book . . . Maine Plaza at Havana*. La Havana, Cuba, 1928. 199 pp.
- Schmitt, Martin F. *General George . . . Crook — Autobiography*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. 326 pp.
- Scott, Angelo Cyrus. *History of Men's Dinner Club*. Oklahoma City: Travel-Taylor Company, 1959. 113 pp.
- Scott, Sir Walter. *The Lady of the Lake*—a poem in 16 cantos. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1842. 428 pp.
- Sloan, Alfred P. . . . *Foundation*, Inc. 1955-'56. New York. 63 pp.
- Smith, Geraldine M. Thesis—*Violence on the Seminole Nation Border*. (The Mont Ballard Case.) Norman, Oklahoma. 1957. 121 pp.
- Smith, Joseph Lindon. *Tombs Temples, and Ancient Art*. Norman, Okla.: Univtrsrty Press, 1956. 349 pp.
- Smith, Robert N., Jr. *Genealogy—Story-Price-Rascoe-Smith . . . 1725-1959*. Harlington. Texas, 1959.
- Southern Historical Association. *Journal of Southern History*. Baton Rouge, La., 1958. 565 pp.
- Southwestern Bell Telephone Company. *Economic Survey of Oklahoma*. St. Louis, Missouri, 1929. 267 pp.
- Stewart, Dora Ann. *Government and Development of Oklahoma Terri-*

- tory. Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933. 434 pp.
 Stillwell, John E. *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*. New York. 1903-1916. 4 vols.
 Strode, Hudson. *Jefferson Davis Confederate President*. New York: Harcourt-Brace & Co., 1959. 556 pp.
 Sunder, John E. *Bill Sublette, Mountain Man*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 279 pp.
 Taft, Robert. *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900*, New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1953. 381 pp.
 Tait, Galen L. *Western pioneering*. Baltimore, Maryland: King Bros., 1952. 58 pp.
 Tennessee Historical Society. *Historical Quarterly*, 1957. Nashville, Tenn. 379 pp.
 Texas State Historical Association. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 1958-'59. Austin, Texas. 616 pp.
 Tolbert, Frank X. *The Day of San Jacinto*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959. 261 pp.
 Toole, K. Ross. *Montana, an uncommon land*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 278 pp.
 U. S. Biographical Dictionary . . . Missouri volume. New York: U.S. Publishing Company, 1878.
 U. S. Department of Interior. *Index to Indian documents*. vols. 1-52. Washington, D. C.
 U. S. Librarian of Congress. *Annual Report*. Washington, D. C., 1960.
 U. S. State Department. *Nazi-Soviet relations*. 1939-1941. Washington, D. C., 1948. 362 pp.
 Utah University. *Western Humanities Review*. 1958. Salt Lake City. 398 pp.
 Vaught, Elsa, Editor. *Diary of an unknown soldier* . . . 1862. Van
 Vermont Historical Society. *Vermont History*. 1958. Burlington, Vt. 319 pp.
 Buren, Arkansas: Press-Argus Company, 1959. (in MS file).
 Virginia Historical Society. *Magazine of History* . . . Richmond, Va., 1958. 563 pp.
 Walworth, Ellen H. *Kateri Tehakwitha, Lily of the Mohawks*, 1956-1680. Buffalo: Peter Paul & Bro., 1893. 314 pp.
 Waring, Antonio J. *Laws of the Creek Nation*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960. 27 pp.
 Warner, Ezra J. *Generals in Gray* . . . Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. 420 pp.
 Warp, Harold, Compiler. *A History of Mans Progress*, 1930. Minden. Nebraska, 1960. 367 pp.
 Wedel, Waldo R. . . . *Kansas Archaeology* . . . Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1959. 723 pp.
 West Virginia. State Department of Archives and History. *Quarterly Magazine*, 1957-'58. Charleston. S. C. 413 pp.
 Wheat, Carl Irving. *Mapping the Mississippi West, 1540-1861*. San Francisco, 1959. 349 pp.
 White, Margaret Bourke. *Eyes on Russia*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1931. 135 pp.
Who's Who in the South and Southwest. Chicago: Marquis & Company, 1956, 1959.
Who's Who in America. Chicago: Marquis & Company, 1960-'61.
Who's Who in Commerce and Industry. Chicago. Marquis & Company, 1955. 1225 pp.
Who's Who in Government. New York: Biographical Research Bureau, 1930. 800 pp.
Who's Who in Oklahoma City. Lucke, Ray W., Editor. Oklahoma City: Mid-Continent, Publisher, 1931. 120 pp.
 Wilmer, Lambert A. *Ferdinand De Soto* . . . Philadelphia: J. T. Lloyd, 1858. 532 pp.
 Winfrey, Dorman H. *Texas Indian papers, 1825-1843*. Austin, Texas: State Library, 1959. 298 pp.
The World Almanac—Book of facts. New York: World Telegram, 1960. 896 pp.
 Wortley, Emmeline Stuart. *Travels in the United States, 1849-'50*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1851. 463 pp.
 Wright, Richardson. *Hawkers and Walkers in early America* . . . Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1927. 317 pp.
 Wythe, Major George. *A History of the 90th Division, 1920*. 257 pp.
 Ziegler, Donald J. *Prelude to Democracy* . . . 1871-1920. Lincoln: Nebraska University, 1958. 134 pp.

BOOK REVIEW

The Story of Tullahassee. By Althea Bass. (The Semco Color Press, Inc., Oklahoma City, 1960. Pp. viii, 273. Illustrations, index, and map. \$5.00.)

Althea Bass has made a contribution to Oklahoma history in her new book, *The Story of Tullahassee*, using as she has many hitherto unpublished letters and records relating to this mission among the Creek people in the Indian Territory. There have been several historical accounts written on the founding and the work at Tullahassee, and there have been biographical sketches of the Reverend William Schenck Robertson who devoted his life to the Mission yet too often has the significance of the great work been lost in generalities that bear upon the program of Indian civilization and education undertaken by the churches under the sponsorship of the United States Government. Here in Mrs. Bass's story we have real scenes and people who were a part of them eighty to one hundred years ago and more, 1849 to 1881, a period that included the Civil War and its aftermath when life in the Indian Territory saw many changes.

As the Centennial of the Civil War begins a review of this tragic period throughout the United States, a period in which the Indian Territory had a strategic place, four chapters in *The Story of Tullahassee* become significant reading. "Wars and Rumors of Wars" reveals the far reaching work of the abolition movement in the American Board for Foreign Missions with the withdrawal of its support of missions among the southern Indian nations. Another chapter "An Obscure Story of the Civil War" tells some of the details of the disaster and heartbreak experienced by those who remained around Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation swept by bitter partisanship among the Indian people and cruel raids. "Exile and Return" recounts the return of the Robertson family from the North, at the end of the conflict to old Tullahassee and the scars of the War seen in the Creek Nation. The chapter "Troublesome Times" reviews the days of deprivation that preceded the reopening of the Mission and the obstacle courageously and cheerfully overcome by the deep spiritual force of that great man, William S. Robertson and his devoted family leading out toward recovery and a new way of life for their beloved Indian friends, the Creeks.

Everyone who is interested in any phase of history on Oklahoma should read *The Story of Tullahassee* for it gives scenes of life and delineations of character and descriptions

of personalities found in no other book. The reader will be abreast of the times finding much relating to the period of the Civil War, the centennial of which begins in 1961 with a five-year commemorative program.

The format of this book on Tullahassee is neat and attractive. Footnote citations of source materials used throughout the text, together with a section of fine prints from rare old photographs and other illustrative materials authenticate this beautifully written story by Althea Bass.

Frontier Ways. By Edward Everett Dale. (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1959. Pp. xiv, 265. Illustrations, Index. \$4.50.)

Here are fascinating sketches of the people that made up the van of American settlement in the West, how they came to this part of the country, how they met new conditions, how they overcame their problems, all told in a vein of lively humor yet with the sure authority of Dr. Dale who is widely and well known as the Dean of Historians on the life of the old-time cowboy and pioneer settler on the western prairies.

The necessity of providing food and shelter on the High Plains brought a new way of life from that found in the eastern woodlands, described in the chapters "Log Cabin to Sod House" and "Food on the Frontier" with some thought-revealing anecdotes showing up the calibre of those facing new problems. There were grim hardships, there were death and sadness but descriptions under the heading "The Social Homesteader" point out, too, social pleasure of a kind and relaxation that helped keep the spirit high and zestful. With due respect for all the good work of the Christian churches—usually Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian—far from the old settlements, even the chapter on "The Old Time Religion" is amusing.

In "Frontier Medical Practices," the author says that it is quite true the American pioneers were a vigorous and hardy breed, partly because the weaklings did not live long under conditions of frontier life, "but human beings were subject to ailments and diseases that afflict them today," plus others that were the result of the manner of living. These were the days when some people in the far away country were confident that a mole's foot tied to a string around a baby's neck made teeth cutting easy, or that a buckeye carried in a man's pocket warded off rheumatism. A "mad dog" scare caused the greatest excitement in any community, and the one sure cure if bitten by a "mad" animal (few knew the term *rabies*) was the application of a "mad stone" which someone living twenty or thirty miles away might own. Different teas made at home such as ginger tea, sage tea, rhubarb tea and other teas made from

"red root," oak bark or even sheep droppings were the panacea for general "puniness" in children as well as for the serious digestive upset known as "summer complaint" which, after long months between seasons with no fresh fruit or vegetables to eat, was suffered by youngsters in early summer when they stuffed themselves on green apples, green peaches, green plums, green grapes or green melons and vegetables. Among several patent medicines bought at the local drug store, Castoria was wonderful for children, and grown-ups had surcease from their ills by taking a number of remedies such as Peruna, Swamp Root or Wine of Cardui. In the dugout or the box-house homes, there was perhaps a bottle of "Dr. X's Marvelous Elixer" dispensed at the "medicine show" on the street of the western village, in which the traveling doctor on a truck drawn by white horses in silver mounted harness, with two or three Negro comedians playing a banjo or guitar or violin, began his speech: "Ladies and Gentlemen: I am traveling about the country trying to bring aid to suffering humanity. We have not come here this evening to sell you anything but only to have a good time—" Then one of the comedians would interrupt, "Yum, yum, ain't we a-gwine hab a *good time!*" Other stories throughout the pages of this chapter on early day medical practices are laughable yet are a real part of social history of the American people in the West.

The last chapter in the book is about "Old Navajoe," giving nostalgic memories of this "typical frontier town" that has now vanished but once flourished in the prairie near the tallest peak of the Navajo Mountains in Southwestern Oklahoma.

No other than Dr. Dale, a native son of Texas, who came with his parents when he was a lad to live in Old Greer County, could have written first hand as he has on the cowboy and the pioneer families who lived on this frontier. Everyone, even the historian who is familiar with the story of the American West, should read *Frontier Ways*.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Almanac and State Encyclopedia Edited by H. L. Fitzpatrick. (Oklahoma Almanac, Inc. Norman, 1960. Pp. 561. \$2.00.)

The 1961 edition of the Oklahoma Almanac has half again as many pages as had the previous edition; and it is packed full of useful, vital, and also much interesting and worthwhile information. To truly render a service, an almanac should be able to do just what its name implies: that is, have between its covers information on about anything ever needful relating to the subject. This book certainly accomplishes that intended

purpose. Statistics, data, tables and all manner of charts and figures provide information on everything from sales tax collections and football scores to agricultural yields. The State parks are allocated a generous number of pages, complete with photographs and interesting descriptions. Oklahoma history comes in for its fair share of attention. Even cattle brands receive several pages. How all this may be done with such a minimum of advertising is remarkable. In all events, regardless of how, it has been done; and anyone with even a remote interest in Oklahoma and its facts and figures would be the loser without a copy for ready reference. The genial editor, H. L. Fitzpatrick, is to be commended for a job extremely well done.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, QUARTER ENDING JULY 28, 1960

On Thursday July 28, 1960, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in regular quarterly meeting at the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. The meeting was called to order at 10:00 a.m. by President George H. Shirk.

The following members answered roll call: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Kelly Brown, Judge J. G. Clift, Dr. E. E. Dale, Exall English, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, Joe W. McBride, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, and George H. Shirk. Absent members were: Henry B. Bass, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Joe W. Curtis, T. J. Harrison, Judge R. A. Hefner, J. Lloyd Jones, R. G. Miller, Dr. J. D. Morrison, Miss Genevieve Seger, and Judge Baxter Taylor.

A motion was made by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Judge Johnson that all members who had formally presented a request to be excused from the meeting be so excused. Motion was adopted.

Mr. Muldrow moved the approval of the minutes of the previous meeting with the motion being seconded by Mrs. Bowman. This motion was put and adopted.

It was reported by Mr. Fraker that within the past quarter six new life members and forty-one new annual members had made application for membership. He also presented a list of gifts to the Society. Dr. Harbour moved that the gifts be accepted and the applicants for membership enrolled. Mrs. Korn seconded the motion, which was unanimously approved.

Pursuant to authorization made by the Board of Directors at its previous meeting, Mr. Fraker presented his survey of the Fort Gibson properties owned by the Society. Mr. Fraker read his mimeographed report, copies of which were given to each Board member.

In commenting on the Fort Gibson situation, Mr. Brown said he greatly appreciated the work done by Mr. Fraker in making the survey and that he concurred in the recommendations contained therein. He said that as a resident of Muskogee County he desired to thank the Board for authorizing the survey.

In further commenting on his report, the Administrative Secretary said that it was his opinion that the Oklahoma Historical Society should get its Fort Gibson properties in first class condition before calling on other agencies to improve the Fort Gibson facilities under their respective control.

Dr. Harbour moved that the President of the Society be authorized to arrange for the implementing of the recommendations made in the Administrative Secretary's report concerning the Fort Gibson properties. This motion was seconded by Dr. Johnson and adopted by the Board. The report thus adopted is made a part of these minutes and attached hereto.

Dr. James B. Shaeffer of the University of Oklahoma was introduced by President Shirk. Dr. Shaeffer stated he had brought maps of Fort Washita for the members to see. He stated he did not realize when he first went to Fort Washita how much there was to the area involved. He said his group mapped about eighty-six structures of which approximately fifty are foundations, which if cleaned of brush and undergrowth could be seen.

In further discussing his work at the Fort Washita site, Dr. Shaeffer said that two of the buildings are still standing and in fair condition. On the other hand, he said, some of the buildings shown on the old official maps have completely disappeared. He said that excavations made reveal foundations and other evidences of such buildings.

Dr. Shaeffer commented that he did not feel it advisable to begin excavations at this time. He said that until a large scale operation could be arranged, the results of any excavation work would be of little value. It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mr. Muldrow that the recommendations of Dr. Shaeffer be accepted and that he be commended for a job well done for the Society. The motion was put and carried.

In making the Treasurer's report Mrs. Bowman stated that the Society has two accounts in the First National Bank and Trust Company. One of these accounts showed a balance, on June 30, of \$266.33. The other item, or Annual Tour Account, showed a balance of approximately \$15.00. She explained that this account is made up of moneys collected from those participating in the annual tour and that only a small balance is retained each year.

Mrs. Bowman reported there is \$5,528.32 in the Special Fund (Account 18) on deposit with the State Treasurer. The Revolving Fund (Account 200) also with the State Treasurer, showed a balance of \$3,870.94. She said that she wished to compliment Mrs. LaJeanne McIntyre for the efficient manner in which she handles the bookkeeping of the Society.

A report of the Life Membership Fund Committee was made by Mr. Muldrow, Chairman. Other members of the Committee are Judge Busby and Mr. Bass. Mr. Muldrow thanked President Shirk for helping him word the plan for funding life memberships.

The recommendations of the Membership Fund Committee as presented by Mr. Muldrow are:

1. An irrevocable Trust shall be set up by formal document, with the Executive Committee as the Trustees. Membership on the Board of Trustees would be ex-officio. The Administrative Secretary shall be a Trustee without vote as secretary of the Board. The Trust will have legal entity distinct from the Society.

2. As a Life Membership is received, 80% of it would be paid direct by the Applicant to the Trust, and 20% would be paid to the Society for its current budget.

3. All Life Memberships that have been pending without action since the inception of this study will be handled in the same manner.

4. All Life Memberships now in the Society would be funded by the Society transferring to the Trustees from the private funds the sum of \$25.00 each.

5. The Trustees shall invest the capital in Treasury Bills, U. S. Government, State of Oklahoma and its political subdivisions and agency bonds, and federally insured Savings and Loan Association deposits.

6. Semiannually, the Trustees shall turn to the Society for its general operating account all earnings on the Trust.

7. Annually on July 1, commencing with July 1, 1961, the Trustees shall pay to the Society from the Corpus of the Trust, in addition to the earnings, the sum of \$1.50 for each Life Member who had been on the rolls of the Society for one full year preceding that date.

8. The Trust may receive gifts or donations, which shall be added to the corpus of the Trust; and the Board may add other funds thereto at any time.

9. The Trustees shall operate under the supervision of the Board of Directors, and would return to the Board annual statements of account. No expenses, postage, mileage, salary, or other form of charge would ever be charged against the Trust Account.

Mr. Muldrow moved that the above plan be adopted as outlined in the report, and in the future the suggested plan be followed. After discussion and questions, Judge Clift seconded the motion which carried when put.

Reports of the Membership Committee, of which Judge Busby is Chairman, and the Portrait Committee, whose Chairman is Judge Hefner, were deferred due to the absence of both chairmen.

The Microfilm Committee report was made by Chairman Phillips. He said that considerable progress was being made in the microfilming work and he hoped that within the next quarter an assembly line operation would be working in that department. He said that in two and one-half years more than 2,400,000 pages of old and incoming newspapers had been microfilmed: 2,100,000 of which were old newspapers and 300,000 of current papers. He said that 774,900 pages had been microfilmed within the past twelve months. He pointed out that the microfilm operations had eliminated the necessity of binding current papers.

Mr. Phillips reported that a permanent microfilm archives vault was nearing completion in the basement of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. He said that the vault would enable the Society to file all of its own negative films. These are now being filed in vaults located in Dallas, Texas. He further stated that the vault would care for the storage of all Historical Society microfilming that might be done within the next one hundred or more years.

Mr. Phillips recommended that a policy be adopted whereby all old newspapers dated up to and through 1910 be retained after microfilming and that those printed since that time, after microfilming, be either returned to the newspaper publisher, local historical society, local library, or disposed of as scrap paper.

Dr. Wayne Johnson pointedly disagreed with the proposed policy of disposing of old newspapers. He maintained that newspapers, of themselves, were valuable historical documents.

The President reported that he had been in correspondence with Robert H. Bahmer, Esq., the Archivist of the United States, Washing-

ton, D. C., as to the policy of The National Archives in such matters, and suggested that the guide set by The National Archives would be of help to the Board in reaching a determination of the present question. He read a letter from Mr. Bahmer, stating that in cases where there is no inherent value in the document itself, destruction was made of original papers after microfilming. By way of example, Mr. Bahmer cited census schedules, Weather Bureau reports, Coast Guard casualty and wreck reports, files of the Soil Conservation Service, and certain files of the Department of Agriculture, as instances where the originals were destroyed after microfilming.

Dr. Dale emphasized the point that present newspaper print does not last very many years, but soon becomes brittle and disintegrates. He expressed the opinion that microfilm was the best method at present known for preserving records such as newspapers.

Attention was called by Mr. Phillips to the lack of space for continuing a program of binding newspapers. He said that at the present rate of incoming newspapers, the Society's newspaper facilities would soon be overflowing if binding newspapers was continued.

A motion was made by Mr. Mountcastle that the Microfilm Committee be authorized to dispose of all newspapers printed since December 31, 1910, after the same had been placed on microfilm. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow. Dr. Johnson moved that the motion be tabled, which was seconded by Dr. Harbour. The motion to table failed to carry. The vote on the original motion, made by Mr. Mountcastle, carried with two dissenting votes. These "no" votes were cast by Dr. Johnson and Dr. Harbour.

It was requested by Dr. Johnson that the minutes reflect his deep feeling in regard to his opposition to the action of the Board in authorizing the disposal of old newspapers. He said "I want posterity to know that I made an effort to preserve for it this priceless heritage which by action of the Board I feel was dissipated".

Chairman Phillips told the Board he and members of his Microfilm Committee were spending a very substantial amount of their own time, at their personal expense, to preserve these records on microfilm, emphasizing that was the only method by which they could be permanently preserved.

The upcoming Seminar on American Indian culture and western history, to be held at Anadarko beginning August 16 and extending through August 18, was announced by Judge Johnson. He said that the Seminar would be built around the role that Oklahoma, and particularly Indian people, had played in the War Between the States. He pointed out that Miss Muriel Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles*, is Director of the Seminar and that Mr. Joe McBride, member of the Board of Directors, is a sponsor of the Seminar. He said that on August 14 the statue of Jim Thorpe would be unveiled at the Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko. He also requested that the Society pay for the printing of the program for the Seminar.

Mrs. Korn moved that the Society pay for the printing of the Seminar programs. The motion was seconded by Mr. English and carried.

It was stated by Mrs. Korn that she thought Senator Elmer Thomas's talk at last year's Indian Hall of Fame was exceedingly good and that the Society should have a copy of it. She moved that the Society obtain a copy of former Senator Thomas's speech. The motion was seconded by Judge Johnson and carried when put.

Some discussion was held among the Board members relative to the building of a parking lot on the Historical Society grounds. President Shirk said that the committee which he had appointed in regard to the parking lot situation had not yet made any definite recommendations.

President Shirk called attention to the reprint of Dr. Chapman's "Oklahoma City, from Public Land to Private Property". He said that it is an excellent work on the history of Oklahoma City and that the price is \$1.25 a copy. He expressed the hope that there would be a wide distribution and sale of the reprint.

The President distributed to the Board copies of the Reprint of the Tribute to the late Judge Edgar S. Vaught that had appeared in the current issue of *The Chronicles*. He reported that the reprint had been made possible through the generosity of Mr. R. W. Robberson of Oklahoma City, and that the funds of the Society had not been used for the printing. Judge Clift moved that Mr. Robberson be commended for this tribute. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow, and upon a vote was adopted.

Judge Clift moved that the Oklahoma City Chapter of The Navy League of the United States and its officers be commended in a similar manner for the fine historical tribute in placing the anchor of the U. S. S. Oklahoma on permanent display; that Mr. and Mrs. B. D. Eddie be commended for their great contribution to the cultural life of Oklahoma City by providing the statue commemorating the Run of 1889 in Oklahoma City Civic Center; and that the State Federation of Business and Professional Women and the 45th Infantry Division Association be commended for the wonderful tribute to the 45th Division now erected as a permanent memorial to the heroic achievements of that unit and its officers and men. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow. An amendment to the motion was proposed by Mrs. Bowman that Honorary Membership Certificates be included with the letters of commendation. Both the maker and the second accepted the amendment as a part of the original motion, which was unanimously adopted when put.

Adjournment was moved by Judge Johnson and seconded by Mr. English. Motion was carried at 12:15 p.m.

(Signed) George H. Shirk,
President

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker,
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS PRESENTED—July 27, 1960

Library

"Cattle Brands of Texas"

Donor: First National Bank, Dallas, Texas

"The Norseman"

Donor: Embassy of Norway, Washington, D. C.

"U. S. S. R. Illustrated Monthly"

Donor: Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C.

The Baylis Family of Virginia by W. B. Blum and William Blum, Sr.

Donor: Dr. William Blum, Sr., Washington, D. C.

"Sixty-Six Years of Service for Humanity, Father Murrow and His Ninety Busy Years"

Donor: Lee A. McKinney, Choctaw

Storey-Price-Rascoe-Smith Family History, 1725-1959 by Robert Nelson Smith, Jr.

Donor: Dr. Robert Nelson Smith, Jr., Harlingen, Texas;
Darrell H. Rascoe, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

"Jacob Burkhardt and the Renaissance 100 Years After"

Donor: University of Kansas Library, Lawrence, Kansas
Bacon and Allied Families

Donor: Mrs. J. Dean Bacon, Pasadena, California

Program of "Oklahoma" presented in Ireland

Donor: Pat Brogan, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

History of Oklahoma by Wyatt and Rainey

Donor: Major General M. R. Tidwell, Jr., Wright-Patterson
Air Force Base, Ohio

Newspaper: "Oklahoma War Chief" November 27, 1884

Donor: George A. White, Florence, Arizona

"Miles Merwin Association Bulletin"

Donor: Charles L. Merwin, Washington, D.C.

3 clippings of "Indian News" by Chief Mohivod

1 Copy of cancellation stamp used at Oklahoma, Indian Territory before
opening in 1889

1 Copy of account of the beginning of the *Daily Oklahoman*

Donor: Claude E. Hensley, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

A History of the Men's Dinner Club, The First Half-Century 1908-1958

Donor: Errett R. Newby, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Doctor Was Here by William P. Neilson

Donor: William P. Neilson, Enid, Oklahoma

2 copies of the *Indiana History Bulletin*

"A Home in the Woods"

"The Buffalo Trace" by Wilson and Thornbrough

"Delaware Culture Chronology" by Vernon Kinietz

Donor: Mrs. Tessie Miller, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

"A History of the Cotton Industry in Lincoln County, Oklahoma
1891-1960" by George Dawson

Donor: Carney Dean, Chandler, Oklahoma

"The Oklahoma Odd Fellow" March 1921

Donor: Mrs. Bessie Baker, Ripley, Oklahoma

Dallas Morning News June 22, 1902

Donor: Mrs. George T. Norton, Ripley, Oklahoma

"Report of Oklahoma White House Conference on Children and Youth"

Donor: Ralph Hudson, Oklahoma State Library

"Guns" 1956

Donor: Mrs. Zoe Tilghman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Oklahomans and Their State

Donor: Jean Paul Lafayette, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

"Oklahoma Transportation"

Donor: Mrs. T. F. Gorman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Life of Napoleon—Atlas—by Baron Jomini

Donor: W. R. Withington, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MUSEUM:

Pictures:

W. F. & N. W. Railroad Depot

Bigheart Oil Field

Franklin, Oklahoma, March 8, 1914 (Two pictures)

Wilson, Oklahoma, March 8, 1914 (3 pictures)

McCann Oil Company, March 8, 1914 (2 pictures)

Donor: Major General M. R. Tidwell, Wright-Patterson Air
Force Base, Ohio

American Indian (framed) by Charles B. Wilson

Guthrie, 1907

Donor: Luther Williams, Tulsa, Oklahoma

- Oil portrait of Admiral Marc A. Mitscher
 Donor: Tom Mitscher, Oklahoma City
- Locomotive Engines (Ft. Smith & Western) (13 pictures)
 Donor: Mrs. John B. Fink, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Wm. G. (Bill) Stigler
 Donor: Charles Dierker, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Oklahoma City's First Orchestra
 Cast of Home Talent Play (Oklahoma City) (2 pictures)
 Donor: Ed Overholser
- First Business Building in Oklahoma City
 Donor: G. A. McNabb, Wapakoneta, Ohio
- Photographs of Choctaw Warrants (copied by Society) Harkins collection
- Framed lithograph of Abraham Lincoln
- Framed picture of Will Rogers
- Framed picture of Theodore Roosevelt
 Donor: Russell H. Taylor, Ft. Worth, Texas
- Indians camped on the Canadian River in 1900
- Log cabin home of W. H. Hamilton in Cherokee Strip, 1893
 Donor: Mrs. Ruth Sickles, San Jose, California
- Oil painting of Chief Pleasant Porter, 1886
 Donor: Mrs. Wm. Porter, Leonard, Oklahoma
- Pictures taken on the claim of Elizabeth Borden Brady (4)
 Donor: Dr. Elizabeth Borden, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Panorama picture of Plains Indians in full dress
 Donor: Dr. Robt. H. Akin, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Exhibits:
- Badge, U. S. Census—1900
 Donor: Lynn Wagner, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Film, Movie of Old Creek Grave Yard
 Donor: Luther Williams, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Airplane propeller built by W. D. Lindsley and B. F. Wright
 Donor: C. L. Godfrey, Waynoka, Oklahoma
- Two trade tokens, aluminum, 5c and \$1.00
 Donor: Genevieve Seger, Geary, Oklahoma
- Badges, three with pictures—1905 (5 in collection)
 Donor: Mrs. Wm. E. Cooper, Inglewood, California
- First Oklahoma State Flag
 Donor: General Forrest Chapter, UDC, Muskogee, Oklahoma
- Oyster plate used during Hayes Administration at White House
- Ration book issued during World War II
 Donor: Mrs. Ruth Sickles, San Jose, California
- Badges (4)
- Buttons from a Union Soldier's Uniform
- Photograph buttons with pictures of Union Generals
- Documents (29) Greer and Beckham Counties 1900-1928
 Donor: Ralph Custer, Oklahoma City
- Cotton Cards (Pair)
 Donor: Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Wool Cards (Pair)
 Donor: Mrs. Bessie Baker, Sapulpa, Oklahoma
- Dagger, obsidian blade, carved mesquite handle, found in western New Mexico at the site of one of Coronado's Camps (1541)
- Chain, old iron chain, found at above site
 Donor: Moore Hess, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
- Quilt made in 1870, brought to Muskogee before statehood
 Donor: Mrs. Martha Kirkland, Ada, Oklahoma
- Caribbean Textile
 Donor: Fred Schonwald, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NEW MEMBERS FOR THE QUARTER APRIL 28, 1960
TO JULY 28, 1960

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

Mrs. Harriette J. Westbrook
Fisher Muldrow
Mrs. John C. Hubbard
Dr. Stanley F. Wildman
Roy V. Bynum, Jr.
Don S. Momand

Chilocco, Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Farmington, New Mexico
Geneva, Switzerland

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Mrs. N. P. Maxey
Mrs. Roscoe Cox
Mrs. Loy Furry
Providence R. Mounts
Robert Massengall
Walter G. Enfield
Marvin E. Tong, Jr.
Mrs. Narcissa Forsythe
Henry W. Bresser
Elizabeth G. Bullard
Mrs. Mary Muldrow Boyle
Sherry Ella Anglin
A. A. Pat Hamilton
Mrs. M. M. Kilpatrick
Mrs. L. G. Kritzer
Mrs. Thomas E. Johnston
Thomas J. Laws
Mary F. Leach
Dana R. Melrose
Mrs. Ben F. Thompson
Marcellus Williams
Margarette H. Baker
Jewel Costner
Paul P. Pinkerton
Dewayne A. Lawrence
Denton McClure Starr
The Rev. H. W. Kamman
N. A. Fortune
Mrs. Lynne Girdler
Joseph Lindsey Håile
Alan Livingston
Elizabeth Ann Schweikhard
J. R. Chitwood
Laura E. Hiatt
Miss Bessie Lewis
R. P. Hill
Mrs. Sarah L. Watson
Mickey Cooper
Mrs. Susanne Strouvelle
Mrs. Ann Muldrow Niemeyer
Dr. Mauris P. Kelsey

Bixby, Oklahoma
Chandler, Oklahoma
Cushing, Oklahoma
Frederick, Oklahoma
Hugo, Oklahoma
Jefferson, Oklahoma
Lawton, Oklahoma
Miami, Oklahoma
Muskogee, Oklahoma
Noble, Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
Pauls Valley, Oklahoma
Poteau, Oklahoma
Sand Springs, Oklahoma
Stillwater, Oklahoma
Stillwell, Oklahoma
Texhoma, Oklahoma
Tulsa, Oklahoma
" "
" "
" "
" "
Vinson, Oklahoma
Los Angeles, California
Townsend, Georgia
Wichita, Kansas
Medford, Oregon
Phillipsburg, New Jersey
Long Island, New York
Dallas, Texas
Houston, Texas

C O P Y

110868

Book 2523 Page 421

INDENTURE

State Business
No Fee

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

THIS INDENTURE dated this 1st day of August, 1960, by and between the Oklahoma Historical Society, an agency of the State of Oklahoma, hereinafter known as Trustor, and George H. Shirk, H. Milt Phillips, Baxter Taylor, Edna Bowman, R. G. Miller and Fisher Muldrow, hereinafter known as Trustees or the Board of Trustees;

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Historical Society is a duly constituted agency of the State of Oklahoma as created by Title 53, OS 1951, Chapter 1, as may be from time to time amended; and which Society operates under its Constitution duly adopted by the members of the Society on the 24th day of April, 1958, and as the same may be from time to time amended; and

WHEREAS, under the said Constitution there is created and established a Life Membership in the said Society, whereby upon payment of the life membership fee prescribed by the Board of Directors of the Society, such applicant becomes a member in good standing of the Society for the period of his natural life and is excused from the payment of any further dues thereafter; and

WHEREAS, Trustor desires to establish by this Declaration of Trust an Endowment Fund whereby through its maintenance and operation there will be at all times available to the Oklahoma Historical Society, as beneficiary of said fund, revenue and income to properly fund, support and sustain such Life Membership and to insure to said Life Membership that there will be available to the Society (as beneficiary hereof) income to provide such Life Member with the rights, privileges and emoluments of such membership; and

WHEREAS, the Trustees hereof are at this time the duly elected or appointed, qualified and acting members of the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the premises and the covenants herein contained, and in the consideration of the acceptance of the Trustees of this Indenture and of the Trust hereby created, and to secure and assure the full, complete, strict and prompt performance and observance by the Trustees, their successors and assigns, of the intent and purpose hereof; the Oklahoma Historical Society does by these presents transfer, assign and set over under the Trustees, their successors and assigns, certain funds and moneys to be held, maintained and controlled by the Trustees, IN TRUST, for the sole use and benefit of the Oklahoma Historical Society as Trustee thereof and in strict observance hereof, and subject to the following uses, purposes, duties, liabilities and limitations as hereinafter provided:

BOOK 2523 PAGE 422

1. The Trustees at all times shall serve ex-officio and shall be the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society as the same may be from time to time constituted or defined by the Consti-

tution of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The President of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be ex-officio chairman of the Trustees and the Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall be a member of the Board of Trustees without vote and shall serve as Secretary to that body. Such Trustees, so constituted as provided in this paragraph, shall constitute and be known as:

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
LIFE MEMBERSHIP ENDOWMENT FUND

2. Such Trustees shall operate under the supervision and executive control of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society; provided, however, the Board of Directors shall be without authority to give any instruction to or make mandatory the performance of any obligation by the Trustees contrary with the positive provisions of this Indenture. In the regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society each year following the 1st day of July, the Trustees shall give in writing the Board of Directors a full and complete report of all receipts, disbursements, investments and other operations of the Endowment Fund.

3. Removal or resignation from the Executive Committee shall automatically and without further action remove such Trustee as a Trustee of the Endowment Fund who shall automatically be replaced as a Trustee of the Endowment Fund by the individual so succeeding to membership upon the Committee. No member of the Board of Trustees shall be required to give bond. Minutes shall be kept of the meetings of the Board of Trustees; and no payment, investment, transfer, sale, liquidation, charge, disbursement or other transaction shall be accomplished without the approval thereof by majority of the Board of Trustees and such fact appearing in the minutes. The Treasurer of the Oklahoma Historical Society shall likewise serve as Treasurer of the Board of Trustees; and the disbursements of the Treasurer shall be countersigned by at least one other member of the Board of Trustees.

4. Simultaneous herewith the Trustor is transferring and setting over unto the Trustees a sum equivalent to \$25.00 for each Life Member now upon the rolls of the Society. In addition, all pending and future applicants for Life Membership shall pay 80% of their Life Membership application fee direct to the Endowment Fund. The Trustees may receive gifts, other contributions, additional sums or any other capital asset as may from time to time come into their hands. All such shall constitute the corpus BOOK 2523 PAGE 423) of the Trust estate and such corpus shall be maintained, managed and disbursed as provided herein.

5. The Trustees at their discretion shall make such investment of the corpus hereof as they may believe to the best interest of the Trust estate, but shall be limited in such investments to United States Treasury bills, United States Government Bonds, Bonds of the State of Oklahoma and of its political subdivisions, bonds of duly constituted public authorities (commonly called Revenue Bonds) of Oklahoma that by statute are declared entities or agencies of the State of Oklahoma or its subdivisions, and federally insured savings and loan associations, (up to the extent of such Federal insurance) and nothing else. The Trustees may maintain in addition a nominal checking account for the purpose of facilitating its transactions and transfer of funds.

6. On the 1st day of July and the 1st day of January of each year commencing with 1 July 1961, the Trustees shall pay to the Okla-

homa Historical Society, as Beneficiary, all of the net earnings, yield or increase of the corpus hereof; and in addition thereto, the Trustees on the 1st day of July of each year commencing with the 1st day of July 1961, shall pay to the Oklahoma Historical Society, as Beneficiary, the sum of \$1.50 for every Life Member of the Society that has been upon the rolls of the Society for one full year prior thereto, and that the extent of such payment the Trustees are authorized to deplete the corpus estate. A certificate sigend by the Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society as to the number of such Life Members may be accepted as conclusive evidence to the Trustees of the accuracy of such count.

7. The Trustees, their successors and assigns, and their agents and employees, shall be without authority to charge to the Trust nor shall the Trustees pay any fee, expense, salary, per diem, postage, overhead or other charge; and to the extent that such routine administrative overhead is appropriate to the Trust the same shall be provided to the Trustees without charge by the Trustor hereof.

8. This Trust is irrevocable and shall be maintained in full force and effect so long as there remains as part of the corpus of the estate at least \$100.00. If upon the operation of this Trust as provided herein should the corpus be reduced to less than \$100.00, then the Trustees may liquidate the same and pay such balance to the beneficiary and the Trust shall thereupon be at an end for all purposes.

EXECUTED the date first above written.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Seal)

By: (Signed) George H. Shirk
President
Trustor

ATTEST:

(Signed) Elmer L. Fraker
Secretary

(Book 2523 Page 424)

(Signed) George H. Shirk
(Signed) H. Milt Phillips
(Signed) Fisher Muldrow
(Signed) Edna Bowman
(Signed) R. G. Miller
(Signed) Baxter Taylor

Trustees

STATE OF OKLAHOMA)

) SS:

OKLAHOMA COUNTY)

(SEAL)

Before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public, in and for said County and State on this 1st day of August, 1960, personally appeared George H. Shirk, to me known to be the identical person who subscribed the name of the maker thereof to the foregoing instrument as its President and acknowledged to me that he executed the same as his free and voluntary act and deed and as the free and voluntary act and deed of such corporation, for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

Given under my hand and seal of office the day and year last above written.

(Signed) LaJeanne McIntyre

Notary Public

My Commission Expires: July 16, 1961

(SEAL)

STATE OF OKLAHOMA)
) SS:
 OKLAHOMA COUNTY)
 (SEAL)

Before me, the undersigned a Notary Public in and for said County and State on this 1st day of August, 1960, personally appeared George H. Shirk, H. Milt Phillips, Baxter Taylor, Edna Bowman, R. G. Miller and Fisher Muldrow, to me known to be the identical persons who executed the within and foregoing instrument and acknowledged to me that they executed the same as their free and voluntary act and deed for the uses and purposes therein set forth.

Given under my hand and seal the day and year last above written.

(Signed) LaJeanne McIntyre
 Notary Public
 (SEAL)

My Commission Expires: July 16, 1961

110868

STATE OF OKLAHOMA
 OKLAHOMA COUNTY
 RECORDED OR FILED
 2523-421

Aug. 26 4:06 pm 1960
 JOE PITTS CO. CLK.

(Signed) BY DeWoody, DEPUTY (No. Fee)
 State Business)
 (Signed) Bill Robinson
 1108 Colcord Bldg.

REPORT

July 21, 1960

To: Board of Directors, Oklahoma Historical Society
 From: Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary
 Subject: *Report on Fort Gibson Properties and Vicinity Conditions*

In compliance with the request of the Board of Directors at its April meeting, the Administrative Secretary, on July 20, 1960, proceeded to Fort Gibson for the purpose of determining the condition of the properties at that location owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society and properties adjacent thereto. The following report is submitted:

After conferring by telephone with Kelly Brown and personally with R. M. Mountcastle, both of whom are members of the Board of Directors, the Administrative Secretary in the company of Earl Boyd Pierce went to the Fort Gibson location, arriving there at about 1:00 p.m.

The first site examined was that on Lot 10 in Block 54 of the Town of Fort Gibson. The Historical Society owns this plot through a quitclaim deed made by H. F. Maddox on May 18, 1937. It is at this place that the grave of John Martin, Chief Justice of the Cherokees, is located. It is recommended that a low stone retaining wall be placed on the west and north sides of this property, and that, as soon as feasible, a proper granite memorial marker to Chief Justice Martin be erected northwest of his grave. Mr. Pierce has agreed to

furnish the stone and says he will raise half the money for the marker. Provisions should also be made for the care and maintenance of this plot such as grass and weed cutting, et cetera.

The second survey was made of Lot 10 in Block 13 of the Town of Fort Gibson which became the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society through a warranty deed from Thomas Buffington and his wife, dated December 26, 1934. On this piece of ground are located the remains of the bake oven and the old powder house. This property is in pitiful condition, verging on what might be termed debris and junk. We of the Oklahoma Historical Society should be greatly embarrassed to know that property owned by us is in such a run down condition. It is recommended that the powder house, which is now filthy with cattle manure, be completely cleaned and renovated. Only minor repairs, at this time, need to be made to the building. The debris should be removed from around the old bake oven. The weeds and grass should be cut and mowed. A well set link fence should be placed along the east side of the property, next to the highway. A well made gate should be placed in this fence so that caretakers might get in and out of the property with their equipment. The south, west, and north sides should be enclosed with a strong barbed-wire fence which would keep the rodeo stock from the Society's premises. A large sign board should be erected, indicating what the two buildings and structures are and briefly stating their history.

The old barracks building, which is owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society, is in fair state of repair and one room on the first floor has been set up so that visitors may view the interior. There is a large fireplace at the north end of this room. On the second floor is a big room which is used by local clubs as a meeting place. This room is approximately 65 feet long and 22 feet wide. There are giant fireplaces at each end. This is really a fine property and the Oklahoma Historical Society should take every advantage of it. Without too great an expenditure this building could be made into a fine museum. The room on the first floor could be furnished as nearly as possible as it was when it was occupied by troops. This furniture could be supplemented by pictures, busts and documents relative to the great men who at one time or another served at Fort Gibson. As time and funds might permit, the room on the second floor could be made into an even greater museum. At present the flag pole is down and considerable repairs are needed to the steps leading to the porches. Definitely this building has tremendous possibilities. Russell Criss and his wife live in the building and are taking as good care of it as possible under the circumstances.

The fact that the barracks building is directly across the street from the powder house and bake oven make the location ideal for the development of a nice museum. With proper improvements, followed by publicity and advertising, this place could be made to support itself as one of the outstanding historic sites in Oklahoma.

An interesting episode was related to us by a citizen of Fort Gibson. She said that several months ago the "National Geographic" sent a representative to Fort Gibson to do a story and take pictures of the premises as they are now. It seems as though the "National Geographic" writer, after getting to the Town of Fort Gibson, had difficulty in finding the old buildings and the stockade. After at last locating them, the writer refused to do a story on the place. He said that the lack of local and state interest in the historic old fort was made manifest by the absence of directional signs to the site, and even more so by the dilapidated appearance of the buildings and neglected condition of the grounds.

From the standpoint of those interested in history and believing in its tremendous importance, the rodeo grounds at Fort Gibson are an abomination. Your Administrative Secretary finds himself looking upon it as a desecration of what might be termed a sacred spot. Cattle are allowed full range of the basement floor of the commissary building, which is located on the grounds leased by the Planning and Resources Board to a local rodeo club. The whole premise is covered with tall weeds and uncut grass. There seems to be no effort made to cause the place to look anything other than a cow lot.

It is recommended that the Executive Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society draw a strong resolution to be presented to the Planning and Resources Board. This resolution should call attention to the importance of all of Fort Gibson as a historic site; to the fact that the rodeo grounds, by the wildest stretch of imagination, are not being kept in any park like condition; that no apparent effort is being made by the rodeo people to improve or care for any of the properties, other than the stands, chutes, and roping and bull dogging ring; that the rodeo group, called the lessee, falls far short in living up to Section 8 of the lease agreement between the Planning and Resources Board and the Fort Gibson Round Up Club, which specifies: "Lessee shall maintain and keep in good state of repair all facilities herein leased and is hereby responsible for the maintenance and repair of all buildings and equipment and the cleanliness and orderliness of all ground and water arrangements within the concession area operated by it." The resolution should call upon the Planning and Resources Board to cause the lessee to either comply with Section 8 of the agreement, or forfeit said lease.

It is recognized that the major portion of these recommendations should be considered by the Historic Sites Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society, hence **it is further recommended** that the Board of Directors refer all recommendations directed at improving the Society's properties at Fort Gibson to that Committee, with approval of any or all recommendations contained herein.

An effort is being made by a number of citizens in the Muskogee and Fort Gibson area to have the United States Park Service take over the Fort Gibson site. It is understood that some encouraging headway has been made with the Park Service in Washington. **It is recommended** that, should the opportunity present itself, the Oklahoma Historical Society give whole hearted support to this movement. It would be a splendid accomplishment if the entire Fort Gibson site should become a national park.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

R. G. MILLER

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

JOE W. McBRIDE

H. MILT PHILLIPS

BERLIN B. CHAPMAN

ELMER L. FRAKER

Winter 1960

Volume XXXVIII

Number 4

CONTENTS

Charles Radziminski	354
By Stanley F. Radzyminski	
Lieutenant William E. Burnet Letters	369
By Raymond Estep	
Tecumseh at the Turn of the Century	397
By Florence Drake	
Reminiscences of Two Corps Men, World War I	409
By Guy E. Moore	
The White Lieutenant of the Creek Nation	425
By Carolyn Thomas Foreman	
Notes and Documents	441
Report of Committee on Historic Sites	
Book Review	444
Minutes	448

Cover. The design on the outside front cover is the central design seen on the Oklahoma State Flag. This shows an Osage warrior's shield of buffalo rawhide, fringed with pendant eagle feathers; superimposed across the face of the shield, the red man's calumet, or pipe of peace, and the white man's olive branch. The small crosses on the shield are the Indian's graphic sign for stars, which may indicate a purpose for high endeavor.

CHARLES RADZIMINSKI: PATRIOT, EXILE, PIONEER

*By Stanley F. Radzimirski**

An historical marker located on U. S. Highway 183 in Southwestern Oklahoma, two miles north of Mountain Park, bears this inscription:**

CAMP RADZIMINSKI
Site 2 Miles West

Established September 1858 by four troops of crack 2nd Cav., under Major Earl Van Dorn. Named in memory of Lt. Charles Radzimirski, a former member of the Regt. E. Kirby Smith, Cornelius Van Camp, Fitzhugh Lee, W. B. Royall all served here. Permanent type buildings never erected: Post abandoned by Army, Dec. 6, 1859.

A strange turn of events brought the subject of this story, Charles Radzimirski, a Polish Revolutionary exile, to a life of adventure and useful service in his adopted country. He took part in the Polish revolution against Russia in 1830-31, was interned in Austrian prisons for three years, and finally came to United States as exile in 1834. He was engaged as a civil engineer in Virginia and he fought as an officer in the United States Dragoons during the war with Mexico. As surveyor and later secretary for the United States-Mexican Boundary Commissions, he crossed, on foot and horseback, hundreds of miles of harsh terrain in the Southwest.¹ He later served as an officer in the old Second Cavalry in Texas under Colonel Robert E. Lee and finally met an untimely death in 1858.

Charles (Karol) Radzimirski was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1805 while Europe was in the midst of the Napoleonic Wars.² Nothing is known about his early life in Poland, his immediate family or details of experiences in United States. No diaries or photographs have been found in the National Archives or other sources. The Radzimirski fam-

* Stanley Francis Radzimirski, M.D., Chief Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, Veterans Administration, Marion, Indiana, was born in Poland, and came to the United States in 1912. He received his A.B. degree from Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, 1927; and his M.D. degree from Loyola University School of Medicine, Chicago, Illinois, 1931. His war service, U.S. Army 1940-45, included overseas duty in the South Pacific and on Okinawa. He commanded an Army Field Hospital as Lieutenant Colonel Medical Corps.—Ed.

** Roadside Marker erected by Oklahoma Historical Society, 1950.

¹ Rev. Francis Bolek. *Who is Who in Polish America*, (New York, 1943).

² *Ibid.*



Radziminski

Radziminski Coat of Arms.—*Armorial General*. By Jean Baptiste Riestap (Sauvegarde Historique, Lyons, France, 1950).

ilies lived in and north of Warsaw, in the old Polish province of Masovia. They were, for the most part, small land owners, with some professional people and government officials among them. The town of Radzymin (Radzimin, on old maps), located about fifteen miles northeast of Warsaw, was the original seat of one of the Radziminski families.

Following the Congress of Vienna, national freedom ceased to exist in the war-torn country when Poland was again partitioned between its powerful neighbors—Russia, Austria and Prussia. The Poles rebelled in 1830 against the political and other oppressions imposed upon them by the Russian government, under Tsar Nicholas I, and the Grand Duke Constantine, Governor General for Poland. The Poles mustered a volunteer army, drawn from all walks of life, under the leadership of Generals Chlopicki, Dwernicki, Skrzynecki, and other officers who formerly served in Napoleon's Grand Army. The revolutionary army was equipped with only such material which was readily available in the country. Lack of adequate material, leadership and support from other countries was to handicap the Poles in their struggle for liberty.³ Charles Radziminski had his first military experience to the Polish Revolutionary Army in 1830-1, at a youthful age.

The Revolution continued for about a year and was successful at first, but was eventually crushed by the numerically superior Russian Armies under the command of Generals Dybich and Paskevich—Erivansky. The Poles sought help from the other European powers, but none came. Austria and Prussia decidedly opposed the revolution. France and the United States were sympathetic with the Polish cause but were not able to help the Poles materially. Both countries, after the revolution was suppressed, offered asylum to many Polish Revolutionary exiles.⁴

As the success of the revolution ebbed in the fall of 1831, several Polish military units, hard pressed by Russian armies, crossed Prussian and Austrian frontiers and laid down their arms. They were interned and eventually imprisoned by these powers. Charles Radziminski was in one of the units which crossed the Austrian border. He was interned in an Austrian camp from 1831 to 1834 at Berne, Moravia, and, later at Trieste, until his departure from Austria. The enlisted men were forced to return to Russian

³ Arthur Sliwinski, *Powstanie Listopadowe*, (London 1946).

⁴ *Ibid.*

Poland. The officers had a choice between returning and facing exile to Siberia or emigrating to those countries which would offer them asylum. An agreement between the Austrian government and United States, negotiated by the Polish National Committee in Paris under Marquis de Lafayette permitted many of the Poles interned in Austria to emigrate to the United States.⁵

On March 31, 1834, two Austrian frigates, the *Guerriere* and the *Hebe*, commanded by Commodore Bandiera arrived in New York with 235 Polish exiles. A third ship, *Lipsia*, arrived a short time later with 50-60 more. Many of the emigrees settled in cities and towns along the Atlantic Coast, as far as Louisiana and Texas. While a great majority remained in the East, some received free land and settled in Illinois, as well as other Midwestern states. Many exiles experienced extreme hardship due to financial difficulties and their unfamiliarity with the English language. Moreover, they had no official backing or diplomatic support of their native land which was occupied by the hostile power—Russia. Charles Radziminski was among these exiles.⁶ He settled in Washington, D.C., and was eventually engaged as a civil engineer with the James River Kanawha Canal Company of Richmond.⁷ This company was organized in 1835 to develop and maintain a canal running parallel to the James River, from Richmond to Buchanan, Virginia. The canal was an important waterway during the years 1840-1861. It fell into disuse during the Civil War and was eventually abandoned and replaced by a railroad.

On March 8, 1847, after the outbreak of war with Mexico, Radziminski received a commission as Second Lieutenant of Infantry, appointed from Louisiana. He was transferred to the Third Regiment, United States Dragoons, April 9, 1847, a newly organized regiment of Light Cavalry, authorized by Congress for the duration of the war. This regiment was commanded by Colonel Edward G. W. Butler, a West Pointer of St. Louis, Missouri. Other prominent officers in this regiment were Major Lewis Cass, Jr., diplomat, son of Lewis Cass, statesman, and governor of Michigan, and Major William H. Polk, brother of President Polk, ex-minister to Naples.⁸ While in the Third Dragoons,

⁵ M. Haiman, *Z Przeszlosci Polskiej w Ameryce. Szkice Historyczne*, (Buffalo, 1927).

⁶ Jerzy J. Lerski, *A Polish Chapter in Jacksonia America*, (Madison, 1958).

⁷ Bolek, *op. cit.*

⁸ Cadmus M. Wilcox, *History of the Mexican War*, (Washington, D. C. 1892).

Charles Radzimirski served in a company commanded by Captain Alphonse Duperu of Virginia which took an active combat part in Mexico.⁹ Captain Duperu's company participated in battles near Vera Cruz, Contreras and Churubusco. Other units of the Third Dragoons fought at Molino del Rey, Altixco, and Mexico City.¹⁰ The regimental headquarters was located at Camp Mier and later at Matamoros, Mexico.

Charles Radzimirski served as Regimental Quartermaster from June 15 until October 17, 1847. He was appointed regimental adjutant, March 16, 1848, to replace the former adjutant, Lieutenant Edward McPherson, who was killed in a duel at Camp Mier, Mexico. He served as adjutant until he was honorably mustered out with the entire regiment on July 31, 1848, at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.¹¹

Following the Mexican War, Radzimirski returned to his civilian profession as a surveyor and civil engineer. He was engaged until 1851 as assistant to Lieutenant Colonel James D. Graham of the Topographical Engineers in the office of the Northeast Boundary Commission in Washington, D.C.¹² This commission completed the survey, according to terms of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, to end the long disputed boundary dispute between Maine and New Brunswick, Canada.

Colonel Graham was assigned in the spring of 1851 to the U. S. Mexican Boundary Commission and was on his way to Texas and New Mexico. Charles Radzimirski joined Colonel Graham and a staff of other officials at San Antonio, Texas, May 10, 1851. The party proceeded by wagon train to El Paso del Norte to join the U. S. Commissioner John Russell Bartlett and his large staff of engineers, surveyors and technicians, who were engaged to survey the new U. S.—Mexican boundary.¹³ A Mexican Commission, under General Garcie Conde', and Jose Salazar y Larregui, was working together with U. S. Commission to settle the

⁹ Land Bounty Grant issued to Charles Radzimirski, 1850, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

¹⁰ John Frost, *A Pictorial History of Mexico and the Mexican War*, (Philadelphia, 1862).

¹¹ F. S. Heitman, *Historical Dictionary of the U.S. Army*, (Washington, 1903).

¹² Lieut. Col. John D. Graham, "Report on the Boundary Line Between U.S. and Mexico", *Senate Executive Document*, 32nd. Congress, (Washington, 1853).

¹³ Graham, *op cit*.

boundary extending from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean.¹⁴

Radziminski was on the staff of Commissioners John R. Bartlett, Robert W. Campbell, and later Major William H. Emory, Topographic Engineer, from May 1851 to July 1856. He assisted in the survey of boundary along the Rio Grande River, initially as assistant principal surveyor. The commission labored under difficulties because of many disputes between its members, thus delaying the progress of the survey. As a result of mounting disputes, Radziminski was sent to Washington by Commissioner Bartlett on August 16, 1851, with dispatches to Secretary of Interior, Honorable Alex H. H. Stuart, for instructions to settle the disputes. He returned to El Paso in January, 1852, with important directives which eventually speeded the progress of the survey and changed the organization of the commission.¹⁵

There was much correspondence between the disputing members of the Commission and between the commissioners and the Secretary of the Interior. On return from Washington, Radziminski wrote a letter to Major Emory, who was on a field trip along the boundary, informing him of important dispatches from Secretary Alex H. H. Stuart. The letter is given here in its original form as an example of his personal correspondence:¹⁶

Dona Ana, New Mexico
January 26, 1852 — 8AM

Major: I understand from Skillman, whom I met nine miles from this place, that you intended to start on yesterday morning from El Paso in search of Mr. Bartlett; and I send this letter per express after you, to say that I have very important despatches from the Department of the Interior for the heads of the commission—no small portion of them being for you. Being responsible for their safe delivery, I fear to instruct them to the express-man, and shall keep them, subject to your orders.

I would respectfully advise your return to the headquarters of the commission, from the fact that, previous to my departure with despatches from Washington, Mr. Bartlett had ordered me to return to San Diego, where, after the reconnaissance of the Gila River, it was his intention to proceed. After waiting my arrival there some reasonable time, the commissioner expected to return by the Isthmus, to Washington or to El Paso, and there is strong probability of your arriving there too late to meet him.

Previous to my departure from Washington I advised Department of the commissioner's orders to me relative to my journey back, and the Department of the Interior thought it proper to modify them

¹⁴ Major William H. Emory, "Mexican Boundary Survey", *Senate Executive Document*, 34th, Congress, (Washington, 1857).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Graham, *op cit.*



I, *Charles Radzimirski*
appointed a *Second Lieutenant* in the
Army of the United States, do solemnly swear, ~~on~~ *office*,
that I will bear true allegiance to the United States of
America, and that I will serve them honestly and faithfully
against all their enemies or opposers whatsoever; and observe
and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and
the orders of the Officers appointed over me, according to the
Rules and Articles for the government of the Army of the
United States

Sworn to and subscribed before
me, at *Washington City*
this *15* day of *March* 18*47*.

Charles Radzimirski

Thos. Kane Justice of the Peace.

Appointment of Charles Radzimirski as Second Lieutenant,
U. S. Army, 1847.

by instructing me to return to the headquarters of the commission; and I take this to be an additional reason for taking the liberty to suggest your return to the Pass.

I shall wait your orders; and have the honor to remain, Major, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Charles Radzinski
Bearer of Despatches

Major W. H. Emory,
Chief Astronomer U.S. and M. Boundary Commission

In the course of its activities along the Rio Grande, in New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas, the commission was constantly exposed to attacks by hostile, thieving Apaches and Comanches. Some of its members were killed by Indians, others died from disease or suffered from malnutrition. The land traversed was harsh and inhospitable; food and other supplies were difficult to obtain.¹⁷

During one journey south of the Rio Grande, Radzinski accompanied Commissioner Bartlett and a small party of surveyors in the fall of 1852 on an exploratory journey from El Paso, through Chihuahua, Saltillo and Monterey to Ringgold Barracks on lower Rio Grande. While traveling near Rio Florida in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, the party was attacked by a band of hostile Comanches, and was in great danger of being annihilated. The Indians were driven off, however, through cool conduct and able defense of the party.¹⁸ Shortly after arrival at Ringgold Barracks, in January, 1853, Commissioner Bartlett was relieved from his post because of inefficient management. About the same time, Major Emory and Radzinski made a special trip to Washington in connection with reorganization of the boundary commission and to report on its progress.¹⁹

In March, 1853, Robert W. Campbell was appointed U. S. Commissioner to replace John R. Bartlett and the commission was reorganized. Major Emory was appointed chief astronomer and Charles Radzinski was placed in charge of surveying parties. The commission was to complete the survey according to terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. He continued in this position, surveying various stretches of the boundary along the lower Rio Grande until the fall of 1854, when the commission was reorganized again. The able and efficient Major Emory

¹⁷ John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua During the Years 1851, 1852, 1853*, (New York, 1854).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Emory, *op cit.*

was appointed U. S. Commissioner. Radziminski was appointed to the important position of secretary for the commission. The commission's staff contained about one hundred men, including surveyors, engineers, draughtsmen, artists, technicians and others. Jose Salazar y Larregui was Mexican Commissioner, after the death of General Conde in December, 1851. This commission completed the final boundary survey under new terms of The Gadsden Purchase in the fall of 1855. The new boundary was established and marked from the mouth of the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo) through El Paso, to the Pacific Ocean, south of San Diego, California.

On January 31, 1855, near El Paso, Texas, a memorable event took place when the foundation was laid for a monument marking the initial boundary point on the Rio Grande. Officers of the joint commission with other American and Mexican officials of both sides were present to witness the ceremony. The event is described in the *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey*.²⁰

El Paso Del Norte

Latitude 31°, 47'

Initial Point on the Rio Grande

January 31, 1855

The Commission Met According To Agreement At The Meridian

The chief officers of the vicinity, military and civil, from both sides of the line, being present, the foundation of the monument was laid. The following paper, one copy in English, and the other in Spanish, was signed by the two Commissioners and by the persons aforesaid, placed in a glass bottle, and deposited, at the depth five feet, under the center of the monument.

COPY OF PAPER

WE THE UNDERSIGNED, HAVE THUS ASSEMBLED TO WITNESS THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONUMENT WHICH IS TO MARK THE INITIAL POINT OF THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO, ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES BY WILLIAM HELMSLEY EMORY, AND ON THE PART OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO, BY JOSE SALAZAR Y LARREGUI, LATITUDE 31° 47', AGREED UPON UNDER THE TREATY WITH MEXICO.

W. H. EMORY, U. S. COMMISSIONERS
JOSE SALAZAR Y LARREGUI (MEXICAN COMMISSIONER)
C. RADZIMINSKI, SEC'RY, U. S. BOUNDARY COMMISSION
JOEL ANKRIM
E. B. ALEXANDER
CALEB SMITH
E. K. SMITH (E. KIRBY SMITH, CAPTAIN, INFANTRY)
JUAN JOSE SANCHEZ
ANTONIO ZEPEDA
GUADELUPE MIRANDA
VINCENTE AGUIRRE

²⁰ Emory, *op. cit.*

While on duty with the Mexican Boundary Commission, Radzinski was appointed a First Lieutenant in the newly organized Second Cavalry Regiment. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War was responsible for the organization of two new cavalry regiments authorized by congress in March 1855. These new cavalry units were considered essential for the protection of the settlers and pioneers in the rapidly expanding frontiers in the West against the hostile marauding Indians.²¹

The Second Cavalry was one of the best mounted regiments in the service at that time. The majority of officers were Southerners, who, during the Civil War attained high rank in the Confederate Army. This regiment, called "Jeff Davis' Own," was organized in Louisville, Kentucky, in the spring of 1855. Its horses were purchased from the best stock available in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky.

This newly organized Cavalry Regiment was commanded by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnson, a Texan by adoption, who in 1861 became Major General and Commander of the Confederate Forces in the West. Second in command was Lieut. Colonel Robert E. Lee, the future Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate Armies. Officers in the Regiment who became prominent during the Civil War included: Majors William J. Hardee and George H. Thomas, the Rock of Chickamauga; Brevet Major Earl Van Dorn; Captains E. Kirby Smith, George Stoneman and Charles Whiting; Lieutenants Fitzhugh Lee, Walter H. Jennifer, William B. Royall, George B. Cosby, John Bell Hood, and Theodore O'Hara, author of *Bivouac of the Dead*.²²

The Second Cavalry moved to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, in the summer of 1855 for its final organization before its march to Texas. The Regiment began its long trek October 27, 1855, across Oklahoma into Texas to establish headquarters at San Antonio. Units were deployed to Fort Mason, Camp Sabinal, Fort Clark, Fort McIntosh (Laredo), Fort Belknap, Camp Inge, Fort Wichita, and Camp Cooper on the Clear Fork of the Brazos.²³

At the outbreak of the Civil War the remnants of the Regiment escaped to the North and were reassembled at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. The Regiment was redesignated as the Fifth Cavalry of the Union Forces.

²¹ Captain George B. Price, *Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry*, (New York, 1883).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

Radziminski was appointed to the Regiment June 30, 1855, but continued with his duties with the Boundary Commission until the completion of the survey. He joined the Regiment at Fort Mason, Texas, March 25, 1856, and was assigned to Company K, under Captain Charles Whiting. He served at several stations and camps in Texas as the units were moved about in Western Texas on the lookout for troublesome Indians. The Comanches, Kiowas, Lipans and Apaches were the scourge of Western Texas and Northern Mexico after the withdrawal of Spanish Troops in 1821.²⁴

While waiting for departure from San Antonio to Fort Mason, he met his future commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee. The two officers traveled together with a convoy to Fort Mason on their way to Camp Cooper in the newly established Comanche reservation. The following incident is told in the book, *Robert E. Lee in Texas*:²⁵

In March 1856 just before leaving San Antonio for Fort Mason, he instructed Lieutenant Charles Radziminski, his young Polish Subaltern, to procure supplies which they would need on their long journey and after they arrived at Camp Cooper. He had explained that his own needs were simple, "a boiled ham, hard bread, a bottle of molasses and one of extract of coffee." However, he also added other things—a canvas tent, tables, camp chairs, crockery and cooking utensils.

Captain George Price in *Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry* gives a narrative history of the Regiment and included biographical sketches of officers who served from 1855 to 1883. The following biographical sketch of Lieutenant Charles Radziminski appears in the book:²⁶

Charles Radziminski was born in Poland and emigrated at an early age to the United States. He served in the War with Mexico as a Second Lieutenant in the Third Dragoons (organized by Act of Congress of February 11, 1847, for the War with Mexico), from April 9, 1847, to July 31, 1848, and was engaged in civilian pursuits in New Mexico, when he was appointed from Louisiana as First Lieutenant in the Fifth (Old Second) Cavalry to date from June 30, 1855. He joined the Regiment at Fort Mason, Texas, March 25, 1856, and served at Camp Cooper, Camp Sabinal, and at Forts Inge and Clark until May, 1857, when he was compelled to avail himself of a sick leave of absence. He rejoined the Regiment (his company) at Fort Clark in November, 1857, and served at that station, Fort Mason and on the Clear Fork of the Brazos until July 24, 1858, when rapidly failing health again compelled him to seek a change of climate, and he died at Memphis, Tenn., of consumption (tuberculosis) on August 18, 1858. He was highly esteemed for manly qualities and generous disposition.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Carl Coke Rister, *Robert E. Lee in Texas*, (Norman, 1946).

²⁶ Price, *op. cit.*

After he left Camp Cooper on his second sick leave in July 1858, Charles Radzimirski journeyed to Memphis, where he registered at the Gayoso House, which was one of the most fashionable hotels at that time. Being very ill and not certain about his future, he asked the management to notify the Secretary of War Floyd, and an acquaintance of his, a Colonel J. Knox Walker of Memphis, in the event of any emergency. He was found dead sitting on his bed, on the morning of August 18, 1858. Inspection of his papers revealed no relatives or friends listed. He was buried on August 22nd in an unknown cemetery in Memphis. As there was no will or next of kin mentioned in his papers, Colonel Walker became the administrator of the estate which consisted of his personal effects, valuables and an extensive wardrobe.²⁷ A recent check of Memphis cemeteries failed to locate his grave. It was learned that some of the older cemeteries were done away with, and the records destroyed.

His death was reported to the Secretary of War Floyd by a visiting government official, Thomas R. Shallcross, in the following letter given in its original text:²⁸

Memphis, Tenn.
23 Aug. 1858

Dear Sir:

Lieut C. Radzimirski of the U. S. Army died at the Gayoso House in this city on Tuesday the 18th Inst. shortly after his arrival from Texas. As his approaching end was not anticipated by himself or his attending physician so soon, he left no directions with anyone, as to the disposition he wished made of his remains, or effects. He died alone sitting on the side of the bed. His disease, consumption.

He had in his possession about \$145 in money and Dfts. on the Treasury amounting to \$837. with an extensive wardrobe. On his arrival at the hotel he enquired for and expressed a desire to see Col. J. Knox Walker, who was at the time and still is absent from the city. His remains were placed in a metallic coffin and deposited in a private vault, where they were kept until yesterday, awaiting the return of Col. Walker, who is supposed to know his relatives and friends, and who it was intended should communicate the intelligence of his death, and learn from them what they desired to be done with his remains and effects, but Col. Walker failing to arrive and doubting the propriety of keeping the body in the vault longer, Mr. Knowlton of the Gayoso House had it deposited in the cemetery yesterday morning.

²⁷ Old Army Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C. News item about death of Lieut. Radzimirski *The Memphis Appeal*, (August 19, 1858).

²⁸ Old Army Records, National Archives.

Never having known Lieut. Radziminski, I am entirely disinterested and governed alone by sympathy for the friends of the deceased in communicating the foregoing facts to you.

I am very respectfully
Your obdt. servant
Thos. R. Shallcross
Spl. Agt. P.O. Dept. of
Wheeling, Va.

Hon. John B. Floyd
Sec'y of War
Washington
D.C.

In addition to this brief sketch of Radziminski's life it is thought appropriate to give a brief history of the military camp named after him. Camp Radziminski in the Wichita Mountains of Southwest Oklahoma, perpetuated his name for over a hundred years, on maps, in articles and books dealing with military history of our Southwest. Another land mark which commemorates his name is Mount Radziminski, a massive granite pile which lies about one half mile to the southeast of the camp site.²⁹ This mountain is known to the people living in the vicinity of the camp, although it is not shown on official maps of Oklahoma.

About a month after Radziminski's death, Brevet Major Earl Van Dorn, West Pointer from Port Gibson, Mississippi, marched from old Fort Belknap, located south of New Castle, Young County, Texas, with Companies A, F, H, and K of the Second Cavalry, one company of infantry and sixty Caddo and Delaware scouts under the Indian Agent Lawrence Sul Ross, to establish a new base of operations north of the Red River. The movement of these troops was ordered by Brevet Major General David Twiggs, Commanding General of the Department of Texas. This move was deemed necessary because the hostile Comanches were moving north from Texas into Indian Territory to harass the settlers where there was insufficient protection.³⁰

The expedition under Major Van Dorn, after crossing the Red River, established a temporary camp, September 23, 1858, on the southwest bank of Otter Creek, near Tipton, Tillman County, Oklahoma. This camp, Van Dorn named Camp Radziminski in honor of Lieutenant Radziminski of K Company, in accordance with an Army custom to name camps and forts after deceased military men or prominent

²⁹ Kent Ruth, *Oklahoma, A Guide to the Sooner State*, pp. 454-455, (Norman, 1957).

³⁰ William B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma*, (Oklahoma City, 1936); Col. W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, pp. 18-26, (Norman, 1943).

Americans. It was from this base that Van Dorn staged an attack on large bands of Comanches under Chief Buffalo Hump, at Wichita Village near Rush Springs on October 1, 1858. The Cavalry and Indian Scouts defeated and dispersed a band of 500 hostile Indians. Major Van Dorn and "Sul" Ross were seriously wounded in this battle. Lieutenant Van Camp, a young West Pointer, was killed.³¹

In November, 1858, the troops moved and made camp several miles upstream on Otter Creek. The grazing land in this new location was exhausted by March 1859 which necessitated another move. Van Dorn crossed to the west bank and marched north to the point where Otter Creek emerges through a gorge between two granite peaks of The Wichita Mountains. He found a cove, sheltered from the "northers," with plenty of timber and grass nearby. All three camps were called Camp Radzinski. The last camp was the most permanent and best known and is the one that has the historical marker. This third camp was situated in the southern slopes of the Wichita Mountains; to the south and west lay a great plain which supported thousands of buffalo. Big horn sheep and elk were numerous in the rugged granite mountains to the north.³²

While the troops were encamped for the winter, Buffalo Hump gathered new warriors and continued raiding settlements and committing depredations further north near Kansas. Van Dorn organized another expedition, May 30, 1859, with Capt. E. Kirby Smith as second in command, and trailed the hostile Indians into Kansas. The expedition surprised a large body of Kiowas and Comanches on Crooked Creek (Nescatunga), south of Old Fort Atkinson, near Dodge City, Kansas. The Comanches were again defeated and dispersed and henceforth became a lesser threat to the settlers in the Southwest. Major Van Dorn was again wounded in this battle, as were Captain Edmund Kirby Smith and Lieutenant Fitzhugh Lee. Lee carried an arrowhead imbedded in his chest the rest of his life. The troops now returned to Camp Radzinski to rest and convalesce from their wounds. Shortly after return to camp, Major Van Dorn was ordered to San Antonio, leaving Captain Smith in command of the troops at Radzinski through the summer of 1859.³³

While preparing for Indian Campaigns the troops were engaged in training and drilling recruits and mounts. The

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Morrison, *op. cit.* (Site is west of Mountain Park, Kiowa County.)

only recreations were hunting, mountain climbing, and horse racing at the camp. The horses were trained to return to camp when alarm sounded to prevent their being stampeded. It was the strategy of the Comanches to run off the horses for their own use and leave the troops afoot.

The interesting book, *Story of the Fifth Cavalry*, has the following note about horse racing at Camp Radziminski:³⁴

Major Van Dorn was owner of a splendid running horse which had won more money than any other horse in the regiment. He was once defeated by Lieutenant Royall with Minnehaha, owned by Lieutenant Radziminski; a beautiful mare, thoroughly trained in the Baucher System and a saddle animal of great endurance. She finally became the property of Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee, but was left behind when the regiment marched to the coast en route to the North. (1861)

Camp Radziminski was abandoned by the troops of the Second Cavalry, December 6, 1859, when the units were ordered back to duty in Texas. The old camp site was occupied later by Texas Rangers, who remained for about a year, patrolling the border and skirmishing with the remaining bands of marauding Indians.

Even though officially abandoned by the Army, the camp site continued to be used as bivouac area by U. S. Cavalry units after the Civil War. It was visited on many occasions by Army officials and persons interested in the history of the region.

On June 27, 1868 the ruins of Radziminski were visited by Colonel B. H. Grierson with units of the 10th Cavalry from Fort Arbuckle. He was making a reconnaissance of the Wichita Mountains area for a location of a new permanent Army fort in that region. Colonel Grierson was fascinated by the site of the old camp in the Wichitas because of the tales of buried treasures there. While camping near the site, he was visited by a band of Comanches. A conference was held with these Indians, as a result of which several captive children, including four whites and two negroes, were ransomed.³⁵

The site of the new fort was eventually chosen on January 8, 1869, by General Phillip Sheridan, on the banks of Medicine Bluff Creek, about thirty five miles east of Camp Radziminski. It was first called Camp Wichita, but renamed Fort Sill at department headquarters on July 2, 1869, and at Fort Sill on August 1, 1869. This post has

³⁴ Price, *op. cit.*

³⁵ Nye, *op. cit.*

become the famous and historical Army installation of the Southwest. At the present time it is used as an Artillery and Missile Training Center.³⁶

The site of old Camp Radzimirski was occupied as a camping area on March 4 and 5, 1869, by the famous Seventh U. S. Cavalry and the Nineteenth Volunteer Kansas Cavalry under the command of General George A. Custer. This was shortly after the establishment of Fort Sill, following Custer's destruction of Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne Village on November 27, 1868.³⁷

The site of Camp Radzimirski is located about four miles northwest from the town of Mountain Park, Kiowa County, on the farm of Mrs. Olivia E. Walker, her son A. O. "Red" Walker and daughter Claudia Walker. It lies on the west bank of Otter Creek below the granite mountains to the north. The land is partly under cultivation for wheat and other crops. About one half mile to the southeast lies Mount Radzimirski which is also called Mount Frisco by the local residents, after the Frisco Railway which passes to the east of it. According to Mr. "Red" Walker, there were six graves on the camp site. The remains were moved to the cemetery at Fort Sill in the late 1920's. There were occasional visitors including Army personnel who came to inspect the site and gather information about it from the Walker family. Miss Claudia Walker showed the author during his visit there, some souvenirs, such as buckles, horsehocs, bits and bottles and other items picked up on the site from time to time. A rectangle of stones and an abandoned well remain to identify positively the location of the mess-hall.³⁸

Private interests acquired the rugged slopes of Mount Radzimirski in 1915. Extensive granite quarrying operations begun at that time by Anton Soukup and Frank Svoboda, Bohemian born citizens of Omaha, Nebraska. In the past, as many as five hundred granite cutters have been employed at one time, although shipments in recent years were reduced to several carloads a month.³⁹ Pink, red and gray granite is quarried there for monuments by the Gilham Granite Company of Mountain Park.

³⁶ *Oklahoma Historical Sites Survey*, Oklahoma Historical Society, (Oklahoma City, 1958); Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV No. 1, Spring 1956), p. 70.

³⁷ Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

³⁸ Information obtained from Mr. A. O. "Red" Walker, a resident of Camp Radzimirski Area.

³⁹ Ruth, *op. cit.*; *Lawton Constitution*, August 11, 1957, "Camp Radzimirski Lost in the Rubble."

Here ends the brief story of Lieutenant Charles Radzinski and the camp named in his honor. He died untimely, an exile from his native land, buried in an unknown grave, after a colorful and useful career in his adopted country. For his services in the cause of freedom and the faithful performance of his duties, his name will live on in the Archives of Army, the Boundary Commission and in the landmarks of Oklahoma.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM E. BURNET LETTERS:
REMOVAL OF THE TEXAS INDIANS AND THE
FOUNDING OF FORT COBB

By Raymond Estep

Part II

Part I of the William E. Burnet letters with introduction and annotations contributed by Dr. Raymond Estep, Professor of History, Research Studies Institute, Air University, U.S.A.F., Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama, appeared in The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1960), pp. 274-309. In his introduction, Part I, Dr. Estep reviewed briefly the history of the two Indian reservations established on the Brazos River in Texas (1854), and gave some biographical notes on Lieutenant William Este Burnet, 1st Infantry, U.S.A., and his father, David Gouverneur Burnet, who had served as the first President of the Texas Republic. The letters written by the young lieutenant to his father are in original manuscript found in the David G. Burnet Collection of Letters in the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. They reveal Lieutenant Burnet's views on the frontier situation in Texas that brought about the removal of the Indians from the Brazos reserves, their location in the Indian Territory and the founding of Fort Cobb on the Washita River (1858-9). —Editor

Camp at Brazos Agency June 30th [1859]

My dear Father

Our mail came in to day and I got a letter from Aunt Mary Clopper: which had been forwarded by you, and some papers, so I take it for granted you are quite well, but still it is a disappointment not to get a letter as we have but a weekly mail, at least the one by which your letters come is only received once a week. Since I last wrote there has been nothing of interest taken place here: we hear reports of meetings &c in the Counties below, for the purpose of getting more me[n] to come here to make an attack: but it seems to be up-hill work with the leaders: Those who were here saw enough to satisfy them and the others seem willing to profit by their example. I don't think they will be able to collect men enough to make an other demonstration. I see in the 'News' a letter professing to give a correct account of that fight on the 23rd of May— There is hardly a word of truth in it. I know all about that affair myself from first to last. There was not a gun fired on Baylor's party until after they had killed the old Indian and then there were only three Indians fired on them and started them in a run which they kept up until they got out of the hills and woods on a open tract about a mile long on the further side of which, from here Marlin lives: The Indians stoped as soon as the Rangers got out of the timber and started back when they met the others who had left the Agency when they heard that Baylor

had taken the old Indian. There were not more than fifty Indians in the fight and not more than 30 of them had Rifles; and there were only two Minnie Rifles there. There was only one Indian killed in the fight and five wounded, all of whom are now well or nearly so. Some reports say there were two of Baylor's [men] killed in the fight and others say but one: There was one I know: and two of the wounded died at Belknap and they had four horses killed: The Indians had two horses killed. Baylor's party took shelter in the houses; and in a deep ravine, just back of them. They tried, for a while, to hold a fence; but, when they found the balls could reach them, they all ran into the houses and ravine: when the Indians left there was not one of them to be seen, and had not been for, at least, a quarter of an hour. There have been several reports of this affair published but none that I have seen which give any thing like a true statement. It seems a little hard to believe that 50 Indians should whip 250 white men who had come with the avowed intention of fighting: but it is nonetheless true.

The war in Europe seems, by the last accounts, likely to become general and if it should and our Gov't maintains the doctrine that the 'Flag covers the goods' we will be apt to have a hand in it. I believe it would be the best think [thing] that could take place for us—it would give our people something to think about, besides slavery, southern rights and northern negro stealing & such matters. I hope you are quite well and that the next mail will bring me a letter— My health is good.

Your affectionate son
[no signature]

Camp at Brazos Agency
July 10th 1859

My dear Father

Our last mail brought your very welcome letter of the 15th inst and I was very glad to hear that you were quite well: as the weather has been very hot here for the last two months I feared it would be sickly in Galveston and am glad that such is not the case. I was surprised, a few days ago, by seeing Jacob Crugar⁹⁷ step into my tent. He was on a trip to Belknap collecting, and gave us a call. He told me he had seen you about six weeks ago he returned from Belknap yesterday and went on down the Country again, he was looking very well. I suppose there is a good deal of Excitement about the Election: and from all I can hear

⁹⁷ Perhaps Jacob W. Cruger, pioneer Texas newspaper publisher and merchant.—*Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I. p. 441.

it seems likely that Houston will be elected. he appears to have turned Democrat again.⁹⁸ and if he can make the people believe that he will be certain of election. The war in Europe seems likely to become general: I see the German papers are in favor of it; and anticipate another march on Paris— They think it could be done before Russia could get her Armies in motion—but the Dutch are rather too slow themselves, to think of making that charge against others. I have been very busy for the last few days getting of[f] my quarterly papers, as I am Quartermaster again, and have not had but a few moments to write this time. I hope you are quite well—My health is good. Write soon and often.

Your affectionate Son

Wm. E. Burnet

Camp at Brazos Agency

July 13th 1859

My dear Father

Your two letters of June 28th and 30th were received by today's mail and I am very glad indeed to hear again that you are quite well. I fear I have made you more uneasy than the Case required, in regard to the publication of those letters. There has been no harm done—at least none that can bring me into difficulty with the department. When I wrote to you, I did not remember how much I had said in my letters, which I feared you might publish, and which were all written in a careless and hurried way. I have seen the three letters and in them there is nothing that could be construed in any thing more than a slight violation of the Regulations and, as the letters were published without my knowledge nothing can come of it in that way. As I am not now under Major Van Dorn's Command it will be useless to send your letters to him—Capt. Plummer, Gen. al Twiggs, the Sec. of War or the President are the only persons who could take notice of it— I[n] fact, as it is, there is no offence. What I wrote alluded more to the letter stating that we had determined and planned an attack, on those people: when we found that disease was thinning our numbers so fast, that a few more days would have disabled us—The publication of that letter would have laid me liable: and might have envolved others. It was in fact a

⁹⁸ Sam Houston advocated Know-Nothing Party principles in the 1850's, and was mentioned as a possible presidential candidate of that party in 1856. He campaigned unsuccessfully for governor in 1857 (while in the U.S. Senate) on a platform closely resembling that of the Know-Nothing Party. In the 1859 campaign, here referred to, he was elected.—*Ibid.*, p. 847.

desperate Case and required a desperate remedy: and, if it had been resorted to, would have brought us before a Court Martial; but we had a good defence and could not have been hurt for it. The publication of such a determination, would have laid us almost as liable as the attack itself, as a[n] attack on their Camp was a violation of the 'spirit' of our Orders although it could have been covered by the plea of self-defense. The publication of that letter would have been a violation of the "Articles of War:" in which Officers and men are forbidden to give, in any way, information to an enemy. That letter would have shown our weak point & let those people know, that they had only to Camp close by, and by a threatened attack, ob[l]lige us to keep the Indians in a close Camp: which is almost sure to bring on sickness, in this warm weather. This course would force us to violate the 'spirit' of our Orders, and involve us in difficulties or ob[l]lige us to submit to destruction, under the sure hand of a disease, which in its effect and rapidity was equal to the Cholera. Those who try it again had better be more careful than the last set were: if we had been obliged to carry out our plan of attack; not one, out of ten, of them, would have lived to tell of it: but, fortunately, there is a power to regulate these things: and Major Van Dorn's reenforcement, arrived in time: and Baylor was taken with a panic and made a hasty retreat, which saved us from the responsibility of spilling their blood & getting into trouble ourselves. I was uneasy too about the letter I wrote giving an account of the fight at Mr Marlins; I thought I might have said too much in that: All that I said was so; but, fortunately, I did not tell all in that letter. After Baylor had sent his reply, by me, to Capt. Plummer's message; we all expected a fight immediately. It was a very hot day & we were obliged to be out in the Sun, under arms, for some time: this rather warmed up my blood— Besides, Capt. Plummer had his wife here and Capt Ross, the Agent, had his family (his wife and two Daughters and a little boy): all these were very much frightened and put to a great deal of trouble and actual suffering, by the outrages of that Rascal Baylor and his gang: These things, with many insulting messages he had from time to time sent us, made me wish for a chance to bring him to an account: and when I heard he had taken and killed the old Indian: I concluded that he should not get off so easy, to brag that he had come in and taken an Indian from under our very noses and killed him: and went off unhurt. so I mounted my Horse and, with Capt. Ross' son, led the Indians to the attack. A few Indians had fired on them as soon as they killed the old Indian

and kept up a running skirmish for eight miles: before we got to them: There were not more than six Indians firing on them while they were running that Eight miles. When they got out of the timber and on the flat where Marlin lives the Indians turned back; and we met them. When we got up, Baylor had Camped his men and they were making fires to cook thinking they had got off. When they saw us, instead of charging us, they ran: and some got in a deep ravine and the others took Mr Marlins houses and out houses. There was never a more cowardly thing done, by any set of men, to run from less than fifty Indians, when they numbered nearly three hundred. But they had been engaged in dirty work and concluded their time had come; besides the long range & accuracy of the two Minie Rifles surprised them; and they concluded, I suppose, that all the Reserve, Soldiers, Indians & Army, were right on them. Fortunately, for them, they got into Marlins houses—we did not know which House his family were in: and therefore did not fire on the houses or attack those in them. Some of them, braver than the others took a position along a fence, here they staid some time and from which they shot the Indians who were hit: but they could not stand the fire long and all took refuge in the houses: There was nothing left for us to practice on but a few horses they had not time to get into the ravine and it was sun down, so we left them— Mrs Marlin said they were badly scared: some were praying & one fellow took up the boards and got under the floor: They were up all night and did not dare to go out of the houses: and even the next morning, they would not go out to a little grave yard to bury their dead, but put them in the yard, close to the house. They did not leave until noon the next day: when they went to Belknap with their wounded. I did not remember how much of this I had written but there is much of it, I would not like to see published: it is not the popular side but I know it is the right side & I will not hesitate to take a hand against Mr Baylor's party any time they come— I don't regret any part I have taken in it, only that we did not kill more of them. What has been published has done no harm and I only regret it because it brings me forward in a capacity I dislike a writer for news papers and lays me open to the criticisms of the tribe of writers and editors: all of which is out of my line of business and very disagreeable to me. The charge against Baylor, of his having been discharged for stealing, can be proved, if necessary—he has some friends and relations, who are worthy people; and, on their account, I am sorry it came out in connection with my name. Do not make yourself uneasy on account of those letters any more:

What I wrote was more from uneasiness on account of what might come than from what had appeared. I am very sorry I said any thing to make you uneasy: but I was rather so myself and I suppose wrote in that way. The Governor sent some 'Peace Commissioners' here some time ago— Among them was a Mr John H. Brown,⁹⁹ once of Galveston, who had my letter giving an account of my trip to Jacksborough he was talking to Capt. Plummer— and trying to get out of him, what orders I had, when I went there. Plummer said, I went to find the Indian and get the Horses and Papers. Brown then said I should be tried for going beyond my orders as I said in my letter that I intended to arrest or kill the men. Plummer told him, he had nothing to do with my intentions, but that he was responsible for what I had done, as I went by his orders, and that if he (Brown) interfered in any way with it he (Plummer) would hold him personally responsible for his interference: at this Brown "dried up": and did not mention my letter or Jacksborough again while he was here. The same Mr B— is now in Command of a Company sent up here by the Governor to keep the Indians on the reserve and prevent a collision; how they are to prevent it is more than I can tell as Baylor will not attempt[t] [it] with less than a thousand men and how one hundred can keep them off is more than appears: We have heard that Brown said to Baylor, that if he wanted to come that he (Brown) would not be in his way. If there is a fight he had better be well out of the way, or I shall try to pay him for his interest in my letter with an ounce and a half of lead. The Indians will move from here about the middle of August to some place on the Washita River. I expect we will go with them Baylor says that he will be ready to attack them as soon as they get out of this place where the 'position' is too strong for him. If they attempt[t] to follow us they will get a warning that they will not soon forget. I will send the money to Mr Clopper¹⁰⁰ as soon as the Pay Master comes around—The 'War' kept him off so much money was not to be trusted in such a Country as this was: destroy this when you read it.

[no signature]

⁹⁹ John Henry Brown, early Texas newspaperman, politician, and historian.—*Ibid.*, pp. 225-226.

¹⁰⁰ Apparently William's uncle, Joseph C. Clopper. This probably refers to money borrowed by William from his uncle and the latter's sisters while he was a student at Kentucky Military Institute. He mentions the matter several times in later letters. References to William's indebtedness appear in letters by his mother, his father, and A. M. Hobby, in Clopper, *An American Family*, pp. 461-2, 467, 468-469.

Camp at the Brazos Agency
July 24th 1859

My dear Father:

Yours of the 13th was handed to me yesterday by Capt Plummer's son. he and young Ross arrived safely yesterday: They both express themselves very thankful for the attention you showed them and Capt P. request[s] me to thank you for your kindness to his son. I got the copies of my letters. I am sorry they were published but do not think they will do any harm: that is that any notice will be taken of them by the Military Authorities: and if there is any, the fact of their being published without my knowledge, will be enough to get me out of the scrape. About the last one, I was in hopes it would not come out; but I do not think it will bring any one into trouble; in fact I know now that it can't. The only thing I dislike is to appear as a News Paper writer & to be criticized as such by editors. I shall take no notice of any one of their remarks, unless I can fix them on some individual and then it shall not be by a news paper publication. One of the little papers out near here, the Birdville Union,¹⁰¹ has been very bitter on me, but not more so, than on Capt Plummer: who, by his moderation, allowed them to escape when we had them where we could have killed two thirds of them. The Union recommends the Sec. of War to have us dropped from the Rolls of the Army—me, for writing a false statement of the events here; and Capt P. for making a false Official Report. I don't expect the President will take much notice of their advice, in the matter. Baylor says he would challenge me; but he does not want to disfranchise himself, and the first time we meet, however, he will have satisfaction. I have seen him in one fight, and have formed a poor opinion of his prowess: he ran into Marlin's house the first one and even went into Mrs Marlin's room: where he staid, until every thing got quiet; as the houses were not molested, for fear of hurting some of Marlin's family, he was safe in there; and his men followed his example as fast as they could. You need not be uneasy about my safety on account of Baylor or any of his party: They will not hurt any one except they could get some great advantage over him and I don't intend that they shall get that of me. If the world was picked over, I do not think there could be found a more vile and worth-

¹⁰¹ A newspaper published in Birdville, Texas, the county seat of Tarrant County from 1849 until the county seat was moved to Fort Worth in 1856. The village was a mail distribution point for the unorganized area to the northwest. In 1946 its site was then only two miles northwest of the city limits of Fort Worth. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 165.

less set than the people who have squatted along this Frontier and who the papers style the "Brave and injured Frontiersmen." The Governor sent up Mr Brown, with a Company of near 100 men to keep peace &c. Brown was one of the 'Peace Commissioners' who came up here to make an impartial investigation and report accordingly. While they were here they professed to be entirely satisfied that the reports about the Reserve were false: and would not go to see persons living in the neighborhood who could give testimony in regard to the stealing done by Baylor's party; giving as a reason that they were satisfied and were in a hurry. Their report is entirely one sided and their conclusions false. I am satisfied that the Indians on this Reserve have not killed any one, or taken a single Horse from any of the settlers; and moreover, that they have acted with more moderation and submitted to more, than I ever had an idea any set of men could. We hear that there is a move on foot to attack the Indians on the Road. I hope they will try it. We will have three Companies at least—and when they get out on the plane there will be no 'Marlin's house' to get into for protection. We will leave here about the first of August: And I do not much like the prospect of the march—we will have nearly two thousand persons in the train and water is very scarce along the rout. I expect there will be much suffering for want of it: I never have seen such hot weather, as we have had here this summer: The Thermometer has averaged 106° in the shade, from 10 O'C' in the morning until 5 O'C' in the evening, for the last month. It seems to me almost madness to attempt such a march at this season. I expect many of the Women and Children will perish before we get there. They are going on the Washata River, in the Indian Territory, about 200, or 250, miles from here. I will write again before I start and give you any other items I may pick up. If you should not hear from me for some time however, do not be uneasy for after we start I shall not be able to write for some time. I hope your health continues good. I am very well. Write often and direct to 'Camp Cooper' as this place will be abandoned before you get this. Your affec Son

Camp Cooper Texas
July 28th 1859

My dear Father

I am in much haste and have only time to write a few lines to let you know that we are about starting, with the Indians, for their new homes on the Washita River: I do not know the exact point at which they are to be located: it is said to be a fine tract of Country; and there is not

much of it, I think, from what I have seen of that region. I have been appointed Quarter-master and Commissary of the Expedition: and am very busy getting ready. I left the lower Reserve last evening and reached here this morning and will start back with my train, about 40 wagons, tomorrow. The Comanches under their Agent, Col. Leeper, Commanded by Capt Gilbert—will leave here on the 30th. The Indians from the lower Reserve will start on the 1st of Aug't under Major Neighbors & Capt. Ross; Com'd by Major Thomas¹⁰² of the 2d Cavalry. Six Companies (4 Cavalry¹⁰³ 2 Infantry) go with the Indians to see them safe out of Texas and free from Baylor & his gang. It will be quite a move ment: The Indians on the lower Reserve number about 1200 and the Comanches about 400.¹⁰⁴ They have a good deal of stock. The entire Command will number about 2500 Persons of all sorts sizes and conditions and about the same number of Stock Horses, Mules, Oxen & Cattle: Such an emigration does not often take place and will be worth seeing. We are going to suffer for the want of water, and, I fear, a gooddeal. Since I last wrote the Comanches of this reserve had a difficulty with a party of Mr Browns men. An Indian was about a mile beyond the Agency limits driving in his Ponies when he was chased by the Rangers who said they did not want to hurt him, but only to scare him and make him run back to the Reserve. They fired several shots at him: he came in and told the others what had happened and all the men mounted and gave chase to Brown's party who took refuge in an old house nearby where the Comanches attacked them & would have killed the last man of them had not Col Leeper got the news in time and went down: he ran his horse between the House and the Indians taking a cross fire (he was fortunately not hurt) and got the Indians to leave and thus saved Browns party. One Indian was wounded and two whites; none very much hurt. An Indian belonging to the lower reserve was killed some days ago— The Indians think it was done by wild Comanches. I have heard that some of Baylor's men claim the honor. Capt Plummer's Company

¹⁰² George H. Thomas, USMA 1840, served in the Mexican War, and was stationed on the Texas frontier from 1856 to 1860. He was promoted to major in the 2d Cavalry, May 12, 1855, and commanded that unit from Oct. 1857 to Nov. 1860. He earned undying glory in the Civil War as the "Rock of Chickamauga."—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 33-40; Price, *op. cit.*, p. 594; Freeman Cleaves, *Rock of Chickamauga: The Life of General George H. Thomas* (Norman, 1948), pp. 58-59.

¹⁰³ Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 636, 638, says only companies G and H of the 2d Cavalry took part in the removal.

¹⁰⁴ Neighbors and Leeper reported that 1,421 Indians were removed (see above, note 13).

will remain at the new Indian Reserve until further orders. As we take five months provisions we are to be there some time. I shall not be able to write again until I get up there: our Mail will not come as fast as it does here but we will have one. Direct to me at "New Indian Reserve, near Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory, via Fort Smith Arkansas. You had best send the letters to New Orleans, as they will go much quicker than by the over land rout by San Antonio. Write as soon as you get this to my new address and write often. I will not let an opportunity pass of letting you hear from me. I trust that you are quite well and that your health will continue so. it is a long way off that I am going but not so far but that I can come back: and write often. In time I shall be no further from Galveston than I am here, not so far perhaps. My health is good and I am well able to stand the trip if water is not too scarce.

From your affectionate Son

Wm. E. Burnet

[P.S.]

July 29th

I have got my wagons loaded and will start them for the other Camp in a few hours They can only go about seven miles today to the first water. I shall stay here until near night and ride out to them in the cool of the evening as I don't want to ride in the sun any more than I can help We shall have enough of it to do in the next month. I do not think we will have any difficulty with Baylor's party on the road—We have so strong a force that they can't hope to make any impression on us: and will not try although they have said they would make the attempt at all risks. I trust that this will find you well Write soon—

from your affectionate Son

Wm. E. Burnet

Camp Cooper Texas

September 5th 1859

My dear Father

I got your very welcome letter of August 2d; when I reached this place on the third of this month. We had a severe trip—the heat and dust and the want of Water made it very hard: The teams suffered more than any thing else, particularly the Oxen—a great many of them died. Several Indians died; but they were those who had been sick at the Agency; and were too weak to stand such a trip. We never had to Camp without water, such as it was— but water which has been all day exposed to the sun, at that season, standing in holes and ponds, is not very pleasant to drink and does not well quench the thirst excited by riding all day in the

sun & dust. It is all over now though; and has done me no harm, in fact such an emigration is well worth seeing. I wrote to you that we expected to stay there and that the Orders came to us on the road to return. Coming back we had a more pleasant time; or rather, we had not quite so unpleasant a time. We left there on the 19th of August and made our marches early in the day before the extreme heat began. The Country is certainly about as poor as can well be found any where— We passed over a rolling prairie for a long distance then came to the timber, as they called it. This was scrub black hack [jack]—and the sand so deep that the teams could hardly drag the wagons through it: This lasted until we came within about a mile of the river: Then there is a flat, in many places liable to overflow, and a fringe of Cotton Woods just on the bank of the River. There is no shelter for stock and no winter range—horses and cattle will die there, as ours did at Camp Radziminski last winter; only worse, as this place is farther north and more exposed to the 'Northers'; which, in that Country, are ten times more severe than any where else, I believe. They say some miles above where we were there is a fine creek, with plenty of good timber &c, &c. But I do not believe in any such place. We crossed the Washita last winter on our scout to the Canadian and it looked about as it does below, where we were with the Indians: and I don't think there is any good land or good Country of any sort on it, unless quite near its mouth and even there I doubt it very much. It amounts almost to turning the Indians back to their original state—putting them in such a Country—unless the[y] can find the fine Creek they speak of, they might as well abandon any hopes and attempts at civilizing the Indians. It is well they are all safe out of Texas: They could not live any longer where they were—that was certain. Whether it will be for the interest of the people on the frontier, remains to be proven—it will take a large amount of money out of the Country—will spoil a large market for beef and flour; and, deprive the Army, to a great extent, of their services as Guides and trailers, in which Capacity they are unequalled. I think, in less than a year the people along this border would like very much to see the Reserves established again—of course that cannot be. There is quite a force here now—seven Companies— this is only a Camp— there are store houses built— but all live in tents. I think, it will be abandoned in the spring; but, of course cannot tell certainly. It is almost certain some of us will move in a short time—where to I do not know. There is a report that a large Post is to be built near where these Indians are put in the Territory — if so, some of us will be

apt to go there. I enclose a check from Cpt Plummer for the \$50.00 you lent his son— he has Expressed himself very thankful for the favour. I hope your health is good: when do you go to Mr Hagerman's? I am quite well.

from your affectionate son

Wm. E. Burnet

P. S. Direct to "Camp Cooper" via San Antonio

Camp Cooper Texas
September 15th 1859

My dear Father

By our last mail I wrote to you that we expected to leave here on the 11th of this month: but very heavy rains have made all the streams in this part of the Country impassable for wagons and we have been detained on that account. We will leave tomorrow however; and, I think we will not be detained at any of the streams in our rout. Our Orders came just before I wrote last & although, at first, I did not much like the idea of going into that Country again this winter: yet I don't know but it is about as good as this: it will be very Cold, however; and, as we will have only tents, for the winter I suppose it will be rather hard but I have lived in a tent for more than a year now and have got used to it. There is to be a large force at the new Post, six Companies; it will require quite [a] force, as it is in the heart of the Indian Country and 200 miles from the nearest post or settlement, except the Indian reserve; that will be quite near, I believe. The Comanches, Kioways, Kickapoos, and other hostile tribes, appear to be determined to have satisfaction for the sever treatment they have had within the last year. The Country is full of them, in small parties; and they are doing considerable mischief. The people will find they have not entirely got rid of the Indians by moving the reservs; on the Contrary, the Indians, knowing that there are no friendly Indians to follow their trail, will be much more bold than they were before. As the facilities for catching them are reduced their operations, of course, can be extended. Our people won't learn by example or experience. The long wars the French carried on in Algeria cost vast amounts of blood and treasure; and, on a larger scale, they are the same as our Indian Wars on the plains: The same half desert and entire desert Country and the same roving, crafty enemy capable of subsisting on almost nothing and of moving with a rapidity almost incredible and continuing their marches to almost any distance. The French did very little towards reducing the wild Arabs, until they emplotid the natives against them;

and finally, they brought over many of the Arabs themselves into their service. Thus the "Zouaves" were first organized and afterward gradually Frenchified. The "Turcos" are now what the "Zouaves" were ten years ago. Out of their African Wars the French produced an Army the most formidible the World has ever seen because enured to every fateague. We were at the same thing. The Friendly Indians were becoming very useful as guides and had been for a long time: and were beginning to be of use in larger numbers for fighting purposes. I[n] Capt. Ford's¹⁰⁵ fight they did the most of it; as I was told by Ford's Lieut and by Capt. Ross who Commanded them there. In Major Van Dorn's first fight they did not do much except find the Comanches. They were directed to stampede and catch the Comanche Horses. They got 300. In Major V. D's last fight¹⁰⁶ they did good service in the fight; and they were improving in every way, were getting to understand us and to like the employment and to look on the Government as a true friend. But now, that these people have got them out of Texas and to a Country which I think, will starve them out, I should not be surprised, if they were, perforce, driven to hostility: They have suffered enough to drive them to it, I should think. And we will have to contend with them, after having taught them the use of our arms and given them a knowledge of our habits. I hear that Mr Baylor has put a letter into the Galveston News in which he uses my name very severely—I should think, if Mr Richardson¹⁰⁷ is such a warm friend of yours he might decline publishing such abusive epithets against me. Although I have no personal claims upon him: he may find that it is for his interest to let me alone. I may be nearer to him than I am at present and shall not forget the remarks in his paper. As for Baylor, he is not [worth] an honest man's notice he ran away from Arkansas for helping to kill a man. he stole Public Money while he was Indian Agent on which he was put out of Office; and he is a coward besides. But when his abusive language appears in such a paper as the News, it becomes of a little interest. You can tell Mr Richardson that he will do well to keep my name out of his paper when connected with

¹⁰⁵ For an account of the engagement fought by Ford's Rangers with the Comanches on the Canadian near the Antelope Hill's on May 12, 1858, see Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, pp. 155-158; George E. Hyde, *Rangers and Regulars* (Denver, 1933), pp. 24-26.

¹⁰⁶ Probably a reference to Van Dorn's battle with the Comanches on the Nescutunga branch of the Arkansas, May 13, 1859 (see above).

¹⁰⁷ Willard Richardson, publisher of the *Galveston News*. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 470-471.

abuse— I am not a politician to be game for every fool who can write a letter or publish one. It is quite late and I must close as I have to be up by times in the morning. Our new Post (when it is built) is to be called Fort Cobb. You will direct to me at "Fort Cobb Indian Territory Via Fort Smith Arkansas." Write as soon as you get this I have not had a letter from you for some time: more than two weeks. I hope you are quite well and that your health will continue good. Write often & regular and give me the news. My health is very good— We will have an easy march; the hot weather is over. It may be three or four weeks before I can write again so do not be uneasy on my ac't. Good bye my dear Father for the present.

your affectionate son.

[P.S.]

The new Post is to be near Dome rock on the Canadian River or at some site near there, to be selected after the troop[s] get there.

Camp on Red River,
near the Mouth of the
Big Wichita, Sept 26th 59

My dear Father

My last was dated on the 15th of this month and from Camp Cooper: we were then on the point of starting to establish a new Post on the Canadian River, near "Dome Rock"—we got off as we expected and have made this much progress; but here we are stoped by the high water: Red River is up, and there is no telling when we will be able to cross. It has begun to rain in this country for the first time in three or four years and it seems determined to make up for lost time. As Red River drains an immense tract of country, it is fair to suppose that it will continue high for some time. We have provisions to last until the 20th of next month. If the river does not run down soon, we shall be in rather a close place and on short allowance, before we can get where more can be got. Fort Arbuckle is the nearest place: and that is on the other side of the River; and the only place we can cross, as long as the water is high, is at Preston,¹⁰⁸ 130 miles from here. We start an Express back to Cooper for supplies but I do not much think we can get them from there as they have no transportation there now that, I know of, which can be spared

¹⁰⁸ Preston, Texas, in northern Grayson County, the site of George N. Butts' Ferry, which was located eight miles upstream from Colbert's Ferry. Old Preston was submerged by the waters of Lake Texhoma. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 371; Vol. II, p. 410.

for any use. There is no telling when the River will run down: it may, in five or six days; or it may not, in as many weeks—it will take our Express five days to go to Cooper and back by that time we can form some idea of what the River will do: if looks like keeping up & we can't get supplies from Cooper we will have to go down to Preston: but, if it is down, we can then go on to Arbuckle and from there to the new site, wherever that is. When we left I thought we would have an easy, pleasant march but it has been every thing else: The rain has made the ground so soft that the wagons cut in half way to the hubs and our mules are almost broken down now—All the creeks were up and had to be bridged and, worse than every thing else, the Musketoes are ten times as bad as I ever saw them in any place in my life; more of them, larger and fiercer than any I ever met with: They have helped to break down our teams as much as any thing else. I think all day and all night they give the poor animals no rest. I am satisfied that this part of the world was never designed for the white man: and only as a hunting ground, at some seasons, for the Indian. Buffalo and wolves appear to be the only animals capable of getting their subsistence out of this desolate waste: we can go for days and not see a living animal or bird. There are a few Buffalo down and we will have to hunt them to make our supplies hold out as long as possible. I go out, in the morning, with a party for meat: we may be out three or four days. I have not had much time to write and only take the opportunity of letting you know that I am well. I got quite a number of papers, just before I left Cooper, but no letters: in one of the bundles of papers, was a piece apparently cut out with some care; but I did not see any thing particular on it—What was it? I hope that this Express will bring me something from you— word that you are quite well: I trust so.

from your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Camp on Red River
Ferry between Gainsville
Tex. & Fort Arbuckle I.T.¹⁰⁹

My dear Father

I wrote to you last from our Camp on the Red River: at the Mouth of the Big Wichita: and stated that we were detained there by the high water. We staid there until our

¹⁰⁹ This letter was not dated. A note in another hand, perhaps of David G. Burnet, indicates the letter was received on October 27 and answered on October 29, 1859.

provisions became so scarce that it was necessary to get to some place where supplies could be had. We accordingly broke up our Camp and moved down the River, in search of a ferry. At first, we expected that we would be obliged to go as far as Preston, before we could cross: but we found a Ferry at this place; which has saved us nearly a hundred miles of traveling. Our rout down the river was, at first, rather difficult but, after going about fourty miles, we began to find settlements and a Road which saved us much work: me in particular, for, as Quartermaster, it was part of my duties to see the train safely over all the bad places; of which, there were a good many on our mud[dy] rout. We reached here the day before yesterdav and the two days have been taken up in crossing the River: The Boat being hardly large enough for our wagons without the team. We have got every thing over safe, however: and I had time this after noon to get a hundred bushels of corn, which will help our animals a little, as they have been on grass for some time. We expect to start in the morning, for Fort Arbuckle: which is about sixty miles from here: and, about a hundred from where we expect the new Post to be. It will be quite late in the fall before we get there: & I suppose the weather will be getting quite cool, at least—I have been so constantly moving for the last three months that I have had but little opportunity of getting the letters which may have been written to me. I have not had one from you since that one I got while on the road returning from moving the Indians—that was the latter part of August. I hope to get them after a while. The “Baylor Party” have murdered Major Neighbors¹¹⁰ and, I suppose, would like to get some others. The assassination of Major Neighbors was a most foul and cowardly murder; but in good keeping with the other acts of the same party. Major Neighbors was killed in Belknap while on his way from the new Indian reserve. Three men met him armed with double barrel shot guns: and while two of them were talking to him, (asking him if he had accused them of Horse stealing) the other put his gun at his back and fired—so close that the flash burnt a large hole in his coat—he died instantly. This account I had from a man who can be relied on. I have been sometimes sorry for the part I took against these people but this to my mind puts the matter beyond all question: and I only regret that I did not push things against them at Marlin’s as I might have done. I hope this will reach you and find you in good health— Write often my dear Father. I will by every chance—

[no signature]

¹¹⁰ He was killed by Edward Cornett (see above, note 20).

Fort Cobb I. T.
Nov 5th 1859

My dear Father

I wrote to you by the last Express; stating that we had arrived here safely: and some of the incidents of our trip which was a long and rather tedious one but we had, as a general thing, rather good weather: and got a long very well. Since our arrival here, we have been very busy, putting up huts, (tents set on Pickets) in order to have a better protection against the Cold than a tent alone affords; we have made considerable progress; and by the end of next week will be tolerably well fitted up. The mail will soon close and I shall not have much time to write. Our last mail brought me a letter from you; but it was very old, had been at Camp Cooper for some time. Nothing of any interest has taken place here since I last wrote— all hands busy—the greater part of the time. After a while I shall have time to write and will give you a description of the Country around us. Write often. I trust you are well. My health is good.

From your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.¹¹¹
November 10th 1859

My dear Father

I received by our last mail your very welcome letter of Oct. 19th and was much pleased to hear again that you were in good health and that the fever was in so fair a way to be driven off by the change of weather. I hope such will be the case— I am sorry you did not go to the house out of town—but I do not know that there is any use in attempting to avoid any thing of the kind: we are in the hands of a higher power, to direct our course and number our days: men pass through battle and pestilence to die in quiet and among all the appointments of health and comfort. I am sorry to hear of the death of so many young men; but the young are as liable to be called as the aged at such a time; but less apt to be ready. I did not know Philip Grimes' cousin. I am very sorry to hear of Mr Shaw's death— I heard his health was very bad and his recovery very doubtful but did not expect to hear he had gone so soon. I fear the family are not very well provided for: Gustave has a very good place on the Rail Road and if he will stick to it, and study, he will do very well. I heard,

¹¹¹ Choctaw Nation.

in Galveston, that Laura was to be married soon; but, think, there was nothing of it, as the time has passed. Do you know what will be done with Gabe. I wish you would find out, and let me know. I wish I had the means to get him, he would be of great use to me. The "Slip of paper" I spoke of was not Col Allen's letter: that I got by the last mail, and found it quite interesting. What do the people say of the murder of Major Neighbors? do they call it a "good thing", as they do at Belknap and on the Frontier generally? The Indians will be very apt to lead those people a lively dance this winter, and, I think, they have justly earned it: they made war on the Troop[s] (in the papers) drove off the friendly Indians who were a great protection against the Comanches and murdered the Government officer in charge of the Indians, simply for doing his duty faithfully and fearlessly. So they think (or talk) of coming up here, to make a fight? I only wish they would try it. Those who ever lived to cross the Red River, would remember the trip to their last day, if they lived a 100 years: They dare not attempt anything of that sort however. We can turn out 500 men from this Camp and 1000 Indians within 25 miles: enough to clean up any party that will come here—if all the fools and scamp[s] in Texas were to come—There is no such good luck as their coming up here; we would make some amends for poor Neighbors. I hope the Government will take all the troops from that frontier, now Old Sam is Governor as he says the Army is no use. But it is useless to be annoyed by such a set. I shall take care that the cowardly scamps don't get the chance to shoot me in the back, which they would like very well to do, I know.

I hope the health of Galveston is good again and that the few friends I have there are well and have all passed through the season untouched. Here the weather is cold & north winds blowing constantly—day before yesterday we had a little snow: and may expect it now at any time our tents are not as comfortable as a good house but most of us are tough and can stand any thing. Capt Plummer's health is not very good and he has applied for a 'leave of absence' which (if he gets it & I suppose he will) will leave me alone with the Company. if he had not been in bad health and needed a leave on that account I should have applied myself. When he returns I will apply: but I do not know how long he will be out, it will depend on the state of his health. Write often. My dear Father—

from your affectionate son
Wm. E. B.

Fort Cobb C. N.

November 25th 1859

My dear Father

Our last express brought yours of 19th [29th] October and I was very happy to hear from you again, although I am sorry to learn that you had been unwell; and I trust before this you have entirely recovered your health and strength. I hope the Fever has entirely disappeared and health been again restored to the place. By the last mail I sent you a letter, giving all the news at this place nothing of interest has taken place since and we hear no out-side news. Capt Plummer is still in bad health and expects to get his leave of absence in a short time: he expects to leave here about the middle of next month: That will give me Command of the Company with \$10.00 per month extra pay which is a little. I do not know how long he expects to be out it will depend on his health, I suppose, to a great extent: when he returns I will, I think, get six or eight months leave. I see, by the papers, that they are having trouble along the Rio Grande, and I should not be surprised if they sent some of us from here: There is no use for six Companies at this place and I don't think they will all stay here long: but I don't want to go back to the Texas frontier. The people are worse than the Indians and I feel no compassion for them: I think they will have a warm time of it this winter and will be a little more in favour of having the troops than they were: I see they are abusing the Sec'y of War for removing them already: it is hard to please such a set.

We will have no scouting to do here, I think, this winter at any rate. We are now fixed up quite comfortable and the weather is quite pleasant but we have had one very severe "norther" and may expect another at any time: the season has not been near as severe as it was last and we may have a mild winter.

The Buffalo are down in great numbers and Turkees, deer and Geese are to be found but not very abundant. I have given the more direct address to this place several times—"Via Gainsville Tex. and Fort Arbuckle I.T." I have not rec'd the Almanac & map you speak of; but am obliged to Mr R.¹¹² for sending them. My health is good and I trust you are well.

from your affectionate son

¹¹² Willard Richardson, publisher of the *Galveston News*, published the first *Texas Almanac* in 1857 (see above, note 90).

Fort Cobb C. N.

Dec. 10th 1859

My Dear Father

The last mail we had brought no letter from you & the mail due day before yesterday has not yet arrived: it may be detained by some cause we do not know of, or the Comanches may have picked up the party with the express. The last I got informed me that you were not in very good health. I trust that before this you have entirely recovered; but I am still very anxious to hear from you and find my hope confirmed. The last mail brought the Almanac & map. I do not find any mistakes of much importance but I can mention some— The "Cross Timbers" are put too far to the westward. "Victoria's Peak," in Montague County is near their western boundary. The Country which they occupy on the map is entirely destitute of timber—except along the streams. The mouth of the Big Wichita is where we were camped on our way up here, waiting for Red River to run down: and I explored the Country around pretty well: and when we marched down Red River to find a ferry I was 'Guide' and was obliged to take a great deal of notice of the places and Country we passed: Near the mouth of the Little Wichita there is a little Post Oak, which may be a 'sport' from the "Cross Timbers" but it does not amount to much. This is all I can see worth note in a map of that scale. The weather is very cold: the creek and Washita River both frozen hardenough for wagons to cross on the ice and we have had some snow but not much yet. There is nothing new here. I hope the next mail we get will bring me a letter from you. It is too Cold in my hut to write long and I must close. Write often please.

your affecate son

Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb I. T.

January 5th 1860

My dear Father

Our mail arrived a few moments ago and I had the pleasure of receiving your very welcome letters dated December 20th & 13th It gave me great pleasure to hear from you again; so many mails have come and brought me no letters that I was becoming very anxious. The mail should come here with a good deal of regularity and in a short time from Galveston. The rout from Houston to Gainsville is almost direct and a Express goes from Gainsville to Fort Arbuckle, connected with the great California overland mail—from here to Arbuckle our Express runs, which stops for

nothing short of an entirely impassable obstacle. Letters should not be so long on the way or so very irregular. I was happy to hear from Aunt Mary Clopper but regret very much to hear that Mr. Clopper's health has been so bad every one must have their share of trouble, I believe, but it appears to be often the case that an individual or family is afflicted more than their neighbours.

I mentioned in one of my letters that I had received the Almanac and map I made a few remarks on the map, but it is in a part of the Country where there are only a few settlers in one part I mentioned and none in the other and no prospect of there being any soon. I read the Almanac with much interest. I have not much time to write this evening as our mail leaves very early in the morning. it did not get in until two days after time on account of the mail not arriving at Arbuckle by the next mail I will give you some account of our location and the surrounding Country. The troops were taken from the Texas Frontier to protect the Indians who were threatened by the Baylor party, and because the press in Texas represented that the Troops did no good and that the 'dirty shirt rangers' were the ones to catch Indians. Now the reports of facts, in the possession of the Secretary of War, show, in the first place, that there have been quite a number of instances in which the troops have met Indians, and that when they did meet them, in every case, the men and Officers behaved well: They show also that, while quite a number of ranger Companies have been organized, in only one instance, that of Capt Ford, have they ever met the enemy. With these facts before him and the Expression of public opinion so strong against the Army in Texas; combined with the demand for troops in other places of course the troops were withdrawn. I only wonder that any were taken [left]. I will send you the report of the Sec. of War for last year: you will see by that, that, although the Army has done nothing bryliant (they have had no chance) they have not been entirely idle. I trust Mr Wigfall ¹¹³ will be able to do some thing for you in Congress this session. I will send the money to Mr Clopper in a short time now.

I am sorry to hear that Miss Brannum has been sick and hope she will soon recover her health; she did not appear so delicate when I knew her. Tell her, I got a letter from her written in July and answered it; but have got no answer—and would like to hear from her. I hope you will have a pleasant visit to Mr Hagerman. The weather here has been

¹¹³ Senator Louis T. Wigfall, elected to the U.S. Senate in the fall of 1859. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 906-907.

very cold and is so still. we have got accustomed to it however. I am very glad you have a fire in your room and trust that you will take care of your health. Cpt Plummer left some days ago: his health was bad; and, I suppose, he will not join again for some time. I am now the only officer with the Company and cannot leave it until the Captain joins: When he comes, unless there is some extraordinary move, I will have no difficulty in getting a six months leave, and the pay is not reduced when on leave.

your afftate son Wm. E B

Fort Cobb I. T.

January 12th/60

My dear Father

I wrote to you by our last mail stating that I had rec'd your two letters of the 13th & 20th December; also one enclosed, from Aunt Mary—which I was very glad to receive; it is the first I had heard from them direct for a long time. I will give you something of a description of our location here. We are on the Washita River at the mouth of a small creek, called 'Pond Creek,' but, I expect, it is not down on any of the maps. Our Camp is on a piece of level ground, about a mile long and $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile wide; with the River on one side, the Creek on an other and the low hills, which bound the valley of the River, on the others. There is a narrow strip of timber on the River, mostly Cotton wood, and a still smaller quantity on the Creek; but there is enough to answer the purposes of our Camp; or even to supply a regular Post. On eather side of the River there is a rough praire extending north, to the Canadian River; and south to the Wichita Mountains; This district is unfit for any thing that I can imagine—except a few places on the River, the land is not fit to cultivate and there is no winter range for cattle, and the winters are too severe for them to live without shelter. The soil is poor, light sand; the grass coarse and, in winter dried up. After leaving the Wichita Mountains there is very little stone: just around us there is a specimen of sand stone which I never saw before: it is so soft that it may be broken by hand, even crushed by the fingers; and is of no use for building. We tried to use it for chimnes but it would not stand, even for our little huts. North of us there is Gypsum in large quantities; but it is so far from any market that it will be many years before it can be brought into use. Taken in all this is a miserable country ¹¹⁴ The climate is bad—as can be.

¹¹⁴ This description made an indelible impression on his father, who later wrote: "William is without the state, north of Red River, at a new post called Fort Cobb, and in a very broken barren, miserable, and inhospitable region."

In summer, it is hot and sultry—and in winter, cold—with piercing winds blowing constantly. The Indians do not like it; their Horses die of cold and want of food; and they suffer from the cold themselves. Ka-tump-sa,¹¹⁵ the Chief of the friendly Comanches, died day before yesterday, from hemorrhage of the lungs; and there are several of the others suffering from the same disease. I shall be glad to leave here for almost any place: We have quite a number of Officers: and, as there is good feeling among all, we agree very well and that makes up, in part, for the unpleasant country we are in. I think there will be a move in the spring; but, of course, that is only conjecture; but, it appears with the demand for Troops in New Mexico, Washington Territory, Utah and Texas, that they can hardly find a pretext for keeping so many Companies at this place. The press in Texas has been so bitter that the present Sec. of War will hardly send any more troops there than he can help. The difficulty at Brownsville,¹¹⁶ if not all a hoax, may bring back the garrisons along the Rio Grande line: and, if it is well nursed, may bring on a move against the northern portion of Mexico. The chances are, however, that Congress will have no time to do any thing except talk over the slavery question this winter and leave every thing else about as it is now. It is a pity they could not hang some of those who planned & got up the Harper's Ferry mob, as well as the poor fools who executed it. I suppose it is necessary for the politicians to have something to talk about,

D. G. Burnet to Mary E. Clopper, Galveston, March 9, 1860, in Clopper, *op. cit.*, p. 466. It should be noted that Burnet formed these opinions after residing at Fort Cobb for several months. Neighbors, after inspecting the area for two weeks in the previous summer, described the region quite differently, declaring that the land was "eminently suitable for farming and convenient to an abundance of good water & timber for building & fencing; all their settlements being near the main false Wachita River. This is in my judgment truly a splendid country, the valleys are from one to five miles wide on alternate sides of the Wachita. The soil to judge from the heavy coat of grass & weeds is very rich and similar in appearance to the valley lands of Red River, and will in my judgment prove a superior farming country. The adjacent hills are covered with Post Oak of the best quality for building & fencing, and the timbered bottoms of the River and creeks afford a good supply of black walnut, over cup or burr oak and red cedar. I also notice in the hills good quarries of stone, but had no means of testing its qualities. The whole country also abounds in good springs of the coldest free stone water; And to judge from the unusual height of the timber, and the luxuriant growth of grass, it must be sufficiently seasonable to produce good crops. The reserve is capable of sustaining a very dense population and will compare favorably with any other section of country in the Latitude west of the Mississippi." Neighbors to Greenwood. Sept. 3, 1859, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁵ Chief of the Penateka Comanches. The spelling varies. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 384, and Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 212, give Katumse; Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, pp. 164 ff., gives Ketumseh

¹¹⁶ An uprising led by Juan Nepomuceno Cortina (see below, note 119).

or their occupation would be gone, but it is time they found a new subject— The slavery question, I should think, was worn out long ago. I do not think Baylor, or any of his party will attempt any move against this part of the Country. if they do they will find they have got into a hornets nest, for there is no law here for them to fall back on. Major Neighbors' former Clerk, who is now at the Agency below, was here a few days ago; and showed me a letter from one on his friends in Belknap, advising him not to go into that portion of the Country, as it was openly stated that he would be killed if ever he was seen there— The man who killed Neighbors is still at large and will not probably be tried; at any rate, the trial will be a mere farce. I believe the story, of his wife having been taken by the Indians is all false, and that he has sent her off himself. Gabe was hired a year ago by Mr Shaw for one year: I do not think they purchased him and unless you can get something from the Gov't there is not much chance that we will be able to do so. Every thing at these out Posts costs so much, on account of transportation, that I can save very little as long as I at [am] so far out. I will send Mr Clopper \$100 as soon as the Pay Master comes which will be about the first of next Month. I do not exactly know how much is due now as I have lost Mr C's last letter on the subject: it can't be much over a \$100, however. I suppose you have been to Mr Hagerman's and to our place before this. How are they doing at the place? and how are Puss and the children doing? has Emily got well? let me know all about your visit. There is a sad pleasure in hearing of the scenes of past pleasures. I heare that Gustave is on the Rail Road and doing well. Jas. Hagerman goes on with the farm, I suppose. We have no news here. I am anxious for the mail to come in, it was due this morning: I want to hear from the Brownsville affair; and hope to get a letter from you and learn that you are well. I hope Genal Sherman is doing a good business; as he must have had a dull time in the summer. The weather is cold, but not as bad as it has been: The 'norther' may blow up at any time however as it seldom holds up for more than a week, if even that long. Write often, and give me the news any thing local is interesting, we get the general news by the over land mail in less time than it can come through Texas. Direct to me "Via Fort Arbuckle I. T." leaving out the Gainsville part. I believe letters will come better.

your affectionate son
W.E.B.

Fort Cobb C. N.

Feb. 3rd 1860

My dear Father

Our mail of today brought me your very welcome letter of Jan. 6th and relieved me of much anxiety: for the previous two mails had brought nothing and I was becoming very anxious to hear from you.

There are three Officers to a Company; a Captain, and two Lieutenants 1st and Second. The 1st Lieut of our Company is on staff duty at San Antonio, which left only the Captain and myself with the Company and when Capt. Plummer left I came in command: it is a very good position. The Company is a very good one—The men are well drilled and in good discipline; and are a fine athletic set, as you would find any where: They all shoot the Rifle pretty well: and some of them are fine shots: We have been drilling for some time in the new French practice of fencing with the Bayonet: and some of the men are becoming quite expert: The season has been very cold and is so still. We have had a severe time of it being poorly sheltered: but I think the hardest part of the winter is over—the Thermometer has been 5° below zero—that is pretty cold. I did not write by the last two mails, I was out on a scout.

There were some wagons coming up from Camp Cooper without an escort (a very imprudent thing) and they were attacked, while in camp, about 20 miles from here and seventeen mules taken no one was hurt as the Indians were after the animals principally. The Teamsters left every thing and came in frightened out of their wits: They got in about 10 O.C.' at night and at three in the morning we started: The weather was comfortable and we found the trail without any trouble and followed it for about 80 miles, but the Buffalo tracks then became so numerous that our Guides could not go very fast: The third night out, the weather changed and it began to snow; by morning the ground was covered and the trail lost of course. We started back and after a hard days ride camped on a small creek where we were partially sheltered from the north wind and could get fuel: The cold had increased very much and we passed a very uncomfortable night. I had my dog with me, a large Scotch Stag-hound, given to me by Capt Ross, the Indian Agent. I took 'Don' under my blankets to help keep me warm & he did good service. The next day it was so cold and the wind so severe that we concluded to stay where we were rather than ride over the open plain: We laid there three days before it moderated enough to leave & than it was very cold riding

over the plain we walked most of the way to keep up the circulation. Lt Lomax¹¹⁷ got his fingers badly frozen and several of the men were niped. We all got back safe however, but very 'tired of the War.' We got three of the mules and three Horses, the Indians had left when they gave out but they were pretty well broken down.— There are no Ladies here, it would be a hard place for them this winter—several of the Officers stationed here have wives and expect to have them here in the spring..

I hope you will not find it necessary to sell Puss and her children. They are becoming more valuable and besides they are the remnant of Our household in happier days and I should be very sorry to see her sold; but, if it is necessary, it can't be helped, like many other things.

I am sorry to learn that Miss Brannum is still in bad health. What is the matter? I think New Orleans is a poor place to go for health, but a change may be good. Let me know how she gets.

I hope to hear from you soon that you are well. My health is very good.

your Affectionate Son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.
Feb 9th 1860

My dear Father

I have only time to write a few lines. I got in this evening from a hunt and find the time for the Express to leave for Ft Arbuckle has been changed: that it leaves in the morning early, in place of day after tomorrow, as formerly. I found your very welcome letter of Jan 19th and am happy to hear that you are still well during the severe winter we have had. Many of our letters must have been lost, for yours have come to me very irregularly; and I have written to you every week, unless prevented by some cause which I mentioned in my next. I am happy to hear you visited the place and found it in good condition. It is a sad pleasure to revisit a spot consecrated by so many recollections of past pleasures and marked by a great affliction. In a letter before this, you spoke of selling Puss and her children. I hope it will not be necessary to do so: she is about as good as any of her

¹¹⁷ 2d Lt. Lunsford L. Lomax, USMA 1856, assigned to the 1st Cavalry, Sep. 30, 1856. He served on the Kansas-Nebraska frontier, 1857-58, at Fort Arbuckle in 1859, and at Fort Cobb, 1859-60. He resigned his commission, April 25, 1861, and rose to brigadier general in the Confederate Army.—Cullum, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 654; Price, *op. cit.*, p. 580.

class, Black or white, and then Mother raised her and Em & the children and I should dislike to see them sold it was Mother's wish that they might not be. but if it is necessary, it must be. I hope Congress will do something, but they seem so much taken up with their quarrels, as not to have time for any thing else— I wish very much I had Gabe & it would save me a good deal I pay \$20 a month now for a servant. Mr Spears promised me that he would let me have him for \$1000 and would not sell him to any one else without letting me know before hand. I was very sorry to hear of the death of Genal La Mar:¹¹⁸ and I fear his family are not very well provided for. Do you hear any thing of Mrs Shaw? I have not heard of them since Mr Shaw's death and I expect they have been left without much..

I am glad to hear that Miss Sallie Brannum's health is improving, and hope the trip to New Orleans may prove beneficial. Her health has been good, until now, ever since I knew her; and, although slight, she did not appear delicate. I have no news, Except that Capt Gilbert got his collar bone broke a few days ago, his horse fell with him while chasing Buffalo. he is getting well: We have an other Surgeon sent here and orders to keep out small scouts all the time. Write soon—

your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet

Fort Cobb C. N.
Feb 17th 1860

My dear Father

Our last mail got in yesterday but I got no letter from you, nor any papers: I hope by the next I shall be more fortunate.

I have been much anoyed by the irregularity of the mails; but it can not be helped, in these remote frontier posts, where mails are to be carried so far on horseback; & subject to so many delays, from bad roads, and passing through the hands of Country Post Masters..

I got a letter by the last mail from Wm. Resor Jr— he says all of our friends are well in & about Cincinnati: Julia Resor is to be married next month. it is about time, if ever: she is getting pretty old, for a Girl, and never was pretty. She is to marry a man by the name of Foster: I never heard of him before: he is a merchant and doing a very good business. Since I last wrote there has been nothing taken place

¹¹⁸ Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, President of the Republic of Texas, 1839-41. Lamar died Dec. 19, 1859. *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 13-14, 462.

here worthy of notice and I have no news of any kind: The papers we got by the last mail were all old and we heard nothing of what is going on in the world. I suppose they have got to business at Washington before this: if not they had better quit and go home. We have heard nothing from the Rio Grande for some time and do not know what is going on there. I hope they will get that fellow Cortinas¹¹⁹ and hang him. How does Emily do now—can she get about again?

We have had a great deal of rain in the last two weeks and it still continues. I fear it will bring all the streams up and so delay the mails still more, if not cut them off for a time entirely. Our very cold weather appears to be about over but the wet is almost as bad; more disagreeable, if any thing. The Order to keep a scout out from this place all the time has been countermanded, on account [of] the bad country for horses to travel over at this season and the want of any thing for them to eat: They find it rather an expensive amusement, scouting at this time of the year in a country like this, as every scout kills 10 to 15 horses and breaks down about as many more, for they have no shelter and very little to eat. I do not think all the Companies here now will remain very long. There is no use for so many here, and a demand for them in other places; there is no telling which Companies will go. I should like to go to New Mexico or Oregon; but I do not wish to go back to the Texas frontier, unless with the prospect of going into Mexico. Did you go to Mr Hagerman's while you were up in the Country? Has James got home yet? How was Miss Sallie Brannum when you last heard? My time is up and I must close. Write soon, and often.

your affectionate son
Wm. E. Burnet*

¹¹⁹ Juan Nepomuceno Cortina[s], leader of the so-called Cortina Wars in the Brownsville, Texas, area, 1859-60. For the events of the Cortina uprising, see Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, pp. 175-193, and *Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 416-418.

* Inadvertantly, an error in the spelling of the name *Burnet* (given as *Burnett*) appeared in the heading and in Table of Contents for Part I of this series of William E. Burnet letters, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1960), pp. 241, 274.—Ed.

(Continued in Part III)

TECUMSEH AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

By Florence Drake*

The story of the "openings" in the old Indian Territory for homestead entry has been told many times yet there are a great many people now living in the state of Oklahoma who are not familiar with this story nor with the conditions that existed at that time. It is true that almost everyone gives a different description of the dramatic events connected with the openings, which does not mean that each story is not true, but simply that each person's experience and impressions may have been different.

School histories give the significant facts about the causes that brought about the openings of the Indian country for white settlers, which include the opening of the reservations of the Sac and Fox, the Shawnee-Potawatomi and the Iowa tribes that occurred on September 22, 1891 when the new area was designated as County A and County B.¹

It will be remembered that the central part of the Indian Territory, "Old Oklahoma," had been successfully opened two years before, April 21, 1889. The fame, or interest, of that opening had spread throughout the nation and had inspired men and women with romantic allure, even a challenge. Young men and women from pioneer families in other states, with ambition and vision, were interested in building a commonwealth equal to any in the land, eager to "get in on the ground floor" of a country of unlimited opportunities. Horace Greeley's famous advice, "Go west, young man" was taken literally.

It is about the opening of "County B" (1891) that this sketch begins. Tecumseh, the name of the famous Shawnee warrior, had been selected as the name of the county seat. The townsite was to be one mile square, with a block in the center reserved for a courthouse and business and homestead lots, with streets and alleys leading out in all directions. The country was surveyed for section and quarter sections of 160 acres a head of a family, 80 acres for a single person.

* Florence Drake has contributed this historical scene of the City of Tecumseh to *The Chronicles* as she nears her 90th birthday. She was born at Coldwater, Mississippi, on January 20, 1872. Her early education was in private schools, followed by one year spent in a girl's school. She married John W. Drake on January 1, 1889. The young couple moved to Texas in 1896, and to Oklahoma in 1898. They were the parents of eight children including twin sons. Mr. Drake and five of the children are deceased. Mrs. Drake is the well known writer of published articles and other works, including the historical volume *Civilization* as told to her by Thomas Wildcat Alford, published by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1936.—Ed.

¹ When the survey was made, a strip of the recent reservation was added to Oklahoma County. John L. Fortson, *History of Pottawatomie County*.

Soldiers guarded the surveyed lines where thousands of people waited for the signal: soldiers fired a pistol and the run was on for farms throughout the country. But the surveyors had not finished surveying the townsite which was designated for the county seat of County B, so it was not opened until the next day, September 23 at noon when it was "opened" as scheduled. This was fortunate for it gave some who had failed to get a homestead or farm land an opportunity to try for a town lot.

It was a frantic mob that tried to secure the best locations. Those who took part in that scramble declared that there were very few arguments, or dissensions over claims and only one fatal accident when a man, Dr. Roundtree, jumped from his horse to stake a lot in the heart of the townsite, and in the wild excitement, was trampled to death by horses. On the whole, this townsite opening was apparently a well planned and regulated procedure. By the next day excitement had subsided and settled activity took its place. Tents dotted the landscape, the sound of hammers and saws filled the air as men nailed together buildings with lumber they had brought in sections, ready to be made into business shacks and homes. Those who had failed to get lots for themselves were trying to get a foothold, helping others set up shacks and do some kind of business.

One enterprising young couple set up a large tent and was soon serving meals. Two young men, Tom Smith and J. H. Hibbard, who had brought lumber for a shack and a huge oven, set some yeast and were baking bread. Years afterwards Tom Smith, talking of that day said, "We had to board up the windows to keep the mob out. They would yell, 'Take it out! It's done enough. We'll eat it!' as the fragrance of baking bread would float out on the sultry air."

Mr. George Massey, later business man of Oklahoma City, then a boy of twelve years, told of selling water that his father had hauled in a barrel from the river, at five cents a tin cupful. Charles Benson, who later became one of the leading men of the County, declared that claim jumping was the favorite sport of the day. There was one "slick promoter" who staked a claim in an alley and put up a little tent. Some anxious "sucker" would come along and buy it, thinking it was a lot. The slicker would take the money and his tent and move on. An accomplice would tell the sucker that it was an alley. The sucker would move on and the promoter would return and repeat the performance. Besides tents many families set up housekeeping in shanties and crude cabins. Some built sheds of lumber they had ready cut, some lived in shacks they later used for stables for their horses after better houses were built.

Everybody was busy! It was marvelous how quickly things came into order. United States mail was brought in a covered wagon guarded by U.S. Marshals. Merchants brought in stocks of groceries in covered wagons. Big teams hauled in loads of lumber and heavy household necessities. One man, a Mr. Moyle, brought machinery for a saw mill and was sawing logs into lumber right after the opening providing much needed building material.

It was several days before a townsite commission was organized, claims were recognized and filed. All county claims had to be filed, and registered in the Oklahoma City Land Office which was a distance of fifty miles or more. This office had been established when Oklahoma Territory's Organic Act had provided that any Indian reservation land that might be opened later, should be added to Oklahoma Territory.

Oklahoma had been opened under a Republican administration and all officers were appointed so the officers for County B under territorial regulations had already been named. However, they did not receive their certificates of appointment until October 27, 1891 and took up the official business of county government.² The newly appointed officers soon had make-shift buildings where they established the machinery of county and town business. A rough, drafty building on the corner facing what is now Washington Street, was used for a courthouse. A jail was made substantial for it might be needed soon, and other crude buildings were put up facing what now is Broadway to serve the different offices. These buildings served until 1897 when a commodious brick courthouse was erected in the middle of the square facing Broadway.

County commissioners divided the county into townships, and declared the town of Tecumseh incorporated. Appointed officers held office until the first Monday in January, 1893 when they were succeeded by elected officers. At this election held in November, 1892, the name of the county was changed from County B to Pottawatomie County.

The location of the county seat had been a subject of controversy even before the reservation had been opened to settlement. The Philadelphia Society of Friends had opened a Mission and school for Indian children under the supervision of Joseph Newsom of Indiana, and a licensed Indian trader had

² First appointed officers for County B were: H. G. Beard, commissioner for first district; Samuel Clay, second district; A. M. Clardy, third district; W. R. Asher, county judge; J. H. Woods, county attorney; Oscar G. Lee, county clerk, succeeded by F. E. Adams; John A. McCartney, county treasurer, succeeded by Davis Hardin; C. J. Benson, county superintendent. *Ibid.*

opened a store and post office called Shawneetown³ about one mile south of the present city of Shawnee. Some interested parties thought the county seat should be on the north side of the Canadian River near where a cattle trail leading from Texas to shipping points in Kansas crossed the river. Others believed the county seat should be nearer the center of the county. People who settled Tecumseh believed the location would be permanent and went to work accordingly. The controversy raged for many years, with bitter feelings, until 1931 when Shawnee won the fight and the County Seat was moved to Shawnee, a beautiful courthouse was built and all offices moved there.

Most of the first county officers were young and inexperienced and no doubt many mistakes were made. Only those who have lived through such a situation can really understand the handicap such partisanship can be to civic improvement and progress. But the people, who made up the population of Tecumseh at that time, went to work with the vigor and determination accredited to pioneers of all time. It was a period of progress when railroads were extending their lines and bringing thousands of land-hungry people to develop the vast unknown country. So the people who came to the Potawatomi country believed that the much talked about new railroad which was going to build through the country would inevitably come through the town designated as the county seat.

S. P. Larsh, one of the leading business men who did much for the good of the town all through the years said, when speaking of those days of struggle and strife, "We were all young and ambitious, banded together with the burning desire to develop the country and build a good town. We took time to get acquainted with each other and were not too busy to be helpful."

Several years later Alvin Rucker, a reporter for *The Daily Oklahoman*, wrote for this paper:

No other county in what is now Oklahoma went through such a lurid epoch as did Pottawatomie county. Captain Styles and his soldiers dominated the situation in Oklahoma county during the opening period; land in the Comanche country was distributed by lottery conducted in an orderly manner. Railroads had been built, and the mantle of law and order had been cut to fit to some degree. But Pottawatomie county started "flat-footed," and had to work out its own destiny, a veritable kindergarten of growth.

³ Shawneetown ("Pottawatomie Nation") was established on January 6, 1876, with Thomas Deer as postmaster. This post office was discontinued, effective February 25, 1892, mail to Tecumseh.—George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 243.

Settlers in Pottawatomie county were confronted with problems from which the settlers of Oklahoma Territory were free. Oklahoma Territory was devoid of inhabitants, particularly of an Indian population, while in Pottawatomie tribes possessed cattle and horses and some revenue from leasing land to the whites.

Oklahoma Territory settlers found trains and telephone lines crossing the country while Pottawatomie county was not traversed by either. Pottawatomie was always torn with internal strife, dissension, and often at cross purposes with territorial authorities. Added to these disadvantages was the fact that this country was bordered on two sides by Indian Territory, and it is easy to see why the county became the rendezvous, immediately after the opening, for outlaws operating at that time, and horse and cattle thieves from the line of saloons that sprang up along its borders providing convenient hang-outs for these characters.

Early day criminal dockets are long lists of trials for horse stealing and cattle rustling. At the turn of the century the Anti-horse Thief Association was organized, and began its effectual functioning, and put an end to much of this troublesome condition.

This statement by Rucker describes the situation in retrospect, and gives some idea of the difficulties that confronted the early settlers. However, the object of this sketch here is to tell something about the social and cultural side of life as it developed in this newly settled country around the turn of the century as well as the struggle to establish and maintain standards of behavior equal to those in other states.

Many of the men and women had come from communities where actions were measured by what we now call "Victorian standards." It is difficult for the younger generation now to understand any social life, or interesting conditions and experiences when there were no electric lights, no paved roads, no automobiles, and very few of what we now call "necessities" in ordinary homes. It is hard, too, to understand that people who lived in tents, dug-outs or two room shacks could or would maintain those standards. The writer knows of one family who lived for a short time in a tent, but used Haviland china table service, and linen napkins were a daily necessity.

But the pioneer spirit that has helped develop wild countries since the beginning of time, also developed strength of character, and caused people to give up cheerfully the comforts of life. Yet these days did not quench the sense of dignity and gracious living that is truly an American heritage. When such people go into a country and form a community, they establish a society based upon habits already formed.

Alvin Rucker in his description of the situation has told something of the difficulties that beset the early settlers⁴ with

⁴ There were at one time 62 saloons in Pottawatomie County.—Fortson, *op. cit.*

the train of outlaws, horse and cattle thieves added to the difficulties of the early settlers in their efforts to build a respectable town or city.⁵

The early day outlaws were gentlemen. Many times they have come into my house when I was away, cooked themselves a meal, and left everything just as they found it. They would steal your horses or cattle, rob a bank or a train (robbing trains was a favorite past-time for outlaws), shoot up a town, but they would take off their hats to a lady and were kind to little children.

It was the first Sunday after the opening of Tecumseh townsite that the Reverend William Meyer, a missionary of the Home Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, and Mr. William Davis, a missionary from the Sunday school work of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A., held the first public religious service in Tecumseh in the shade of a tree on the courthouse square. This day nine people indicated their desire to organize a Presbyterian church.⁶ Mr. William Davis, who helped Reverend Meyer at this meeting, later (on October 17) organized a Union Sunday school which was very well attended until other denominations started church services, and of course, members went to their own church services.

Mr. Meyer preached regularly twice a month, holding services in any office or store where space was available, until January, 1892 when the Presbyterian Board of Missions sent a large tent, or tabernacle, in which the organization was completed on February 28, 1892.⁷ There were later meetings when occasionally others were added to the membership, but the first baptism and communion service was held under the tabernacle, July 3, 1892. Mr. and Mrs. William Pratt Scott and their two older children, and William Lester, infant son of Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Payne were baptised the same day, and were the first to receive the ordinance of baptism in the new organization. Minutes of other meetings show meetings held in members' homes, and the names of others welcomed into the church from time to time.⁸

Later there were minutes of meetings held at the Congregational Church by the Presbyterians, though there is no record of the organization of the Congregational Church. The church

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ "Church History," meeting recorded by Reverend William Meyer.

⁷ At this time J. C. Fullerton and Marcus Daugherty were elected and installed as ruling elders of the First Presbyterian Church of Tecumseh. Membership of the church consisted of the following: Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Daugherty, Mr. and Mrs. Chisholm, Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Griffith, Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Boyle, Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Fullerton, Miss Clara Fullerton, Frank Fullerton, G. W. White and Mrs. William Meyer.

⁸ Among them were Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Lewis, Mr. Jim H. Gill and his wife, Nina Gill, Mr. and Mrs. William Search and daughter, Emma, Mr. and Mrs. John Floyd and others.

seems to have held meetings and Sabbath school in the Friends' Church until the permanent church was built soon after the turn of the century at the location where it still stands.

Evidently the next church to organize and establish a permanent home was the First Baptist Church which was organized in the district court room of the old courthouse, by the Reverend J. W. Lambright, the associational missionary, in March, 1893.⁹ It was not long after the organization that the Church built a house of worship on lot 14, in block 63. In 1900, lots 17 and 18, Block 81 were bought and the building was moved to the present location on Broadway. From time to time additions have been made to the property, including Sunday school rooms, a two-story educational building and a fine parsonage. During 1958, a splendid new sanctuary was built and was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on November 30, 1958.¹⁰

During the years this church has not only added to the religious atmosphere of the community, but has sent out earnest workers in the different branches of the church work. The Reverend J. A. Scott started at Oklahoma City the Oklahoma Baptist Orphan's Home in which two young women from this church serve acceptably as matrons. Three young men have answered the call to the ministry from the Tecumseh church, while many others, who have gone out into the world, have been a credit to their church training.

There were two branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first recorded organization was that of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, which was held on November 27, 1892, by the Reverend L. J. Amos. Ten persons presented themselves for membership at this meeting: John Phipps, C. M. Phipps, G. C. Story, Mary Story, Mary J. Biggs, Mary Cloud, Lela Hendry, R. S. Shackelford, Laura A. Moyle, Callie Jones. A Sunday school was organized, and there were from forty-five to fifty persons who were regular attendants.

⁹ The Reverend W. R. Chandler was the first pastor. Charter members were Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Hurst, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Row, Mr. and Mrs. John Smith, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Rucker, Mr. and Mrs. I. A. Smith, Mrs. Jeston Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Huckabee, Miss Betty Munday and Mr. N. A. Warryburg. Deacons were, J. M. Rucker, Mr. Banks and Mr. Fream.

¹⁰ A list of pastors of the church include: Reverends W. R. Chandler, J. A. Scott, George Lowc, A. P. Stone, L. W. McGee, McBroom, R. L. Farmer, Davis, Jeter, Hamblin, G. W. Herrington, L. E. Jarrell, Joseph Wilhelm, G. R. Naylor, M. C. Steward E. L. Jenks, E. S. Stover, C. O. Bland, Troy Denton, Carl Owns, Glen Gurley, Loren Messenger, Carl Mitchum, W. A. Henry, and the present pastor, Eculis Grisham.—Mrs. R. E. Hey in *Shawnee News Star*, Nov. 29, 1958.

There is no available record at this writing on the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is known that there was such an organization in Tecumseh and that the two Methodist groups evidenced a desire to federate, the two working together harmoniously for fifteen years. Complete consolidation, however, was not accomplished until unification of the three great branches of the Methodist Episcopal denomination. Since that time, the Tecumseh branch has continued to be an outstanding symbol of Christian faith and Methodist zeal.

As Tecumseh grew and developed, other religious groups were organized, but unfortunately there are no records of their beginnings available at this time. It is a fact that Tecumseh was known throughout the area as a "city of churches." The list of well remembered church buildings in 1899 include the following: The Methodist, both North and South, the Congregational (which later became the Cumberland Presbyterian), the Christian, the Missionary Baptist, the Freewill Baptist and the Catholic. Later there were the Church of God and the Church of Christ besides others already mentioned.

With this picture of the religious interest in building the new town sustained, this story comes to the point of educational and economic progress. By 1900, the United States had entered into a new phase of history and development through the extent of the change that no one could foresee. When the new courthouse was built in 1897, Tecumseh people felt that the issue of keeping the county seat was definitely settled, and set to work with new courage and optimism.¹¹

The school system was expanded and became, as it should, one of the foremost projects of the people. This educational program passed quickly from the subscription school taught by Miss Henry in the Friend's Church to an accredited high-school. A little later the Indianola Business College was established.

¹¹ Tecumseh was a railway station for a mixed train twice daily (8:10 a.m. and 4:15 p.m.) on the Tecumseh Branch to Asher, the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad, shown on the map of Time Table No. 15, taking effect Sunday, January 25, 1903 at 6:30 a.m. The Tecumseh Branch out of Shawnee had been built shortly before this time. The first train to run into Shawnee was on July 4, 1895, over the new tracks of the Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad, with James McNerney as engineer and Bill Martin as fireman. This train was followed by an excursion train of fifty flat cars bringing sightseers. The trains on the Tecumseh Branch left Shawnee to Tecumseh Junction, 2.3 miles east, and thence southwesterly to Tecumseh.—Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, Choctaw District, Pan Handle Division, Time Table No. 1 (September 1, 1904); *Locomotive Engineers Journal*, February, 1942 (Vol. 76, No. 2), p. 121, in C. C. Kegelman Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society Library.—Ed.



Baptismal Scene at a farm pond, three and a half miles west of Tecumseh, on October 10, 1904.

Agricultural prospects were promising in the county. The agricultural products were mostly cotton and corn, but orchards were planted, and a young nursery started to supply the need for planters. In September, 1898, John W. Drake was sent to Tecumseh by the Birge Forbes Cotton Company, large cotton exporters of Sherman, Texas to buy cotton for export. That year more than 11,000 bales were shipped from the County. Two years later Mr. Drake and the Texas firm organized a cotton seed oil mill that was the first big industrial plant to employ a large number of men and bring substantial payroll to the growing town. Thus the prosperous days at the end of the Century found a flourishing little city.

It is not to be understood that there were no hardships at this time, nor were the people living quiet placid lives. There were still many skirmishes between the representatives of law and order, and the outlaws and ruffians who were brought here by the lure of a new town and in the exploiting of the Indians. There were many notorious characters, many politicians and shrewd business men who fought legal battles over debatable questions. But every church had its organizations and social functions were strictly observed. There was an active womans' club. Women had calling cards and some of them observed "At Home Days" with their "day" printed on a corner of their cards. The writer recalls here two very well-dressed and charming ladies came to call, leaving their cards on a goods box with legs nailed to it, which served for a table in the living room. Different churches held revivals and increased membership. Church dinners, ice cream socials, quiltings were given as entertainment and helped financially.

Lodges, and their womens' auxiliaries played an interesting role in the social life of the town: the Masonic Lodge and its Eastern Star; and several lodges that furnished insurance, the Modern Woodmen, the Woodmen of the World, the Ancient Order of the United Workmen, the Odd Fellows. These were, all active, and in their open meetings when the auxiliaries furnished banquets, the men, mostly young lawyers or professional men, toasted the ladies and jibed at each other in the spontaneous wit of college training. The Eastern Star probably ranked first in these organizations, for later one of its members, Mrs. Ida Lewis was National Grand Worthy Matron and had the honor of being one of the hostesses in the Eastern Star building at the World's Fair.

The first Woman's Study Club was named "The Bena Dea Study Club." Audacious young Guy Cutlip, whose mother was one of the organizers, called it "The Boney Dears," which was not complimentary when womens' figures were admired for their "corn-fed" proportions. The motto of the club was:

"The Clock of Time Has Struck the Woman's Hour." How little was it realized then the truth of this! The club had a heavy course of study, which ranged from social life in Europe to developments in the Klondike. Each summer there were Chautauqua lectures under a tent in the park. The Club's reading program ranged from Augusta Evans through *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *The Womans' Home Companion* and *Harpers* to Tolstoy and Sir Walter Scott. Members marveled at the prophesies of Edward Bellamy! Their children read the *Youths' Companion* and *The Chatterbox*, as well as the Sunday school literature. (There was no radio or television!)

There were several active "aid societies" among the different churches. Their functions then, as now, comprised a large part of community life. There were church dinners in the winter time, ice cream socials on the church lawns to raise money for charities and church improvement in summer. Women members of the churches baked cakes and donated milk for the ice cream and small boys turned the freezers for the privilege of "licking the dasher" when the ice cream was frozen.

Among the leaders remembered in both religious and social affairs were: Mrs. S. P. Larsh, Mrs. Ida Lewis, Mrs. John A. Clark, Mrs. C. A. Stauber, Mrs. A. D. King, Mrs. H. H. Wagner, Mrs. A. W. Butts, Mrs. A. W. Crow, Mrs. W. J. Carson, Mrs. D. B. Madden, Mrs. George Ward, Mrs. W. M. Durham, Mrs. J. M. Rucker, Mrs. J. Pickens, Mrs. E. J. Grey, Mrs. Nunnally, Mrs. McKee and many others who came into the town and took up the work of establishing social order.

Among the younger women and girls remembered by the writer were lovely and gracious Betty Munday, Winnie Mitchell, beautiful petite Rhettta Mae Crow, lovely golden-haired Lillian Pittman whose songs gave pleasure to music lovers; the ever-charming Butts sisters, the vivacious Biggs sisters; the pretty, attractive Durham sisters (Hattie and Nettie); Rena Rucker, Annie McElroy, charming Minnie Oliver and many others. It was a veritable "Kingdom of Youth" and we did not realize that the social changes we accepted were taking place all over the country, even as electric lights were taking the place of oil lamps and tallow candles.

Women generally kept up with fashions current in the older towns. Although there were no dry-cleaning facilities, the art of "sponging and pressing" was worked to satisfaction. The small houses with limited closet space and even clothes hangers, as we know them, were unknown. But every home had a "skirt box" which was a long wooden box with hinged and padded top (top was also used for a seat) in which suits and dresses were kept, with waists and shoulders stuffed with crumpled paper to hold their shape. Long tight corsets and



(Photo, 1904)

Presbyterian Ladies' Aid meeting at home of Mrs. M. M. Henderson at Tecumseh, Oklahoma Territory.

large wire bustles were necessities; long full skirts had dust ruffles under the hems that helped to keep skirts clean and neat. Long sleeved basques, or shirt waists, with high collars were for ordinary wear, but for dressy costumes "Medici" collars, stiff and high in the back and filled in with dainty ruching or lace, made exquisite background for shapely throats. Ladies wore their hair long, either in a braided coronet, or a "Psyche" knot with a jeweled pin or comb standing becomingly high above the forehead.

Materials used for dresses were worsted, heavy silks, serge and even velvet for dressy wear in winter, with natural colored linen, pique, and silky gingham for summer use. Most women wore indigo blue or other fancy colored calico for everyday house dresses. Hats were large, heavily laden with plumes, velvet or ribbon bows, flowers and bandeaus holding flowers next to the hair on the side. For winter hats were of velvet or felt trimmed with long, drooping ostrich plumes; for summer they were of shirred chiffon or mousseline de soie or leg-horn straw. Sailor hats, favorites with many, had small crowns and wide brims, and were pinned to the hair with long hat pins. (No beauty shops necessitated curl-papers and dust caps for every day!)

Women wore high topped button or laced shoes, slippers were for children or dancing. When thin silk stockings became general, most women wore them over their cotton or lisle hose. Skirts were then three or four inches from the floor.

Men wore, at this time, long double-breasted Prince Albert black coats or frock coats with plain or fancy vests, and loose trousers. Blue serge was a favorite color, and seersuckers good for summer. Bow ties, or large cravats with stiffly laundered collars and white shirts; celluloid collars and cuffs were worn, but not in the best taste. Stiff derby hats made a strong contrast to the soft fluffiness of women's hats.

Young women rode horseback on "side saddles" with long, flowing, black riding skirts. Older women, those who could afford them, drove phaetons with fringed tops, or buggies, either with or without tops.

No streets were paved, and boards walks were only in the business part of town. Telephone lines did not extend to the residential district. Even churches were lighted by tin reflector lamps.

Womens' Christian Temperance Union had an ative organization, and talked in hearty praise of Carrie Nation and her "hatchet crusade" against the saloons. The movement for Woman Suffrage had its advocates, yet most of the women

were too timid to declare themselves in favor of the intrusion into "the mens' business and politics." Only a few years later there was a rousing crusade that swept the nation, and the Nineteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution, which gave the women the long-sought privilege of voting.

It is not to be supposed that life was dull and uneventful during these years at the turn of the Century. As the developments came about that have been recorded here, people went about their everyday tasks cheerfully, with optimism and courage. Chivalry and romance flourished, combining to bring culmination to youthful dreams and ambitions. Social affairs were conducted with dignity and decorum.

The writer remembers an event that was especially delightful marking something that no one who was present would ever witness again—the ending of a century! It was a New Year's Eve party, December 31, 1899. The Bena Dea Club entertained their husbands in the Judges' chamber of the new courthouse. Mrs. Nunnally was president of the Club and Mistress of Ceremonies. There were twelve members present, and she called upon each member to introduce her husband who responded with a speech. All complimented the club appropriately, all recognized the significance of the occasion, the ending of a century, the beginning of 1900 on the new calendar. Prophecies of future developments seemed fantastic, yet some have lived to see those prophecies more than fulfilled scientifically. However, no one suggested the two World Wars, nor the age of atomic discoveries although the country had just come through the Spanish-American War. So well planned had been the entire procedure that the clock struck the midnight hour, just as the last speech was ended, and the group stood for prayer for "peace and prosperity in the Twentieth Century."

REMINISCENCES OF TWO CORPS MEN OF BASE HOSPITAL 85, WORLD WAR I

*By Guy R. Moore**

Physicians, surgeons, dentists and nurses were mustered into the service at various training camps following the declaration of war on Germany in 1917. Hundreds of these medics were brought to Fort Riley, Kansas, and given military drill. These men were to be the officers of the several units that reached from the front lines to the base hospitals. About one hundred physicians and as many nurses were assigned to each base hospital.

On April 16, 1918, Captain Robert H. Stephenson of the Medical Corps was given command of Base Hospital No. 85, which was yet to be organized. On May 29, a train load of recruits including many boys from Oklahoma arrived at Fort Riley.¹ May 31, after the holiday, we were mustered in, inoculated and issued uniforms. On Sunday, June 2, religious organizations conducted services and a photographer took group pictures. On Monday, we packed the things we brought with us into our suit cases and sent them home. We were formed into platoons and drilling began. We drilled every day except

*Guy Rowley Moore, B. A., the University of Kansas, 1916; M.A., University of Oklahoma, 1925; entered the service from Pawnee, Oklahoma. A copy of his Masters' thesis on the history of the Pawnee Indians is on file in the Collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Moore lived in Oklahoma from 1901 to 1929, and taught school here for thirteen years. He was a member of the first contingent of men assigned to Base Hospital 85 in World War I, and one of the last remaining to be discharged from that unit. Much of the information for this article is taken from the letters which he wrote to his mother. He was also materially assisted by Rexford B. Cragg, from Chandler, a sergeant, who kept a diary.—Ed.

¹ Of the personnel who entered from Oklahoma only thirty names have been collected. The Christian names of some are missing, likewise some home towns. One officer, Captain E. W. Tidrowe from Woodward was one of our physicians. Our Protestant Chaplain, W. R. Goodloe, was also an Oklahoma man. Of the corps men, there were: Fred F. Acree of Cameron; George S. Best of Cushing; Otto C. Bogdahn of Woodward; Rexford B. Cragg of Chandler; Clarence Emerick of Wellston; Frank Frizzell and his twin brother from Sparks; Bryant L. Grove from Alva; Homer E. Hale from Claremore; Edward R. Hughes from Woodward; Russell Hughes from Henryetta; Thomas Hinds from Paoli; James W. Jefferson from Whitesboro; Dale Jeffries from Chelsea; Kirkpatrick from Cushing; Paul Little Eagle from Pawnee; John Moody from (?); Guy R. Moore from Pawnee; "Bull" Moran from Shawnee; Alexander Mudd from Pawhuska; George Oaks from Nowata; Harry Pahunka from Pawhuska; Penn from Pawhuska; Walker Penn from Pawhuska; Dixie R. Pike from Chelsea; Penn Rogers from Eaton; William P. Rogers from Nowata; Riley F. Shifflett from Marlow; and Taylor from Ponca City.

Sundays until June 18. Before our drilling instructions were completed the hay flats which had been covered with grass, knee high, were converted into a barren, dusty waste. On June 5, we made allotments to our dependents, sending them fifteen of the thirty dollars which we were to receive monthly. About sixty-five of us were assigned to Base Hospital No. 85. Classes in French were organized which led us to believe that it would not be long until we would be sent across. Two men were assigned to our unit whose talents were to brighten many dark hours. They were Homer E. Hale, a mandolinist and comedian, of Claremore and Dale Jeffries, a violinist from Chelsea. Many were the times we gathered around them and sang "We're Coming Over," "K-k-k-Katy" and other popular songs.

We were instructed in anatomy and first aid. On June 22, we were issued medical packs, which included a belt with pockets containing bandages, iodine swabs, aromatic spirits of ammonia, and other first aid materials. From this belt hung a hand ax and canteen. In the pack that was suspended from our shoulders we carried our personal effects, a meat can and a condiment can. Over this pack was placed our blanket roll covered with half the pup tent. On Monday, June 24, we were moved by train to Camp Doniphan at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Here organization and preparation for hospital work continued. They tested us to see if we were disease carriers. We were taught rescue work of various kinds and how to carry wounded. There was rigid drilling and careful inspection. July 1, was our first pay day.

During the long days of quarantine we contrived various modes of entertainment. On one occasion Simon, of the Jewish faith, decided to raise a mustache, this became the object of our fun. It was decided to bring him to trial for such a "misdemeanor." Fred Acree, an Oklahoma boy, assumed the position as judge. "Attorneys" were arranged and a jury was sworn in. As the trial began the prosecution maintained that the mustache was unsanitary and carried the germs that kept us in quarantine, likewise in wearing a mustache he was impersonating an officer which is illegal. The defense held that it was a necessary asset since it enabled Simon to strain the bugs out of the Oklahoma water. The outcome was that Simon was found guilty and "Judge" Acree pronounced the sentence that the mustache should be cut off by the company barber. A scuffle ensued but one could not withstand so many. Although he fought the operation vigorously, the mustache was so mutilated that he had to finish the job.

It was a happy surprise to many of the boys to receive the rank and chevron of first class private on July 17. Then a final check was made on allotments and insurance policies.



(Photo taken at Angers, France, 1918)
Privates Guy R. Moore and Paul Little Eagle,
 from Pawnee, Oklahoma.



(Photo taken at Fort Sill, 1918)
Sergeant Rexford B. Cragg from Chandler, Oklahoma,
 wearing the medical belt.

On July 25, one hundred fifty-one men arrived from Camp Oglethorpe, and Camp Greenleaf, Georgia, to complete and fill our unit. Most of these were Italian and Irish who originally came from Brooklyn, New York. The Italians could not understand the English of the Middle West.

Our unit took over the hospital on August 3, and we were introduced to the task of being ward men. Ten days later we were measured for the olive drab uniforms which we were to wear overseas. We were trained in marching with a gas mask, and were taken through chlorine and tear gas in a gas house. We lost our commander, Captain Robert H. Stephenson when Lieutenant-Colonel Charles O. Laughinghouse was placed in command on August 16, after Major Stanton A. Friedberg was in temporary command for eight days. We honored our former commander by presenting him with a handsome leather traveling bag with his initials burned into the leather.

The last week of August, we checked in our cotton clothing, and sent surplus articles home. On September 1, we left Fort Sill for France. Frequent stops were made for fuel and water and at these points women and girls of the Red Cross presented us with candy, gum, cigarettes, doughnuts and postal cards. The troop train ferried into Canada from Detroit, Michigan. We returned to the United States at Niagara Falls where we were allowed some time for sight seeing. Thence the train took us east to Albany and south to Camp Merritt, New Jersey. Here we stayed long enough to be completely equipped for overseas duty. At three a.m. on September 8, we were awakened to make the five-mile march to Pine Landing on the Hudson. We were ferried from there around New York City to the Brooklyn docks where we boarded the freighter the *Canada* of the White Star Line. This was an English ship loaded with wheat and bound for Glasgow, Scotland.² This vessel was a member of a fifteen ship convoy carrying soldiers and supplies and escorted by a U.S. cruiser and the Battleship *Pennsylvania*. The convoy followed a zig zag course across the Atlantic, evidently for safety reasons. Together with us on the *Canada* was the 325th Field Artillery. During the twelve days on the ocean we resorted to various activities. The Y.M.C.A. furnished us with reading materials; news bulletins were posted for us to read, signals were given for time changes, and some of us fraternized with the artillerymen and passed the time at card games. As darkness came on, smoking was forbidden on deck because a glow from a cigarette could be easily detected by the enemy. A three inch gun was mounted on the rear of the boat. Each of us was given a turn at watch. We were to report anything we could see on the surface of the water.

² The *Canada* was sunk during the Second World War.

When we neared the European waters, a storm arose and many became seasick. However the sea was calm on the morning of September 20 when we first saw Irish promontories marked with imposing lighthouses which were welcome sights to all of us. The convoy entered the North Channel and the *Canada* with four other boats entered the Firth of Clyde. Two small boats opened the submarine nets to let us through where we awaited the high tide before ascending to Glasgow. We enjoyed the beauty of the Clyde River Valley, and during the two days that we remained at the dock, we viewed what we could from the deck of the *Canada*. On one of the small boats that passed down the river we saw two men in kilts playing on bagpipes. Most of the passengers were women.

On the second day, we took the train for Southampton, England. We enjoyed the food that the woman presented us at various points along the route but could not drink the thick, dark liquid that they called coffee. It was at Southampton that we had our first knowledge of the Spanish influenza when some infantrymen from the *Olympic* which had just arrived, told us that there was an epidemic among the great number on board which the doctors could not cure. Several had died. The physicians, they said, pronounced the disease "Spanish influenza." A detachment of German prisoners marched up from the docks just before we boarded the channel boat, *Maid of Orleans*, for Cherbourg, France. Despite the heavy winds the little channel boat outran its escort. When we went below, we found that there were no bunks and we had to sleep on the floor. We dropped our packs where we could, and fell partly upon them and partly upon some sleeping soldier. We were stiff and sore the next morning.

When we reached the deck the next morning, we found that we were in a pretty little harbor walled in from the channel by a huge mole. After some maneuvering by French officers our boat was drawn up to the wharf and we marched off. We marched six miles to an English rest camp where we were billeted in small circular tents, four men to a tent. Since the tents were not ditched and it rained a great deal our clothing was wet most of the time. When the various English and American companies marched to mess, they entered in turn as they came from the tents. The mess hall was small and as room was available a company was called to come in. There was a minor disturbance one day when an English sergeant attempted to take his company in out of turn. An American sergeant refused to take second place and after a short argument marched his company in first. The dinner was "chaze and tay" as the English pronounced it. The cheese and tea were good and the bread was good when we managed to break through the crust which

appeared to have been made of sawdust. There was jam to be eaten on the bread. It was good although much sweeter than some would like.

One night, after midnight, we were ordered to get up and shave and be prepared to march through the streets of Paris the following day. Early in the morning of September 25, we were aroused from sleep and after the usual breakfast we were again lined up for roll call. That over, we marched to the railway station at Cherbourg where we boarded the famous "side door pullman" cars that were labeled "40 Hommes, 8 Chevaux." As noon approached we ate the lunch that was given us, a loaf of English bread that was shared between two men, some jam and a can of "bully beef," corned beef. We drank from our canteens.

Had the distance between Cherbourg and Paris been located in the United States, one of the trains of the 1918 type could surely have reached its destination in a few hours. Not so in France. When we reached Caen, we detrained and received a drink of coffee. It was much better than the sample we tried in Derby, England. Toward evening we entered what seemed to be a large town. While we stood there a French soldier, who had been wounded in the war, came over to the train and attempted to learn what he could from us. He displayed some of the equipment which he used in combat. Likewise he gave us to understand that the "Boche" were heartless. There were too many of us in the little box car, and sleeping was a difficult proposition.

Daylight was just breaking when we pulled along side of a large depot platform. A Frenchman came close to our box car and Moore called to him, "Quelle ville est-ce?" (What city is this?). He answered "Paris," pronounced Paree. When our boys were told they wouldn't believe that he said Paris. They heard the answer. Here we were and, Oh! we needed a shave. Now were we to march through the streets? At the great exit gate we were loaded into trucks and ambulances. Some were taken to Red Cross Hospital No. 5 which was located at Auteuil, in the outskirts southwest of Paris. The rest of us were taken to a large school building known as "Lycee Montaigne" which faces the south side of the "Jardins Luxembourg" (Luxembourg Gardens).

Shortly after our arrival we were set to work changing the school into a hospital. The school equipment was moved to the basement and hospital beds were moved in and set up. A few U.S. soldiers wearing medical insignia were already stationed at the school. Between working hours we would talk with them when we learned that they were corps men of Base Hospital No. 57. They told us that an epidemic had broken

out among them and that as a result scarcely one third of their outfit was left. Their physicians called the disease "Spanish influenza." While that disease had not yet struck our outfit, we remembered the word we had heard from the passengers on the *Olympia*, and shuddered to think what might happen to us. Imagine our consternation when a corps man informed us that our own Captain Sealy was very sick with the dreaded disease. He was a favorite officer among us because he would mingle with the men. We all loved him. Thus far we had no nurses. A sergeant was assigned to take care of him. We repeatedly asked the "non-com" at meal times to learn of his progress. After about two days it was reported that he was improving and, to our great joy, finally recovered. This gave us more confidence in our doctors for we knew they were learning how to cope with the disease. It need not be fatal to so many any more.

Our commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Charles O. Laughinghouse, found it necessary to employ at least two interpreters. An orderly was sent among the men to ask who could speak French. The first man found was a Pole from Brooklyn, New York, whose name was Wladislau Mazurkiewicz. He had learned French from his mother who was proficient in that language. The other was Guy R. Moore who had studied French at the University of Kansas.

On October 1, Base Hospital 85 was moved from Lycee Montaigne to another school known as "L'Ecole Duvigneau de Lanneau" which was located at 71 Boulevard Perriere. The same situation faced us as at Lycee Montaigne. The school building went through a period of conversion. In some of the rooms school was still in progress. On the second day, the classes were evacuated and our officers who had been sent to Red Cross Hospital No. 5 rejoined us. On the following day, thirty-two of our corps men were brought back from Auteuil. The remainder were left with the Red Cross in charge of Sergeant Rexford B. Cragg.

A few days later our unit was moved to a cluster of buildings which had been used by the French Army as barracks. These were known as "Caserne Clignancourt" and were located just east of the north gate of the city and inside the wall. The city however extends much beyond the wall. There were four three story buildings, four smaller ones, two kitchens, a bath house, a laundry, a "sechoir" (driving shed), a guard house and a shed for livestock. In front of the barracks stood a high stone wall with heavy iron gates. Parallel with the wall is a wide street known as "Boulevard Ney." The French Army had not yet completely evacuated the plant but were out in a few days. Their officers agreed to make all necessary repairs



(Photo taken in Boulevard Ney, Paris, France)

Caserne Clignancourt, first permanent location of Base Hospital No. 85, Paris, France, World War I.

but would not install anything new. A locksmith, an electrician and a plumber remained to complete these repairs. The large buildings were lettered A, B, C, and D. "Batiment C" had been struck by "Big Bertha," the giant gun which the Germans operated at a point about seventy-five miles away. The missile had made a hole in the roof about twenty feet in diameter and had gone through to the basement. The holes in the floors diminished as the shell descended. French workmen consumed a month in repairing that damage.

On October 11, Sergeant Cragg and his small detachment were brought back from Red Cross Hospital No. 5. On the following day we learned that medical supplies were beginning to arrive at the Yvry Freight Station by train loads. U.S. Truck units were secured to transport these supplies to the hospital. Our detachment commander, Lieutenant W. W. Stewart, took an interpreter and a detail of men to load trucks and went to the station. Truck loads of hospital beds were moved into the newly renovated wards. Mattresses and blankets came in like manner. Some convalescent patients began to arrive.

On October 12, Sergeants Cragg and Goehner were sent to the Y.M.C.A., and Knights of Columbus headquarters to solicit their services for the patients. It was learned that these organizations had great stores of candy, gum and tobacco which were to be distributed to the soldiers. Later these organizations sent entertainers to the hospital. The Y.M.C.A. offered articles for sale. The K. of C. gave each man a cigarette and a stick of gum, with more at a reasonable price. Also on the 12th the nurses' baggage arrived. One of the smaller buildings was renovated and their baggage brought in. In a short time the capacity of the hospital was increased to 1500 beds, a laboratory was set up and equipped, a dispensary was put into shape, an X-ray room was arranged and the instruments set up. Details worked continuously at the Yvry Freight Station at unloading these articles. The interpreters went on duty shortly after reveille in the morning, and remained until 2 a.m. the following morning without anything to eat except what they might steal from the railroad yards. Thousands of tons of food stuffs were stacked up under the shelters called "quais." Something edible might be taken but the problem of how to live on a short nap from 2:30 a.m. to 5:30 a.m., or less than that counting out the time to go and come, was something to be considered by the interpreter.

By October 18, the hospital was functioning and patients were coming and going. Some of the boys of the 325th Field Artillery drifted back to our hospital. We recognized them as the men who shared the stalls with us on the Canada. They told us that but few of their outfit remained. They believed

that all left alive were in this hospital. A number of Marines who were wounded at Chateau Thierry and Belleau Wood were sent back to us. Here they stayed, convalesced and took over the duties as gate keepers.

Our bill of fare left much to be desired. There was a regular change of menu with but two alternates. The first breakfast consisted of one slice of bread, one large spoonful of corn meal that had been moistened and warmed, without salt, and uncooked. It would grit our teeth. There was the accustomed cup of coffee which was so bitter that we could not consume it. The slice of bread really constituted our breakfast. The second breakfast consisted of a piece of very fat salt pork and a spoonful of sirup in the place of the corn meal, the usual slice of bread and the terrible stuff that was derived from coffee. There was a third change. This was made up of boiled rolled oats without seasoning. There was a solution of condensed milk with about eighty per cent water to be put on the oats. This was accompanied by the usual slice of bread and cup of "mud." It was not unusual for a soldier to ask for a second on bread. When directed to an East Side Irishman who had secured the "position" of permanent K.P., he was met with a string of infernal profanity, making it emphatic by grasping the long knife with which he sliced the bread and threatened to use it if the soldier did not clear out. The soldier usually went away hungry.

The first noon meal was a small spoonful of "slumgullion stew" and a slice of bread with not even water to drink. The second alternative was a soup made from navy beans served by the same small spoon. Sometimes we were given some potatoes boiled in their jackets together with some of the soil in which they grew. Another change consisted of rice and tomatoes mixed together and served hot but there was never a meal when a man got enough.

The evening meal was best of all. Sometimes we were given a small piece of horse meat, a slice of bread and a cup of what passed for coffee. The horse meat was often replaced by a poor grade of canned salmon which the boys called "gold fish." Sometimes a few pickles were chopped up in the salmon. The third alternative was a spoonful of baked navy beans. Once in a few days we were served some of the corned beef. Many of the men were on detail at supper time and lost out on the best meal. There were but two or three non-commissioned officers who were able to procure any substantial food for their details. The interpreter, coming in at about 2:30 a.m., always complained to the lieutenant over him that he was hungry whereupon the officer ordered him to go to the kitchen. The night force in the kitchen refused service until he saw that the interpreter was in earnest, and on the run to catch the lieutenant.

ant before he could get to his quarters. Many times an officer would reprimand a private on the job because he was found doing nothing. The usual answer was, "Sir, I am hungry." Once when this happened in the laboratory, Captain Arenson, who had charge of that department said, "It seems funny to me that you men always complain of being hungry and after every meal the garbage cans are full." His statement was true but no bread or horse meat ever went into the garbage can. The boys would steal food whenever the opportunity presented itself. The thief was usually liberal with his prize and shared with his buddies. The author was not a clever thief. However he was thankful to the lucky one who shared a piece of crust from a portion of a loaf of bread he had managed to get away with.

A convalescent patient, who was using crutches with which to walk about in the open court, made some remarks that brought the attention of several who were passing that way. Corps men and patients entered into conversation with him. He told these men that during the forenoon when the ward surgeon had visited his ward he had thrown his crutches into the corner and snapping to attention begged the surgeon to mark him "duty." Curiosity prompted a corps man to ask why he wanted to take chances of being sent into action when he could remain indefinitely or as long as his wound troubled him. He answered, "You fellows starve us to death here. At the front we get something to eat if the chow wagon don't get blowed up." He was right. The patients were allowed more for their mess than were the corps men but they received the same bill of fare. Sometimes the patient fared worse if he was on a restricted diet.

A four hour pass could be secured in evenings when it did not conflict with detail duty. On these occasions the men would go to the "Gare du Nord," a railway station where the Red Cross maintained a hut and fed those soldiers who were hungry. A long line of soldiers waited for a few beans or some cheese and macaroni. The boys of Hospital 85 were regular guests. When pay day came passes were secured, and much of the pay was spent for something to eat.

For ten days sergeant Rexford Cragg had been securing chocolate, chewing gum, cigarettes and such articles as were in demand by the patients when on October 24 the detachment commander concluded that this "profiteering" had been carried far enough. He was forced to quit his business. According to his own account the sergeant had lost two francs on the entire enterprise but felt that he had rendered a service to some men who had borne the brunt of the great conflict. The boys were grateful for the service but being unaccustomed to French money did not make correct change especially in the dark. Some nickel coins were mistaken for silver.

On October 24, Sergeant Rexford Cragg with a detail was ordered to replace a like detail under Sergeant Liebich which was unloading patients from hospital trains at the "Gare la Chapelle" which is the freight station for the Railway of the North. They went on duty at about daylight on the morning of the 25th and continued until 4:30 p.m. on October 27. For sixty hours they got no sleep and all that they ate was an occasional sandwich handed them by a Red Cross worker at certain intervals in their work. These hospital trains were unloaded and the patients placed in ambulances which conveyed them to various base hospitals and Red Cross hospitals over Paris. When Sergeant Cragg returned on Sunday with his detail he marched them directly to the mess hall and proceeded to the kitchen where the hard boiled mess sergeant ordered the detail to wait until supper time. Cragg threatened to see the adjutant and turned quickly to carry out his threat when the kitchen force yielded. Long hours without meals or sleep were a common thing. We were reminded that we were at war and we could expect anything.

October 31 was pay day and a day of celebration as well. Many of us attended a Hallowe'en party given by the Y.M.C.A. at "l'Hotel Pavillion." A very good program was followed by hot chocolate, cheese sandwiches and pumpkin pie. The girls in the Y.M.C.A. service told us that they had made the pies. We believed this to be true because French pastry shops did not make pies. We regarded the girls with a great deal of favor for we reasoned that they had arranged those refreshments at their own expense.

On Sunday, November 3, and also on the following Sunday the Y.M.C.A. sponsored excursions to Versailles. These trips were really educational.

November 11, 1918, dawned rather hazy. We went on duty as on any other day. It is true that a few days before we had heard of a possibility of overtures for peace but nobody took any stock in the news. News from the front told that the Germans were retreating. At about eleven-thirty a.m., guns were fired, whistles blown and bells rung. We paused a moment and gazed in wonder at the demonstrations out over the walls. Apache town had gone wild. While we were speculating on the cause of the excitement some officers appeared and ordered all boys who were not on special duty to fall in line. Most of the corps men and a large number of convalescing patients came to the court to answer the order. Some of the patients were walking on crutches. The huge iron gates swung open and we marched out. The streets of Paris were gaily decorated with flags of all allied nations and long streamers of red, white and blue bunting. We marched for some distance but returned in

time for noon lunch. To our surprise we were given what we considered the first good meal since we had come to Paris. After dinner we were turned loose. Nobody had a pass. Nobody needed one.

That evening a number of us decided to go to the center of the city, and see what was taking place there. We found it easy to board the Metropolitan Railway at Porte Clignancourt but when we came to the place where it was necessary to change cars, it could not be done. Such crowds thronged the landings that all passages were blocked. With great difficulty we reached the street above. Crowds thronged the sidewalks and even the streets were filled with a jubilant populace. Frenchmen were shouting, "La guerre est fini" (the war is over). Flags of all the allied nations were in evidence. The shouting was bedlam. One would need to be close to another to be able to discern what he shouted. French girls would surround a group of soldiers and shout, "Vive l'Amerique" or "Vive (whatever allied country their uniforms indicated)." At the Place de l'Opera all the lights in the street were turned on. Heretofore the city was dark that it might be harder to locate by the enemy's air force. We heard a group of Frenchmen in one place singing the Marseillaise. In another place a group of "Tommies" were singing "God Save the King." What did the Americans sing? You guessed it, "Hail, Hail the Gang's All Here." The extra-congested streets attested to the truth of that statement. Soldiers were either late returning to quarters or they did not get back at all. The celebration could not be done justice on one day so it was carried over to the twelfth. Military police mingled with the crowd and asked nobody to show his pass. American soldiers took the city. The French surrendered Paris but not to the Germans. American girls ceased to stand back and look on but demonstrated to the Europeans how they kiss their beaux in America. Over near the Louvre an American soldier climbed up the tall fence or wall and mounting a vase resembling a huge flower pot. The French people on the street below expostulated at his actions but he changed the atmosphere when he set his overseas cap crosswise, thrust his right hand into his blouse and shouted, "Napoleon." He did resemble the statue of Napoleon at "L'Hotel des Invalides." He seemed to be able to use the French language fluently for he shouted in that language asking if everybody were happy. A thousand voices answered in the affirmative. He then asked them if they wanted to sing the Marseillaise. In leading their national anthem he showed great ability.

The number of our nurses was not complete. Others were soon to arrive. It took a detail two days to clean up quarters for them and on November 27 they arrived. The following day

was Thanksgiving. The Red Cross gave us a real turkey dinner. In the afternoon we were taken to the Follies Bergere as guests of the Red Cross where we saw the play "ZigZag."

In spite of the fact that the war was over the patients must be cared for and the work of the hospital continued. On December 3, we did a great deal to set the laboratory in working order. Beef blood was secured from the slaughter house and from it serum was extracted to be used in making cultures.

When we heard that President Wilson would come to Paris, many of us took up a position along the Avenue Bois de Boulogne on December 14, the day he made his entrance to the city. All of the vehicles in the procession were drawn by horses.

By December 18, rumors passed about among the corps men as to what the unit was going to do during the next week. Some were sure that we would move to another place and stay there until the last wounded soldier should be shipped home. We were packing all of our equipment into large boxes to be shipped by the twenty-second. Even yet the corps men knew nothing of our destination. This continued all through the rest of December and on into January, 1919. The patients, who by this time had aggregated 2,483 medical and surgical cases, were rapidly leaving. The few that were left were preparing to take their departure for Brest, St. Nazaire, or Le Havre. Before the end of December, we began to discontinue various departments.

On Christmas Eve, the Y.M.C.A. and the Knights of Columbus combined to put on a program for us and to give us a Christmas tree. We enjoyed the program after which Santa Claus appeared and gave each man a box of candy, a pair of knit sox with all the candy, chewing gum, and tobacco that they could hold. On December 25, eight o'clock mass was held for the Catholics while at ten our own chaplain, R. W. Goodloe, preached to the Protestants. At noon the Red Cross gave us a real dinner. This was the third real dinner we enjoyed in Paris. That evening there was an entertainment in the Red Cross reception room.

On December 26, there was a general exodus of patients. Packing up hospital property and discontinuing other departments went on as rapidly as could be done. Our Christmas packages arrived from home on the 30th.

Most of the hospital equipment was shipped away by January 1, 1919. On the third we learned that our outfit was to entrain for Angers the following day. On the morning of the 4th, all the corps men, except a small detail left to dispose of

the remaining property, evacuated "Caserne Clignancourt." Lieutenant W. W. Stewart had charge of the detail which was made up of Corporal Osborne and eleven privates.

At 1 p.m. on January 5, 1919, the unit reached Angers, and marched from the railway depot to "L'Ecole Mongazon," a school building which had been made into a hospital by Base Hospital No. 27. Many ward buildings had been constructed on the school grounds. These structures were temporary, having been erected for the emergency. Upon our arrival we found the wards nearly full of patients and the personnel of Base Hospital No. 27 on duty. On the following day our men were assigned to duty working with the corps men of No. 27.

When we went to mess we found boiled potatoes that had been peeled. There was gravy to eat with them, macaroni and cheese, some stewed beef, and fruit for desert. What a happy surprise! There was no change after Base Hospital 27 left. The meals continued to be good.

In all there were eighty-six wards. Those in the temporary structures were capable of holding thirty patients. Some of them in the three story school building were much larger. At one time we estimated the number of patients at about three thousand. Base Hospital No. 27 had established such a large plant that one base hospital unit could not take care of all the work that had to be done. One hundred forty-one French civilians were employed to help in various departments. Some worked in the kitchens, some folded bandages, some worked with the patients' clothing, some in the bakery, in fact every place except in the wards.

On January 10, Base Hospital No. 27 was completely relieved and on January 18, Lieutenant Stewart with his twelve men arrived from Paris.

A railroad spur extended into our hospital grounds and patients were brought in and taken by U.S. hospital trains. In all 9,929 patients were entered in the hospital at Angers.

On February 15, a report was circulated that all those who had had at least two years of university work might be detached for four months to attend a university in France or England. The course would end on June 30. The allowance for the same would well take care of all expenses. Captain Arenson, a lieutenant, Sergeants Cragg and Eaves together with a patient who was a sergeant and Private Moore applied to go. The order would permit fifteen to go, therefore when it was learned that only six had applied we had hopes that all would be permitted to go. Later we learned that the captain the lieutenant and the patient sergeant were all who were allowed to go. The rest of us concluded that we were victims of the jealousies of some uniformed men who ranked us.

Excursions were organized to visit castles and historical spots in the environs of Angers. Some of us visited the Catholic University of the West. We entered a class in English taught by Father J. Guerif who called upon us to speak to the class. He asked us to speak slowly, which we did, and we found that the students were much interested in the explanations we made of the schools in the United States. Perhaps the most interesting speech for them was that made by Paul Little Eagle, our Pawnee Indian. He told them some things about his people and incidentally spoke a sentence in his native language. We were later invited to visit in the homes of some of the students, children of the dean of the law school, counts and marquises, all of whom we found excellent people to know.

On January 30, Colonel Royal Reynolds succeeded Lieutenant Colonel Charles O. Laughinghouse as commanding officer of our unit. However on February 27, he was relieved and succeeded by Colonel William R. Eastman.

On March 16, a group of corps men volunteered to organize a black face minstrel. Practice extended through the 23rd when we were told that we should put on the show for the commanding officer and other chosen critics. The date for this show was the 28th. The critics pronounced our show proficient and Colonel Eastman promised that he would detach the caste from the hospital to tour France and Germany to show at all American camps. For a name we chose "Fifteen Jazzing Medicine Men." The promise that we would be on our way in a few days was never carried out. In April we were ordered to St. Georges to put on the show for a unit of negroes. We soon found out that our audience did not appreciate our jokes. Before long they became hostile. Sensing the situation we escaped by the back door and made it to our truck. We were none too early because as the truck pulled out the mob had reached the place. Three days later we were ordered to put on the show for an artillery camp in the western edge of Angers. There were negroes in the camp but they were in the minority, and the show was a success. Our last appearance was on April 19, for our convalescent patients.

During the week of April 12, classes were organized in English and penmanship for the Italian boys in our outfit who could speak but little English. Sergeant Rexford Cragg and Private Guy Moore were detailed as teachers. The school resolved itself into the routine of "putting in" an hour each day with poor pedagogical results. The supplies provided were merely magazines from the Red Cross.

During April patients were moving rapidly in and out of the hospital however the average was about five hundred patients at one time. While many patients left by U.S. hos-

pital trains there were some who were strong enough to be taken to the railway station and sent by French train to St. Nazaire. On April 18, some ambulances brought in several French patients. During this month we learned that we were to move out and go home about the first of July.

During April, May and a part of June, several corps men obtained seven days leaves of absence. The points visited in southern France were Nice, Biarritz, Luchon and Cauterets. Our Catholic Chaplain, Father Harry J. Hackett secured leave and visited Lourdes where at the famous outdoor shrine he conducted mass. He was told that he was the first American priest to be given this honor.

We had not been long at Angers when our Protestant Chaplain, R. W. Goodloe was transferred from us and all of the religious duties devolved upon Father Hackett. It was not until toward the close of May that Chaplain James A. Crain and his orderly, Cherette, were assigned to our outfit. Chaplain Crain was a Christian minister, and Cherette was a French Canadian.

By the first of June all of our patients had been sent out with the exception of the foreign soldiers who were soon to be placed under the care of the French. An agreement was made with the French Government that we leave to them the hospital and its equipment. The French physicians came to get acquainted with the location of things used and the method of handling apparatus of American manufacture.

During our stay at Angers, we had admitted 7,840 patients of the U.S. Army. Of these thirty-four succumbed to their various ailments.

Beginning with June 4, preparations were made to close out our work at the hospital. There came the discharge of all civilian employees, showdown inspections, the turning in of all unnecessary equipment. Colonel Eastman was relieved of the command on June 10. On June 13, Father Hackett left for Base Hospital 101 at St. Nazaire, to which place he had been assigned. Chaplain Crain also received another assignment.

Before daylight on the morning of June 14, we were ordered out with our packs on our backs to line up and march to the railway station. From there we rode "fortieth class" to Montoir, some distance inland from St. Nazaire. There we were placed in barracks and inspected several times each day. We often drilled on the parade grounds. Some times we made marches into the country. In evenings, we were entertained by the Salvation Army which supplied interesting programs and served refreshments such as doughnuts and coffee. This was our first introduction to the work of the Salvation Army.

That organization stayed where they were most needed. While the war was on they were at the front and when the war was over they attended the needs of those who were preparing to go home.

On July 6, we set out with all of our belongings to march to St. Nazaire. The march began at about 9:30 in the morning, and we arrived some time in the afternoon. On the evening of July 8, at 8:30, we passed through the Y.M.C.A. hut where we were given refreshments and reading materials, after which we were marched on board the U.S. fruit boat *Panaman*. This boat was constructed almost entirely of steel. It was neater than the *Canada* and did not have the foul smell that was experienced on the way over. The boat left St. Nazaire at about 2:30 a.m. and when the boys awoke on the morning of the 9th the longest promontories of France were sinking over the horizon. The *Panaman* was carrying about 2,200 troops toward home. Together with our outfit there was a signal corps and about fifteen hundred negro troops. We were too wise to ask if any had been stationed at St. Georges. We whites were outnumbered more than two to one so we acted wisely, elanned together and made the best of the situation. The meals were good, the sea was calm. There was no sea sickness on the return trip. On July 12, and 13 the ocean was in a dead calm. On July 13, we met a "windjammer" which we passed to our left.³ That five masted boat had tied up its sails waiting for a breeze.

Shortly after breakfast on July 19 a dim trace of land could be seen but a fog descended and impeded our progress. At about noon the fog lifted so that we could enter New York Harbor. After dinner we docked at Hoboken. After debarking we were taken to Camp Merritt where we were "de-cootie-ized," and moved to another block in a distant part of the camp. On July 21, our outfit was divided never to be reunited. The New York boys were sent to Camp Upton, New York. The boys from Oklahoma, Texas and Arkansas were taken on a Southern Railroad train on July 25, 1919. The train proceeded south through Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Atlanta and Birmingham. From there the Frisco Railroad took us through Memphis to Camp Pike, Arkansas, just north of Little Rock. There we were mustered out.

³ The term "windjammer" is that given to a ship that depends entirely upon the wind for navigation.

THE WHITE LIEUTENANT AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman*

The White Lieutenant is mentioned frequently in documents recorded in *The American State Papers*, on Indian Affairs, during the latter part of the Eighteenth Century. He had a prominent part in the affairs of the Creek Nation, but little was written of his family or private life.

Chief Alexander McGillivray of the Creek Nation, sent some Okfuskee warriors to Governor Arturo O'Neill of Pensacola in October, 1786 when he needed ammunition, gun flints and "1 box paint to look warlike." He informed O'Neill that "the okfuskee Town is among the largest & most respectable & of great influence among the rest. I have at a good deal of Pains fixd them in our interest, & it is of the utmost Consequence to keep them so." The Chief explained that he managed expenses as reasonably as possible but he considered it necessary for the Governor "to Send by the return of these warriors four Kegs Taffia for the White Lieutenant Chief of okfuskee, & a bag of Sugar. . . ." Thomas Woodruff makes this comment: "James Seagrove, an Irishman, was first Agent. His white family I never knew; he had a half breed son, who was killed by the Indians many years ago for killing another Indian at Kiemulga, when the first McIntosh party were emigrating to Arkansas territory."²

Secretary of War Henry Knox had written to Brigadier General McGillivray February 17, 1792:³

The amiable manners of Mr. Seagrove, and his general character, which cannot be unknown to you, will probably render him highly acceptable to you; you will, therefore, mutually concert measures

* Carolyn Thomas Foreman, well known writer and historian of many published works, has here contributed another of her interesting articles on early Creek Indian history. During a period of over thirty years, Mrs. Foreman has contributed more articles published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, not including articles appearing in other historical journals, than any other one writer. She makes her home at 1419 West Okmulgee, Muskogee, Oklahoma.—Ed.

¹ John Walton Caughy, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, 1936), p. 132.

² Thomas S. Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians* (Birmingham, Alabama, 1939), p. 104.

³ *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, Vol. I (Title page, Vol. IV), p. 246. General Henry Knox was appointed Secretary of War by Congress March 8, 1785 and held the position in the Cabinet until the last day of 1794 (L. D. Ingersoll, *History of the War Department*, [Washington, 1880], pp. 403, 405).

for the restoration of peace and good order; and to this end, he is furnished with goods and money, to a considerable amount. It is to be hoped, that, by a proper distribution of these articles, and judicious arguments impressed on the Indians, of the great advantage of connecting themselves closely with the united States.

Charles Weatherford wrote from the Hickory Ground on March 9, 1793, about General McGillivray's death on February 17, at the home of William Panton in Pensacola, Florida. It was thought that Panton would succeed the "Beloved Man" and if such transpired there would be war without end, particularly against the perfidious Spaniards.

The Indians were at peace and wished to remain so. Since Mad Tom of the Cussetahs had arrived home he had talked much in favor of Seagrove. Contrary to the Agent's orders Weatherford had given the White Lieutenant, Mad Tom, Mad Spanyard, Good Hunter, Mad Beaver, Mad Tiger, Old Tales, a Warrior, Quarterroon Old Red Shoes,⁴ each ten yards of strouds, eight yards of calico, eight yards of white linen, one black silk handkerchief. Likewise Moltanhead of the Tuskegees received two strouds and two duffil blankets.

On March 22, 1793, Weatherford wrote that there was great confusion since McGillivray's death "they started to go against the inhabitants, and I have sent the bearer to the White Lieutenant, and Mammoth of the Pialeges . . . to stop them from doing any mischief." The Chickasaws had killed three Creeks, and to revenge it the Creeks killed some of the Chickasaws.⁵

Seagrove received a talk, written at Tuckabatchee, April 8, from the Mad Dog, White Lieutenant, David and Alexander Cornell, Charles Weatherford and thirteen other head men of the Lower Creeks, declaring that they all agreed with his talk, "and mean to hold them fast by the hand, and never let it go as long as they live." The northern Indians had been among them but they refused to listen to them talk "for we don't want to shed no white people's blood. . . . The Mad Dog's brother and nephew, went into a trader's house

⁴ "About the year seventeen hundred and ninety-three there was an old Cowassada chieftain that was called Red Shoes." Soo-sau-dee was a small town situated three miles below the confluence of the Coosau and Tallapoosa, on the right bank of Alabama." —George Stiggins, "A Historical Narration of Genealogy, Traditions, and Downfall of the Ispocoga or Creek Tribes Writ by One of the Tribe," Manuscript Wisconsin Historical Society; John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), p. 204. According to the Georgia Historical Society Collections "These Indians are not Creeks" (Vol. III, pp. 35, 36).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 384-86.

in the Chickasaws and killed them both. We mean to have satisfaction. . . . we cannot put up with it. . . ."

Mad Dog sent belts for General Washington, Seagrove and his lady and for "the brothers of the United States" as a way of showing their friendship as long as they lived. This talk was signed by "White Lieutenant of the Oak-fuskees." The same day Alexander Cornell wrote that they had heard there had been mischief at St. Mary's. The Mad Dog and the two Cornells were "so uneasy about it we don't know what to do." If all of the men would exert themselves as well as the Mad Dog, and the head of the Upper Towns the Creeks would have everlasting peace.

Affairs in the Creek Nation appeared to grow worse in every letter from Timothy Barnard to the agent. He was using White Lieutenant and Mad Dog in an attempt to keep the Cowetas quiet until the arrival of Seagrove. A fort had been burned on Setilla, and the friendly chiefs recommended the following towns be punished: "The whole of the Cowetas are our enemies, fighting men 150; Big Tallasee, or Old Tallasee King's people, 120; Broken Arrow, all bad, 50; The Upper or Big Uchee town, 60; Uschees, all bad; the residence of (William Alexander) Bowles and Willbanks; to them have joined part of the Cheehaws, those who murdered on Setilla, and robbed on Altahama, and in all, 45. . . .'"⁶

Secretary of War Knox wrote to James Seagrove, temporary agent of the Creeks, June 10, 1793, saying how important it was for some person to repair to the heart of the Creek country, both Lower and Upper towns — "and as your previous knowledge of their characters, as well as your station, render you the most proper person . . .," saying further:⁷

It is understood that the White Lieutenant and the Mad Dog, of the Upper Creeks, and the White Bird King of the Cussetahs, are highly desirous of peace. It is, therefore, probable that you could make an appointment so as to meet them at some place not far from the Rock Landing, so as to escort you into the country . . . the existence of the Creeks, as a nation, must depend upon their being at peace with us. . . . The State of European politics renders it of high importance that the United States should be at peace with the Creeks

⁶ *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, Vol. I p. 392. John Ormsby of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, who was in the Creek country in 1792, described Willbanks as Bowles partner," a low, illiterate fellow, whom he saw in the Cowetahs' town as he came along." Willbanks went to Detroit with the Shawnee ambassador as he learned that \$300.00 had been offered for his person (*ibid.*, pp. 297, 439, 454).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

White Lieutenant, Mad Dog, Alexander Cornell and Charles Weatherford addressed a letter to James Seagrove from "Tuckaubatchee," Upper Creeks, June 14, 1793, saying:

Dear Friend and Brother:

We received your talks by Mr. McDonald,⁸ which came in a very good time: for we had heard that the white people had killed McDonald, and we were afraid it was so, by his staying so long over the time he said he would be back . . . on the 29th of last month, when the broken days⁹ were out, for the Upper and Lower Creeks to meet to hear the different talks from the Spaniards, which was to be held at Tuckaubatchees. . . . There were four men of the Upper, and eight of the Lower towns present; they all unanimously agreed to your talk, and hold it fast as long as they live.

They all agreed to kill six of the ringleaders in the late mischief; and when the business is done . . . we will send Charles Weatherford down to you.

Mr. Joseph Cornell is interpreter for us. by the request of us, he hath sent his son, David Cornell, along with McDonald, that he might go down safe to you. . . . We all mean to give up, to be punished, the people you required; but it is a thing that cannot be done at once, for it must be kept a secret, for the Indians are not like the white men, that can do a thing directly. . . .

These men stated that the fact of McDonald coming when he did "struck a great damp on the Spanish agent; so much so, that he was afraid to give his talks which he had from the Governor of New Orleans." The Upper Creeks had all agreed to Seagrove's proposal "for they always meant to be in peace with their Father of the United States, and all his people."¹⁰

On September 16, 1793, Knox wrote Seagrove that if he did go into the Creek towns he would be doing "an essential service to his country. . . . If you could obtain about a dozen of the real chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creeks to

⁸ McDonald was a former British agent to the Cherokees. A vivid description of McDonald and his treatment of David Cornell is found in *Indian Affairs*, *Ibid.*, p. 423

⁹ "When a council. ball-play, or other important event was scheduled, the chief issued to the principal men or others interested, bundles of sticks, the number in the bundles corresponding with the number of days intervening before the engagement . . ." (Thomas L. McKenney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal*, New York, 1846, Vol. I, p. 164. Grant Foreman (ed.), *A Traveler in Indian Territory, The Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock*. . . . (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930), p. 132, note 74.

¹⁰ *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, p. 396. Joseph Cornell had a Tuckabatchee wife and they had three sons, David, George and James. David was known as the Dog Warrior, or Efaw Tustanugga (Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 111. He was the father of the present speaker of the Upper Creeks, Hopothle Yoholo and a brother of McGillivray's last wife. This man with his warriors accompanied the Little Prince and his party to Augusta, and did some fighting and much mischief"—*Ibid.*, p. 59. David Cornell served as interpreter at the famous council in New York in 1790.

come on this winter to see the President and Congress in order to brighten the chain of friendship" it would be expedient. Knox added: "If this idea should succeed, it ought, if possible, to be avoided bringing the same people who were here in the year 1790. They ought to be the most eminent, such as the White Lieutenant, the Mad Dog, and other great chiefs. . . ."¹¹

At a talk held in the Cussetahs, March 22, 1793, before Timothy Barnard, six of the Lower Towns were represented. The leading men from the Upper Towns were the White Lieutenant, Mad Dog, Head King, Oakfuskees, and Alexander Cornell. On that occasion Mad Dog made a talk saying how important it was for Seagrove to come into their land, "when we take you by the hand, as our friend and father, and smoke the pipe of peace and friendship together."¹²

White Lieutenant or Tuskena Atca, addressed Agent Seagrove from "Upper Creeks, New York, 23d June, 1793," by his interpreter, Stephen Sullivan:¹³

I, as well as all the men of the Upper Towns . . . came to a resolution, as our beloved man is no more, to hold you fast by the hand, and see the treaty complied with, and; to prevent our young men from stealing, we have come to a resolution to punish them by whipping; therefore, I hope no rash steps will be taken by your mad people, but if dispute arises, let them be settled by friendly talks . . . we now hope to pass and repass into each-others lands as friends and brothers, now considering ourselves as one people. The satisfaction you demand shall be granted; as soon as it can be obtained from the guilty . . . the bad men shall be killed as soon as they can be found . . . when they heard of their doom, they fled the nation. . . ."

The White Lieutenant gave it as his opinion in the same letter, that the bad men who lived on the borders of his country,

" . . . do your people and ours great injury by getting our drunken people over the line, and buying their property from them, particularly horses, (with rum) the people are then on foot, and sooner than remain so, go and steal the first man's horse they come across. . . . my unknown friend, I have very long had a particular desire to see you . . . come forward, my friend, and don't be daunted; now is the time you can be of service to us, and your country as we are determined to take your talks, and stand by you to the last moment. . . . We that are your friends, are men; and tell your great beloved man that he will find us manly friends; and, should it so happen, desperate enemies. . . ."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 366-67.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 383.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 401. The White Lieutenant wrote that Stephen Sullivan was a good interpreter, a man in whom he had confidence. That he "has never spoilt his talk with me, nor my friends. . . ."

From Flint River July 2, 1793, Timothy Barnard sent a lengthy letter to Seagrove detailing events in the Creek Nation. The Upper and Lower Creeks at a meeting held at "Tuckaubatchees" had decided to keep peace with the United States, but four of the towns later repudiated their agreement and refused to give up property and declared they intended to keep up hostilities against the Georgia frontier. Barnard wrote:¹⁴

You will receive a talk from the Big Half Breed, or White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees, which differs somewhat from the Cussetahs, but at the same time shews his good intentions towards the United States, and is a man that has full power to execute anything that he says or undertakes, and I cannot but think himself neglected, and not without cause, as I, in consequence of what you had mentioned to me respecting him, made him some promises, which has been out of my power to fulfill.

You may be assured, sir, that, in Mr. McGillivray's lifetime, it was through this half-breed's influence that he swayed the best part of the Upper Creeks; this half-breed, when he wrote this talk, thought that the Cussetahs, and the rest of the Lower Creeks, had executed some of the murderers; which was concluded on at some of these meetings at the Tucaubatchees. . . .

According to Barnard this business would have been carried out "but that old villan [William] Pantons talks got spread about among the towns. . . ."

A most unfortunate affair took place when there was confusion about four Indians, known to be Cussetahs, who were supposed to come in with McDonald. These Indians lingered and, as one of them was carrying papers, the soldiers were sent out to bring them in. When they met, the Indians took to the trees and as they were armed, the soldiers fired on them killing all four.

Agent Seagrove wrote on July 5, 1793, to the Cussetah chiefs trying to explain the trouble. He said:¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 398. Seagrove told in this same letter that one of the Indians, "Sullapaye," cut his own throat but that no one had learned the cause of "this foolish act." (In this same summer of 1793, delegations from sixteen tribes, including Creeks and Cherokees, sent a communication from their general council meeting "at the foot of the Miami Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793," in reply to the speech of U. S. Commissioners to the Deputies of the Confederate Indian nations assembled at the rapids of the Miami River in Ohio, on July 31, for the purpose of making peace with the Western Indians. It could well have been that the White Lieutenant as a member of the Creek delegation to the meetings scheduled at the Detroit River and later Miami River, addressed his letter of June 23 to Agent Seagrove, en route to the Northwest Territory with his fellow Creeks [*ibid.*, pp. 352-54, 356-57].—Ed.)

I consulted with the four old men on the occasion, who were of my opinion that it was best to remain with me until we could hear how matters were in the nation, or, until the path was clear for them to go home Langley Bryant [interpreter] stays constantly with them. They live so well that they are in no hurry to go home. . . .

Your great father, General Washington, hath forbid any troope going into the Creek towns and, in consequence of this, the troops that had crossed the Oconee, to punish the bad towns, were ordered back until the final determination of the nation is known. I hope it will be such as to preserve your land in peace, which only can be done by punishing the bad men, and restoring the stolen property.

The same day Seagrove wrote to Alexander Cornell that the affair of the killing of the four Indians,

. . . . hath arose from the stupidity, or villany, of McDonald, who I shall keep a prisoner until the whole is cleared up. I have only to say, my friend, for you and the other relations and friends of the deceased, that full satisfaction shall be made, agreeable to the treaty of New York, and I have now to entreat yourself, the Mad Dog, White Lieutenant and your uncle Joseph Cornell, and all others concerned not to alter their good opinion of us, on account of this accident. . . .

Seagrove's reply to the White Lieutenant was sent from Savannah, July 29, 1793. He mentioned how happy the Indian's letter had made him by the information that the Upper Creeks were acting in such a way as to restore peace in their country:

As it seems to be your wish, that I should be among you, to assist in the direction of your affairs I have come to the determination that it shall be so. It is my wish, that as many of my friends as see fit, will meet me at the Oakmulgee, by the 10th of September, when I will attend you into the nation, for the purpose of establishing a lasting peace and friendship between us and our countries. I will go from this place to the Rock Landing where I shall wait until you send Mr. Townsend¹⁷ or some other trusty white person, with an Indian or two to meet me. . . .

Seagrove stated that General Washington had "ordered back those warriors who had set out from Georgia to punish the bad towns," and further commented:

It was his wish not to hurt any of his red people, that will act justly toward him and his people; and therefore hath forbid war being carried into your land. . . .

A most unfortunate and distressing affair lately took place, in the death of our friend David Cornell: it was all owing to a mistake and bad conduct of the white man that came down with him. I hope no hasty rash steps will be taken by his relations or countrymen, as it is my determination they shall have full satisfaction made them. . . .

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

¹⁷ Townsend was an Englishman, about four years in America and six months among the Creeks, at a town called New York. He was a trader (*Ibid.*, p. 440 (Wm. Blount, Knoxville, March 20, 1793)).

On the same day Seagrove addressed a letter to Alexander Cornell "respecting the melancholy fate of our friend David," and saying that he was sending back all the horses and property that was taken from Mr. David Cornell, and those that were with him. He instructed him to send word to "Chinabee, the great Natchez warrior,"¹⁸ and inform him that he expected to see him with Cornell. "I hope you will prevail on the Mad Dog and your uncle Joseph to meet me." Mad Dog also received a letter from the agent telling of his "sorrow for the death of our young friend, David Cornell. . . . not a man in the Creek land feel more sorrow than I do, for the loss of him. . . . It gives me great pleasure to hear how much you have been our friend in all the late troubles." He informed Mad Dog of his intention to be on the Okmulgee by the tenth of September to remain among the Creeks until all matters were settled.¹⁹

Seagrove was a busy man on July 29, 1793, as he also sent letters "to the Kings and Chiefs of the Cussetahs, and all other friends of the United States in the Lower Creek towns," in much the same strain as the above communications. He wrote:

I have received the Big Cussetah Warrior's talk to Mr. Barnard. . . . He speaks like a man and a friend. I love his talk, and will send it to our Great Father, General Washington.

Until we meet, you have nothing to fear, provided your bad people lie still; but should they dare to do mischief on any part of the frontier of Georgia, they will be pursued, as the same is strongly guarded by horse and foot, from St. Mary's to the river Tugelo . . ." To Charles Weatherford he wrote that the death of Cornell had given him more real anxiety than any thing he had ever met. "It was a cursed stupid affair in McDonald, to leave them twenty or thirty miles behind, when he saw an armed force was kept all along the frontier. . . . Poor Cornell is gone, and we must make the best of it. . . ."

To Timothy Barnard, Seagrove wrote on July 29, 1793 that McGillivray's death gave a favorable opening which they must improve or the Spaniards would take advantage of the convulsed state of the nation." A majority of the chiefs now feel themselves embarrassed between us, the Spaniards, the Chickasaws, and Choctaws, also other matters pressing them. . . ."

He told his friend to refrain from giving the Indians any expectation of gifts at the projected meeting and that the Indians must bring their own provisions to the Oakmulgee

¹⁸ Chinnaby, a leading chief of the Creek Nation. He had a fortress of logs on the Coosa River (McKenney and Hall, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 350, and note 5).

¹⁹ *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 403, 404.

as it was impossible, in the distressed state of the country, for him to bring supplies. However, he promised to have 25 pounds of coffee and 50 pounds of sugar out of his family stores sent to Barnard.

He had prevailed upon Jacob Townsend to deliver the above letter, "and to carry up my letters to the Upper towns, where he seems to stand well with the White Lieutenant, and other leading characters." He asked to have the Kinnards brought to meet him, "lest that old villain, Panton, gets hold of them. . . ."

In a letter to Governor Edward Telfair, Seagrove explained that owing to the killing of Cornell he had not been able to visit the Creek towns. His own safety in going among the exasperated Indians made it absolutely necessary that he be informed of any military action proposed by the governor.

To the Secretary of War, Seagrove on August 15, 1793, wrote that he had sent back all of the Indians that had been held by him. That "my letters were delivered in the Upper and Lower towns, and received with more than usual moderation and temper by the savages":²⁰

They, however, insist on satisfaction on the loss of Cornell and a boy. This ought and, indeed, must be done; but the mode, and how to accomplish it, so as to please all sides, is a difficult task.

The plan I have all along proposed, since this affair took place, was by way of a discount. Captain [John] Fleming who was killed at Traders' Hill in March last, was a valuable man, and one much respected by the Creeks. I intend to place in lieu of Cornell, and Mr. [Daniel] Moffit, who was killed at the same time, for the boy, who was a cousin of Cornell. This I hope still to effect, although the friends of Cornell seem pretty obstinate, insisting on having two men delivered up to them. . . .

Exclusive of the affair of Cornell, all other measures were in good train of being settled; but this hath given our enemies in the nation, and the Spaniards, fresh matters to keep up the unruly spirit of the disaffected towns, as well as to work on the relations of Cornell, who are numerous, and have influence. . . .

I observe by an Augusta paper of the 8th instant, that a most wanton outrage hath been committed on the Cherokees by a Captain John Beard, from Governor Blount's territory. It appears that the attack was made on the Hanging Maw's house, where a number of chiefs had assembled; that several were killed and wounded. . . . This took place on the 12th of June last.

With his letter Seagrove forwarded an extensive account of David Cornell's killing given by "the Mad Dog, a head warrior named Captain, and the Otassee King. Captain is

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

uncle to David Cornell. . . .” This paper was signed by Richard Thomas.²¹

It is remarkable that there was ever a peaceful time among the Creeks with the English, Spanish and citizens of the United States all trying to gain control of them and their land.

From Savannah, July 31, 1793, Seagrove notified Secretary Knox that he had wished to be in the Creek Nation, “but that a train of events had rendered it almost impossible”:²²

Whilst McGillivray lived, I was certain of being opposed by him and his adherents, both in and out of the nation. I was so well informed of the baseness of that man, and his treacherous conduct, as not to leave a doubt that he would be guilty of kindling a flame against me or any person who should endeavor to establish peace and good understanding between the United States, and any of the Indian tribes to the Southward, but more immediately the Creeks. . . .

Had it not been for David Cornell's being killed on the 15th ult., I should have gone into the nation, and to the Upper Creeka, with him; as, from the letters received from some of the chiefs, it appeared to be their wish. . . .

I do not think any rash step will be taken by the relations of Cornell. He, in fact, is of no great loss to them, having been a turbulent, ungovernable young man, and, but of late he acknowledged his having killed Americans in the Western waters, by desire of Governor [Arturo O'Neill] O'Neal of Pensacola and Panton.

By the enclosed copy of a letter received by me on the 20th instant, from the White Lieutenant . . . and also from the Big Warrior²³ together with Tim Barnards of the 2n instant, I am glad to believe that I may be able to effect an entrance into the nation: but not without difficulty and danger . . . You can see by the letters now enclosed, that four of the Creek towns are disposed for mischief, and Panton is actually among them, stirring them up to war. . . .”

The Agent declared that a report was current that Governor Telfair had orders from the president to act on

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 405-07. Hanging Maw (His Stomach Hanging Down) was a prominent Cherokee chief of the Revolutionary period (*Handbook*,) Vol. I, p. 531.

²² *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 399, 400. David Cornell “was killed by one Harrison, while on a visit to Seagrove at Colrain, bearing a white flag.” (Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 111. “This man Davy Cornell did more mischief to the whites than any man that has lived among the Creeks, and was the most hostile and bitter enemy the whites ever had among the Creeks, Savannah Jack excepted.” (Pp. 111, 60). Seagrove said that Cornell fell by the hands of the identical man whose brother Cornell killed last winter, on the frontier of Cumberland *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, Vol. I, p. 397).

²³ The Upper Creeks lived upon the banks and tributaries of the Tallapoosa and Coosa rivers. “Over these towns the *Big Warrior* was chief, under Opothle Yoholo — Yoholo held the rank of principal councillor, or speaker of the councils . . .” (McKenney and Hall, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 17. The *Big Warrior* was noted for his eloquence (*Ibid.*, p. 353).

the offensive against the Creeks. From Fort Fidius, North Georgia, on the Oconee, September 22, 1793, Seagrove notified Governor Telfair that he would leave the next day for the Creek towns where he hoped to obtain an honorable peace. He stated that several parties of horsemen from that frontier had crossed the Oconee for the purpose of going to the Creek towns. If any injury was done to an Indian by those people every white person in the hands of the Indians would be sacrificed and a general Indian war would result.

Seagrove had made his plans to leave for his meeting with the Creeks on October 28. He was to be accompanied by an escort of twenty-five Federal troops to defend him from the "outrage of parties of militia of this frontier."

On the morning of the seventeenth some militiamen arrived at Fort Fidius. These men declared that they had followed some horse thieves toward the Indian nation and that they surprised a small Indian town on the Chatahoochee River; there they "killed and scalped six Indian men, and brought off three women and five girl prisoners; that they also plundered and burnt the said town. . . ."

Seagrove related that the town of ten houses was one he had intended to visit and he was convinced that the dasterdly act was committed to prevent him from effecting peace. "Other parties are operating in the nation and one commander of an outfit declared that it was his intention to destroy all of the Indians he met, regardless of friend or foe."

Seagrove concluded not to try to go to the Oakmulgee until he heard from there; he was advised by Barnard and some white men to make that decision.²⁴ After an interview with Governor Telfair, Seagrove wrote to him remonstrating with him for not controlling the whites from making inroads upon the Indians. He said that there was no doubt that people on the frontier were assembling to make expeditions in different directions to the Creek towns:

But all doubts on this head were soon removed, by the expedition which has been sent out from this frontier, under the command of Colonels [Alexander] Lemar, Alexander and Melton, who crossed the Oconee on or about the 15th ult., and on the 21st surprised a small Indian town on the Chatahoochee, called the Little Oakfuskees; which town was under the direction of the White Lieutenant, who is well known to have ever been friendly to this country. . . .

Seagrove gave the Governor other instances where Creek towns had been plundered and destroyed, Indian men scalped

²⁴ *American State Papers*—Indian Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 411-12. Seagrove to Major General Henry Knox, October 9, 1793.

and women brought in as prisoners. The agent sent his deputy, Timothy Barnard, and three trusty white men into the Creek Nation with instructions:²⁵

Use all possible address in keeping the Indians from taking revenge on this country, for the late injuries done them that he had dispatched a principal chief to the White Lieutenant, with a peace talk. . . . In the meantime, I have to request that your Excellency will give orders, that the eight female Indian prisoners taken . . . from the little Oakfuskee town, be sent to me at this place [Fort Fidius], where they shall be taken care of, and returned in exchange for any prisoners of the United States in the Creek nation.

In a letter from Barnard to Seagrove from Flint River, dated October 17, 1793, he gave an account of the situation among the Creeks:²⁶

The Tussekee Mico, or Warrior King, of the Cussetahs, that was at the Oakmulgee with me, since our return home he has been very attentive in striving to reconcile matters, which I am informed by three men that came out from the Cussetahs to me three days ago, that he has nearly effected. On his arrival in the Cussetahs, he called a meeting of the Lower Creeks. . . . and acquainted them fully of the danger they were in. . . .

I likewise wrote to the White Lieutenant, with which the Warrior King himself went up to the Tuckaubatchees, and called a meeting there, and sent for the White Lieutenant and chiefs of the heads of the Upper Creeks, which by all I can learn are all for peace; and they all wish much for your arrival in the nation to settle matters. . . . One of the Usechees was out with me about seven days ago, and assured me there should be no more hostilities committed on the frontier by his town . . . The Cowetas are likewise promised to lay quiet. . . .

They talk strongly of killing some of the Cowetas, that stole the horses, that got the White Lieutenant's people killed as every one that are killed and are taken to his town's people; he sent a talk down to me, which was brought out by one of the heads of the Cussetahs, to beg you would get the prisoners into your possession, and hoped to see them when you come up, but I fear it cannot be done.

From Flint River, October 18, 1793, Timothy Barnard wrote to the agent:²⁷

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 412-13. Barnard had written the agent from Oakmulgee on October 1, 1793 that he had "despatched, agreeable to your desire the Warrior King of the Cussetahs off with a talk in writing, as well as verbal to the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskees; have likewise desired him to gather as many of the heads of the lower towns as possible, and tell them how matters are on the frontier of Georgia."

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 415-16.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 416. Seagrove sent an extract of a letter from Lieutenant Van Allen, of the Federal troops, of a party of two hundred men under a number of officers who were marching against the Chehaw town: "Three of them took their neighbors' horses, and brought them over the Oconee, and then propagated that the horses were stole, and that their trail appeared toward the Indian Country." Although ordered to return by General Irwin [Brigadier of the county], they paid no attention to him."

After I finished my despatches to you, yesterday . . . a man I sent into the Usechees, arrived after dark, informing me that the Warrior King of the Cussetahs had returned from the Upper Creeks, Tuckaubatchees, where he had a very full meeting . . . and that all the towns in that quarter were fully determined to do everything they could to settle a peace with the white people, and that, to show their sincerity on the business, the White Lieutenant, and several more of the heads, were making ready to come down to the Cussetahs, to join the Warrior King . . . to go on as far as the Oakmulgee, to conduct you safe into the nation. They have likewise sent me word to be ready in four days from this, to start with them. . . The White Lieutenant has again sent out word to me, to beg of you to have the prisoners, women and children, ready to come up. . . .

Many of the Indians had promised Barnard that they would commit no more mischief. Seagrove sent an extract of a letter from Lieutenant Van Allen, of the Federal troops, of a party of two hundred men under a number of officers who were marching against the Chehaw town: "Three of them took their neighbors' horses, and brought them over the Oconee, and then propagated that horses were stole, and that their trail appeared toward the Indian Country." Although ordered to return by General Irwin (Brigadier of the country) they paid no attention to him.²⁸

The Oakfuskees were determined to kill the Cowetas who had murdered their men, but they would not trouble the white people on that account. Seagrove and other interested men had made every effort to have the women and children prisoners returned to their friends. He wrote another letter to Governor Telfair on October 21, declaring the anxiety of the White Lieutenant and other principal chiefs in the matter, and assuring him that those Indians were among the best friends of the whites.

Seagrove appeared to be in no hurry to go into the Creek towns and it was not until November 5 that he left Fort Fidius, escorted by thirteen mounted militia. He wrote the Secretary of War from "Tuckaubatchee, on the Tallapoosa River," November 30, saying that he had got the militia to keep from being "robbed by the frontier banditti, who, two days before, took ten of the horses which I had to convey goods, &c. to the nation, for the use of the Indians." When he reached the Oakmulgee on the seventh, he found one hundred and thirty chiefs and warriors ready to receive him.

The agent discharged the militia and on November 14, accompanied by his Indian charges, he reached the Cussetahs where he took quarters in a house set apart for him by the "king" of the town. The following morning he was saluted by several discharges of a piece of artillery and beating

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

drums. At ten o'clock he was "received in great form by the chiefs and people of the town, in the public square, as the agent of the United States. . . ." As far as Seagrove could judge he "received proofs of their sincere joy in seeing me among them."

It was decided to hold the meeting at "Tuckaubatchee" and the party arrived there on November 23, "but my reception did not appear accompanied with that warmth of expression or apparent friendship I met with in the Cussetahs. I could plainly discover a sullen countenance on many of the principal people, especially those belonging to the clan of the unfortunate young warrior, David Cornell, who fell at St. Mary's."

There was a full representation of all Creek towns when Seagrove began his all day talk on November 23:

I left nothing unsaid that could favor the cause of my country, and although standing on dangerous ground, and surrounded by numerous enemies, both white and red, yet these things did not, in the smallest degree, prevent my speaking in plain and decided terms, pointing out their transgressions, and demanding justice from them. . . . After sitting in council two days and nights, without adjourning, it was unanimously determined on, that all acts of hostilities or depredations should, from that moment, cease between the United States and the Creek Nation.

An agreement was reached when all Negroes, horses and cattle taken from Georgians since the previous November be delivered to Seagrove; two principals in the murders at St. Mary's in March were to be "capitally punished." He promised the nation and friends of David Cornell, who was murdered when carrying a flag of truce at St. Mary's, that every step would be taken by the United States to punish his murderers.

The Georgia governor had refused to deliver the prisoners to that State and it would be necessary for the General Government to intervene.²⁸

The White Lieutenant possesses nothing of the Indian, but his name. He is a virtuous, good man, and his friendship to our country is not equalled by any in this land. As an instance of this assertion, allow me to mention, that, after having eighteen of his people killed and prisoners, in consequence of the Oakfuskee village affair, his son and three of his family killed by the Cumberland people, yet this was the man to step forward to save my life, when a large majority of those Upper Towns had meditated my destruction, and to his manly exertions, among his savage countrymen, do we owe, in a very great degree, their present pacific disposition.

I shall not lose sight of such a friend to my country. . . . Had I not been here to have stopped them, a large body of warriors would have been out, ere this, to have taken revenge for the Lieutenant's son and others.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 416.

Seagrove declared that he found the people of the Upper Towns naked, and as there were a quantity of blankets and strouds at Fort Fidius he determined to send for them, and distribute them at that place. Before the meeting broke up the Indians appointed three commissioners to attend the agent and wind up all affairs needing attention. The commissioners were the White Lieutenant, Mad Dog, of "Tuckaubatchee," and Hallowing King of the Cowetas.²⁹

The White Lieutenant was a devoted friend of the Spaniards because they were the first white people whom he had ever met. On November 9, 1793 he wrote to the Governor of New Orleans:³⁰

It was the Spaniards who first took us by the hand when we were in an entire State of Nature & Ignorance, & under a Tree on the seashore It was the Spaniards who first gave us Gun Powder & Bullets, & learned us by Hunting to cover our Nakedness, & in return we acknowledged you as our Fathers & Benefactors. . . .

As to Seagrove telling you that we have thrown you & your talks away, he is a Liar, & if you believe him you must think that we are Liars & madmen to throw away our friends & take people by the hand that are Daily hunting our Lives & land; so far to the reverse that I, as a redman that has a little more sense than the rest of my wretched Brethren from the bad Talks sent to Governor White & Mr. William Pantton of Pensacola, I am afraid you will throw us away & leave us to the Mercy of our Enimies who will soon extirpate us.

Great & Good Father this Talk is sent to you by way of vindicating myself & Brethren Chiefs of this Nation from the Censure of some bad Talks invented by Seagrove who came unto our Nation & imposed upon us, by insulting our friends & Sowing Sedition amongst us. Such Talks is this Day explained to me by my friends Daniel McGillivray & Stephen Sullivan from a Philadelphia Newspaper. . . . as for Seagrove he is a Liar, and his heart crooked & his Tongue forked for in such treacherous Manner to attempt our ruin by such vile Insinuations to insult our elder Brothers. But Great Father I hope you will look over the Insult of vile Tongues, & look upon us as a wretched part of Mankind that are liable to the Imposition of every evil minded person or power, & do for his Sake that your fore fathers informed & made up all, look upon us, & do all in your power for us, & altho' we are not all of a Colour yet we are all sprung from the first Two that were made.

I hope as Fathers & Brothers you will protect us from these people who are daily Studying our ruin for the Sake of our Land. If we must part with our Land you are even obliged to protect us with the Sword, better it would be for us to give it to our friends to protect us, than suffer our enemies to enjoy it, who are daily destroying us. . . .

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 471-72.

³⁰ Caughy, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-61. The original is in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain. Caughy considered that although the White Lieutenant was a man of ability his letter revealed "that as a negotiator with the whites he was a far cry from McGillivray."

The letter continued in the same strain and he begged for "a beloved Man of yours" to be selected by Governor Agite and Panton who knew what kind of man would best suit the Indians and Spanish. This long message was signed *Taskinahatkie* or White Lieutenant, and countersigned by *Menesses & Linguisters* Stephen Sullivan and Daniel McGillivray.³¹

Few Indians in the United States were as astute as General McGillivray in playing the three great nations against each other for titles and money; his shrewdness probably came from his Scot ancestor who acquired a fortune in the new world; McGillivray's connection with Panton and Leslie in Pensacola made his financial status secure.³²

It is most fortunate that the history of the White Lieutenant was preserved in the *American State Papers*. A letter from the National Archives, Washington, December 6, 1956, states:³³

A careful search of the records in the Bureau of Indian Affairs now in the National Archives, including correspondence of the Office of the Secretary of War relating to Indian Affairs, 1800-1812, and records of the Office of Indian Trade beginning 1795, did not reveal any mention of White Lieutenant.

A fire in the Office of the Secretary of War in 1800 destroyed most of the records prior to that date. It is possible, however, that in the Library of Congress or the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution there are published works concerning Indians that might mention White Lieutenant. . . .

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Alexander McGillivray, Emperor of the Creeks," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (March, 1929) pp. 106-20.

³³ This letter was received from Miss Jane F. Smith, Archivist in Charge, Interior Branch Natural Resources Records Division, who has the sincere thanks of the writer of this article in *The Chronicles*, for making a search for data on the White Lieutenant, in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON HISTORIC SITES, 1960

DR. JAMES D. MORRISON, CHAIRMAN

Eleven on-site markers have been placed at various locations within the state, the sites determined, permission granted by the present landowners for erection on the premises and the final setting up of the markers being completed this year. One of these was in Payne County at the site of Registration Booth No. 1 for the run into the Cherokee Strip September 16, 1893. Two such markers were set in the Rock Mary vicinity of Caddo County, one of which is at the top of this historical landmark. In Leflore County an on-site marker has been placed on the old military trail, and in McCurtain County one has been set at the Chitto Harjo grave. A similar marker was set at old Doakesville in Choctaw County. The others of the eleven on-site markers erected in 1960 are site of Yellton Store and camp ground, Western Cattle Trail, Harper County; Whilwind Mission, Blaine County; Cowboy Hill, Kay County; George C. Sibley Expedition, Alfalfa County; Cherokee Strip Opening, Registration Booth No. 1, Payne County; Choctaw Chiefs' House, near Swink, Choctaw County; Abert Expedition, Blaine County. It costs \$54.50 to manufacture each of these markers. The one at the top of Rock Mary cost \$115.50.*

The Committee on Historic Sites also erected four roadside type of Oklahoma historical markers in 1960, indicating important historical locations on the now obliterated route of the old California Road (1849) through Oklahoma. These official roadside markers cost \$125.00 each, the actual sites being determined through the work of the Historical Society, and the placing of the markers on the state highways being contributed by the State Highway Commission, continuing the co-operative program of the Society and the Commission since the project of marking Oklahoma historic sites was begun in 1949.

The four roadside markers erected along the California Road in 1960 are located to indicate the sites of old Shawnee Town, Hughes County; Delaware Mount and Natural Mound in Pontotoc County; and Steen's Buttes in Caddo County.

*A complete list of all Oklahoma historical markers and monuments erected in 1959-60, giving the caption, the inscription of history and the location of each is found in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1960), pp. 208-17.

The completion and erection of both the on-site and the roadside markers involves much work in the historical records and in the field. It was through the Committee on Historic Sites that a specially appointed committee of historians and geologists determined the correct identity of Rock Mary in Caddo County this year. From this field research and study of the original records of the California Road of 1849, the Committee on Historic Sites sponsored the production of a very fine map with data contributed by Mr. Robert H. Dott, Petroleum Geologist, giving the entire route of the California Road across Oklahoma with respect to county locations in the state today. This map was drawn to scale by a draughtsman of the Geological Survey at a cost of \$100.**

A beautiful granite marker is being erected at the site of old Fort Cobb. This stone will stand eight feet in height and will have an engraved likeness of the old fort buildings, with a brief inscribed history of the fort. This marker is similar to the one erected last year to the Wyandot Tribe in Twin Rivers Park in Ottawa County. The cost of this marker will be \$540.00. Local citizens at Fort Cobb are helping to pay for it.

Probably the most ambitious undertaking of the year has been the restoration of the Old Chief's House near Swink. This is the oldest residence still standing in Oklahoma, having been erected in 1834. Contracts for plumbing the walls, repairing the roof and floors, rebuilding the chimney, and making new window frames were let last spring. This work was completed about the first of November. In time this is likely to become one of the most widely visited historic sites in Oklahoma. Up to the present the cost of restoration has amounted to \$2,011.65.

A total of \$2,884.40 has been expended this year on restoration and marking of historic sites. This does not include travel and other expenses incurred in securing titles and making locations.

The most spectacular acquisition of the Society during the year was that of the oil well derrick on the Historical Society grounds. Realizing that oil derricks throughout the state would eventually be torn down, the Society sought to preserve the derrick located on the Society's grounds. Through the generosity of the British-American Oil Producing Company, Phillips Petroleum Company, and Harper Oil Company,

** This map published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Summer, 1960) appears in a reprint brochure titled "Rock Mary and The California Road" which can be ordered for 75¢ a copy, from the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

the derrick was given to the Oklahoma Historical Society when the well ceased to be a producer in the summer of 1960.

The Society is now in the process of repairing and refurbishing its properties at Fort Gibson. Surveys were recently made to find the exact extent of the lands owned by the Society there. Arrangements are now being made to fence the grounds on which are located the powder house and the old bake oven. To complete the work in this vicinity will take considerable time and money.

Closely associated with historic sites work was the annual Oklahoma Historical Society tour. In June the tour visited many historic sites in northwestern Oklahoma and the Panhandle region. Among these were Autograph Rock in Cimarron County, Beaver City and the Beaver County Museum, and No Man's Land Museum in Texas County. Pictures were taken and preserved of many signatures and names engraved on Autograph Rock.**

During the year all properties of the Society were carefully maintained in the matter of repairing fences, cutting weeds, and other details of maintenance. These properties include Union Mission Cemetery in Mayes County, Rose Hill Cemetery in Choctaw County, Confederate Cemetery in Atoka County, Cowboy Hill in Kay County, Garland Cemetery in McCurtain County, and Worchester Cemetery in Cherokee County.

In joint action with the University of Oklahoma, surveys and excavations were made at the old Fort Washita site. This work was done under the direction of an archaeologist from the University of Oklahoma. The amount expended by the Historical Society on this project was \$404.63.

** Report of Committee, Survey of Inscriptions along Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1960), pp. 310-22.

BOOK REVIEW

American Heritage. Bruce Catton, Senior Editor. (American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., New York. Vol. XI, No. 5, August, 1960, and No. 6, October, 1960.)

"OUR WILD, WILD WEST"

Westward expansion is perhaps the second, if not the first, subject in importance in all American history. Of course the gradual settlement and utilization of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific includes a great deal more than the sensational activities described in that branch of American literature commonly known as our "Wild West".

Peter Lyon, in the *American Heritage* of August, 1960, has done an excellent job of removing the halo from the heads of some of our most popular western heroes and inserting in its stead the enlightening facts of real history. If his line of writing should become the popular thought of the American public he would be the most unpopular man in America from the standpoint of the movie producers, the television promoters, the yellow journalists, and the avid followers of sensationalism.

He "debunks" the "true stories" of Wild Bill Hickok, Jesse James, Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson, and Billy the Kid, and pays his respects briefly to Belle Starr and a few of the other lesser lights. He lifts them out of their legendary setting and shows exactly who they are and what they were. He portrays them as plain killers, robbers, and men of vice generally, and their chroniclers as falsifiers or blind followers of falsifiers. He ridicules Wyatt Earp's puncturing a friend's hat brim with a neat circle of bullet holes while the hat is in midair, and that too with black powder, or his killing a coyote at four hundred yards with a pistol. Billy the Kid killed one man for each year of his life regardless of how old he was.

Peter Lyon's picturing these legendary heroes in their true light and his condemnation of the so-called historians who perpetuate these legendary accounts is a refreshing stand for a critical historian to take. The discussion of his sources, too, is interesting.

"THERE WAS ANOTHER SOUTH"

The traditional view of the Old South has commonly been one of complete unity of thought and action upon all the main issues of the time: states' rights, slavery, the Democratic party, and secession. Carl N. Degler, the author of "There Was Another South" in August, 1960 issue of *American Heritage*, points out the fallacy in this line of thought.

The South, he says, is a region of "immense variety" not only in landscape but in its thinking on these main pre-war issues. James Madison opposed Calhoun's "*Exposition*" of 1828 concerning the nullification question and emphasized the Supreme Court, instead of the states or of secession, as the arbiter of disputed questions. Such southerners as James L. Petigru of South Carolina and John Bell of Tennessee opposed the secession movement.

Although the voting figures of 1860 are not completely convincing, they do show that thousands of people of the Deep South were opposed to separation from the Union. Furthermore, the peace societies that operated in the South during the war and the findings of the Southern Claims Commission show that many thousands of southerners were true to the Union cause.

Between 1830 and 1860 not all southerners, by any means, favored slavery. Marcellus Clay of Kentucky argued that slavery retarded the economic growth of the South. Helper's "*Impending Crisis*" of 1857 also brought this view vividly to public attention. Early leaders like Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe felt that slavery contradicted their ideal of a new republic of freemen. Frederick Law Olmsted, in his travels through the South in the 1850's, found this view to prevail among some of the people.

The wide differences of opinion on all of these major issues throughout the war period show conclusively that "There Was Another South."

"LINCOLN TAKES CHARGE"

The political crisis in President Lincoln's management of the government brought about by Union losses, and especially by General Burnside's disastrous defeat at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, and the solution of this crisis are well explained in Allan Nevins' "*Lincoln Takes Charge*" in *American Heritage*, October, 1960.

Mr. Lincoln was having a hard time managing the government, under the dire stress of war, but his task was made more arduous by the criticism of some of the leading men of the time, like Chase and Seward, who were sure they could manage things better than the President could.

The Radicals in the Senate were opposed to Lincoln's conduct of the war and more especially to what they termed the Secretary of State Seward's influence over Lincoln. This group looked to Salmon P. Chase, Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, to assist them. They held a secret caucus and urged the President to dismiss Seward from the Cabinet. When Seward heard of this he immediately sent to the Presi-

dent his resignation. The President called a joint meeting of this caucus and his Cabinet, except Seward, and had a long and frank discussion of the whole matter. This put Chase in such an embarrassing position that he too turned in his resignation.

Lincoln thus maneuvered things with such skill as to embarrass the discordant factions in his Cabinet and to discountenance the efforts of the radical Senators. He then refused to accept the resignation of both Chase and Seward and at the same time silenced the Senatorial criticism. Chase became less critical of the administration and Seward less egotistical and both continued in the Cabinet and performed their proper functions. Lincoln, too, learned better how to cooperate with his assistants.

The President then called together his whole Cabinet and formulated with them his famous emancipation proclamation and the new year opened up with better prospects.

"THE BLOODIEST MAN IN AMERICAN HISTORY"

It is usually unsafe for a historian to use the superlative. The author could doubtless have made his case sufficiently convincing by saying one of the bloodiest instead of "the bloodiest". There could have been a very bloody American of whom he has not heard.

The author's story of William Clarke Quantrill and his raiders, in *American Heritage*, October, 1960, is based upon the hostility that existed between the antislavery Kansans and the proslavery Missourians just before and during the War between the States. There was intermittent raiding back and forth between these two groups. The two particular raids that he describes are the destruction of Lawrence, Kansas on August 21, 1863 and the surprise attack upon General James G. Blunt's Union troops near Baxter Springs, Kansas in October, 1863. The writer thinks that Quantrill's raiders killed close to a thousand men during this year.

They fell upon Lawrence, Kansas unexpectedly about daylight one morning and burned practically all of the town, killed 150 men, and wounded thirty more. They also took away with them much loot and plunder, and all this with the loss of only one of their own men.

This raiding band of Confederates were able to surprise Blunt's force near Baxter Springs by clothing themselves in the uniforms of Union soldiers. Here they also killed about 150 men. In extent Quantrill's raiders are supposed to have ranged from Virginia to central Texas and over into the Indian Territory but their most destructive burning and killing took place in Kansas, with the Indian Territory a

close second. Quantrill held a Confederate captaincy, and even posed as colonel for a time, but really fought in only a very few of the regular battles of the war.

Toward the end of the war his hold on his guerillas waned. The leadership fell to his underlings. He was wounded by Union troops and died in a military prison in Louisville, Kentucky, June 6, 1865.

—T. L. Ballenger

Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Canadian River Hunt. By Gen. Wm. E. Strong, Edited by Fred P. Schonwald. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1960. pp. 47, Map, slipcase. \$5.00)

Sheridan's Roost has always been something exciting in Oklahoma place names. The circumstance that it was a spot where General Phillip Henry Sheridan, then commanding the Division of the Missouri, once found an enormous turkey roost makes the spot not only interesting to historians but to nimrods as well.

In 1878 General Sheridan invited a group of his friends, with the renowned Ben Clark as a guide, to join him for a turkey hunt in the Indian territory. The party traveled to Fort Reno and from there military facilities were available to the Division Commander for his hunting expedition. One of the members of the party was William E. Strong. General Strong kept a complete journal or diary of the hunting trip, even to a schedule of the daily bag and the results of the nightly euchre games. General Strong prepared his journal into a manuscript volume and presented a copy on Christmas, 1878, to General Sheridan as a gift. By great fortune, the original journal has come into the possession of Fred P. Schonwald, Esq. of Oklahoma City. He is to be heartily commended for making it available in this special printing of 1,050 copies. The format follows as closely as possible the arrangement of the original, including a large military map that had been included by the author.

The journal is delightful and interesting in every way. Every lover of the great Oklahoma outdoors will treasure a copy. On the Cimarron and on the North Canadian the party found their game. It was here in abundance and variety. The chronicle paints a vivid and exciting tale of the good old days when bountiful hunting was available just by the taking. Anyone who has ever enjoyed a gun will wish that somehow he could have been a member of that hunting party of long ago.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

OFFICIAL MINUTES OF QUARTERLY MEETING, THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, QUARTER
ENDING OCTOBER 27, 1960

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, with President George H. Shirk presiding, met in the Board of Directors room at 10:15 a.m. on Thursday, October 27, 1960. This was the regular quarterly meeting.

Roll call revealed that the following members were present: Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill Harbour, Judge R. A. Hefner, Dr. L. Wayne Johnson, Judge N. B. Johnson, J. Lloyd Jones, Joe W. McBride, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and George H. Shirk. Members absent were: Kelley Brown, Judge J. G. Clift, Joe W. Curtis, Exall English, Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Frank Korn, and Judge Baxter Taylor. It was moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Mr. Bass that all absent members so requesting be excused. The motion was adopted.

That the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be dispensed with was moved by Judge Hefner. This motion was seconded by Mrs. Bowman and adopted when put.

It was announced by Mr. Fraker that eight new life members and seventy-seven new annual members had been added to the rolls during the past quarter. He also presented a list of gifts that had been made to the Society along with the names of the donors. Dr. Harbour moved that the proposed members be elected to membership and that the gifts be accepted. Miss Seger seconded the motion which was put and carried.

A mimeographed list of life members was given to each Board member and Mr. Fraker requested that each member make a careful check to see if they knew of any deceased persons whose names were on the list. He said that this information was needed in correcting the official list of life members and would help in making corrections in the mailing department.

The Administrative Secretary called attention to the Southern Historical Association meeting which was to be held in Tulsa on November 10, 11, and 12. He pointed out that this was the first time the Southern Historical Association had met in Oklahoma, and that it would probably be a great many years before it would meet here again. He suggested that Board members might avail themselves of the opportunity of hearing many splendid discussions on the history of the South during the time of the meeting in Tulsa.

President Shirk called on Mrs. Bowman for the quarterly Treasurer's report. She outlined the following information: Oklahoma Historical Society cash receipts and disbursements for this last quarter, July 1, to September 30, included cash on hand beginning of period \$50.00; cash in bank beginning of period \$279.92; cash in state depository end of period \$5,528.32; total all cash on hand end of period (July 31) \$5,585.24; receipts \$341.43, disbursements \$1,380.01; total all cash on hand July 31, 1960 \$4,819.66. Cash on hand beginning of period (August 1) \$50.00; cash in bank beginning of period

\$219.51; cash in state depository beginning of period \$4,550.15; total all cash beginning of period \$4,819.66; receipts \$883.57, disbursements \$847.46; total all cash August 31, \$4,855.77. Cash on hand beginning of period September 1, \$50.00; cash in bank beginning of period \$159.10; cash in state depository beginning of period \$4,646.67; total all cash beginning of period \$4,855.77; receipts \$942.00; disbursements \$1,243.73; total all cash September 30, 1960, \$4,554.04.

Mrs. Bowman further reported that on September 29 the Board of Trustees, Life Membership Endowment Fund Committee met and took several actions among which was making the City National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City the official depository of the endowment fund. It was provided that the Trustees determine that all checks drawn against the Endowment Fund require the signatures of the Treasurer and either the Chairman or the Vice Chairman. Action was also taken in making a deposit of \$480.00 in the fund. The Trustees directed the investment of \$400.00 from this amount in the Oklahoma City Federal Savings and Loan Association, such amount to draw an interest rate of 4% annually.

President Shirk called on Judge Hefner, Chairman of the Portrait Committee, for that committee's report. Upon the request of Judge Hefner, Mr. Fraker read the minutes of the last Portrait Committee meeting. Considerable discussion was had among the Board members concerning the various provisions of the report as presented by the Portrait Committee. Several suggested changes were made both by the Chairman and by various members of the Board. It was moved by Judge Hefner and seconded by Judge Johnson, that the report as amended be adopted. The motion was unanimously approved.

Judge Hefner commented that he thought some corrections should be made in the wording of the report and it was suggested that Mr. Fraker, or the committee, carefully check the wording.

Mr. Phillips moved that the adoption of the report also contain the proviso regarding rewording and that the amended and reworded report be placed on the agenda of the next regular meeting for final approval. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion which was adopted. Mr. Mountcastle asked if this action superseded the previous motion. The Chair answered that it did not.

As Chairman of the Annual Tour Committee, Mr. R. G. Miller said that such tour was being planned so as to be coordinated with the work of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission. In carrying this out, he said plans were being made for the 1961 tour to visit a number of battle sites of the Civil War in Oklahoma. Plans were being made for the tourists to stay in the Western Hills Lodge during the two nights of the tour.

He further stated he was suggesting the dates of June 1, 2 and 3 for the tour. Mr. Bass moved and Miss Seger seconded that these dates be approved by the Board. The motion was put and carried.

Mr. Henry Bass, Chairman of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, said that he was happy to report that the way the Commission was set up with himself as Chairman, Mr. Fraker as Secretary, and Mr. Shirk and Mr. Jones as members, the work of the Commission would be closely coordinated with the activities of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He expressed the hope that the annual tour brochures of the Society would be written up in such a manner that they would make a concise history of the Civil War in Oklahoma.

President Shirk commented that the Governor of Oklahoma in appointing the Civil War Commission showed that he considered such Commission and the Oklahoma Historical Society to be closely tied together in the effort of properly commemorating the Civil War in Oklahoma. He said that all of the material accumulated during the five years of the Commission's existence would be deposited with the Society.

In making his report on the work of the Microfilm Committee, Chairman Phillips stated that he expected to have the Board make a tour of the microfilm facilities at its next meeting. He said that he thought the Society would soon have one of the most modern microfilm set-ups in the Southwest and that he was most anxious for all members of the Board of Directors to see it in operation.

President Shirk said he had received a recommendation from the portrait committee that the name of Mr. Hal Muldrow, former member of the Board and prominent Oklahoma leader, be submitted for consideration and that the Muldrow family be invited to present the portrait of Mr. Muldrow to the Society gallery. Mr. Fisher Muldrow, son of the late Mr. Hal Muldrow, asked for permission to be excused during the discussion. His request being granted, he left the room. Immediately, Dr. Harbour moved that the President inform the portrait committee that Mr. Muldrow's portrait would be accepted. Judge Hefner seconded the motion, with the statement that he knew of no one who had done more for his state than had Mr. Muldrow. The motion was unanimously adopted. Mr. Fisher Muldrow then rejoined the meeting.

It was pointed out by President Shirk that copies of the Executive Committee meetings held on July 27 and September 29, along with copies of the minutes of the Board of Trustees, Life Membership Endowment Fund meeting on September 29, had been mailed to all Board members. He also called attention to the fact that the Executive Committee had approved the hiring of Mrs. Manon Atkins in place of Mrs. Edith Mitchell, retired, as cataloguer in the library. Dr. Harbour moved and Mr. Bass seconded that the action of the Executive Committee in approving Mrs. Atkins for a place on the staff be approved. The motion was put and passed.

The motion was made by Mr. McBride that the minutes of the Board of Trustees, Life Membership Endowment Fund, be approved. Miss Seger seconded the motion which carried when put.

Mr. McBride then moved and Miss Seger seconded a motion that all actions of the Executive Committee at its two previous meetings be approved. This motion was unanimously adopted.

President Shirk announced the appointment of the following Legislative Committee: Mr. Joe McBride and Judge Orel Busby, co-chairmen; Judge J. G. Clift, member; Mr. Fisher Muldrow, member; and Mr. Elmer Fraker, secretary.

For a time members of the Board of Directors discussed the problem involved in the writing of any good text book on Oklahoma history. Dr. Dale pointed out many of the difficulties in writing a book that would suit everyone. He said that revising text books was a costly procedure, in which publishers were loath to participate. Mr. Jones expressed the opinion that Oklahoma history writing should be more interpretative, showing Oklahoma's place in world history.

Judge Johnson announced that within the near future a statue of Pontiac would be placed in the Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko. He said that the Pontiac Division of the General Motors Corporation was financing the project. He further stated that it would be on display at Southern Illinois University for a time before being brought to Oklahoma. Judge Johnson said he greatly appreciated the support the Oklahoma Historical Society was giving to the annual Indian history seminar that was being held at Anadarko in connection with the Indian Exposition. He pointed out that Miss Muriel Wright, Editor of *The Chronicles*, is director of the Seminar and that Mr. McBride is one of the sponsors.

Attention was called by President Shirk to the fact that four members of the Board of Directors have authored recently published books of merit. These were Dr. Dale's "Frontier Ways"; Dr. Chapman's "Oklahoma City, from Public Land to Private Property"; Mr. Miller's "See and Know Oklahoma"; and Mr. Bass's "Methodism in Enid." Mr. Shirk said that he was requesting that the minutes show the Board noted with pleasure and commendation the excellent work that had been done by these four authors.

Mrs. Bowman moved and Mr. Phillips seconded a motion that Mrs. Edith Mitchell, now retired, and long time cataloguer in the library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, be presented an official Oklahoma Historical Society commendation certificate. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Judge Johnson moved that Mr. R. G. Miller be commended for his compilation of "See and Know Oklahoma." This motion was seconded by Miss Seger, put, and carried. Attention was called by President Shirk to Mr. Miller's having recently been given an Award by the American Association for State and Local History. He said that this Award was voted Mr. Miller by that Association in its recent annual meeting at Iowa City, Iowa. The Award commends Mr. Miller for his splendid contribution in presenting Oklahoma history through the column he edits in the "Oklahoma City Times," and through his sponsorship of the annual Oklahoma Historical Society tours. This is the first time any Oklahoman has received this Award.

President Shirk reminded the Board that this was the last meeting before the Legislature would convene. He suggested that the Board would be remiss if the Society went before the next Legislature without expressing definite immediate and long range plans. He said that Mr. Fraker had provided the Board with long range plans and that he had set forth his opinions as to what should be immediate objectives. It was moved by Judge Johnson that the plan submitted by Mr. Fraker be adopted as the long range program of the Society and that the "Four Year Plan" dated 15 October 1960 submitted by Mr. Shirk be adopted. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour. The motion was then put and carried.

Dr. Morrison, Chairman of the Historic Sites Committee, said that work was progressing on the Old Chief's House near Swink. He estimated that the restoration work would be completed within the next thirty days.

It being determined there was no further business, the meeting adjourned at 12:15 p.m.

(Signed) *George H. Shirk, President*

(Signed) *Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary*

GIFTS PRESENTED During Quarter Ending October 27, 1960:

LIBRARY:

- Observations of Oklahoma City, 1960*—Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce
- "Biography of a Business"—United States Steel Corporation
- "Fort Concho"—J. N. Gregory
- Official Army Register, 1956*
- 8 unbound copies of Sturm's *Oklahoma Magazine*
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
- "The Killer of Belle Starr"—Kelsey Blanton
Donor: Kelsey Blanton, Arlington, Texas
- Set of 4 maps from *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863*—William H. Goetzmann
Donor: William H. Goetzmann, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
- Pioneer Heritage*—Roy Hutton Ball
Donor: Roy Hutton Ball, Oklahoma City
- Lincoln Day by Day: A Chronology 1809-1865*
Donor: Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, Washington, D. C.
- The Descendants of John Little of Botetourt and Rockbridge Counties, Virginia*—Leonard Lytle.
Donor: Leonard Lytle, Detroit, Michigan
- Group of Greer County deeds
Donor: Ralph Custer, Oklahoma City
- "Missouri Centennial Exposition and State Fair 1821-1921"
Donor: The Ramfre Press, Cape Girardeau, Missouri
- "In Oklahoma City This Week" O. E. A. Convention, February 9-10-11, 1928
Donor: Ed Overholser, Jr., Oklahoma City
- John Martindell (or Martindale) Cordwainer of Philadelphia and Some of His Descendants*
Donor: Mrs. M. B. Biggerstaff, Oklahoma City
- Some of the Descendants of Johan Peter Kniskern*—W. H. Kniskern
Donor: W. H. Kniskern, Petersburg, Virginia
- 1 roll Microfilm—1850 Census Population Schedule of Alleghany County, New York
Donor: Dr. R. G. Fowler, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma
- 11 copies of *Foundation Magazine*
Donor: George and Hazel Hopkins, Oklahoma City
- "Mark Twain Journal"
Donor: Cyril Clemens, Kirkwood, Missouri
- "The Weeks Review" Apache, Caddo County newspaper, June 13, 1902
Donor: Mrs. George T. Norton, Cushing, Oklahoma
- The Early Years of Milburn, A Chronicle, 1901-1920*—Ed Gill
Donor: Ed Gill, Muskogee, Oklahoma
- 1 roll Microfilm—1860 Population Census of Illinois (De Kalb-Fulton Counties)
Donor: Mrs. John Witherspoon Ervin, Oklahoma City

7 Rotary Club of Oklahoma City Year Books

Transcript: 36th Annual Convention American Legion Department of Oklahoma August 7-8, 1954

Donor: Elmer L. Fraker, Oklahoma City

The Bloss Genealogy—Richard Bloss

Donor: Richard Bloss, Beaumont, Texas

The Financial Red Book of America, 1903

Donor: Mrs. Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City

"Arkansas Traveler in Europe" Fox Wood

Donor: Fox Wood, Oklahoma City

"Year Book 1960-1961 of Women's Culture Club of El Reno"

Donor: Mrs. M. F. Leeper, El Reno, Oklahoma

MUSEUM:

Pictures:

Framed picture of George Washington Carver

Donor: G. G. Hopkins, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Rachel Ann Haynes

Donor: Anna Smith Stevens, Oklahoma City

Keokuk Falls, Oklahoma

Wm. Robinson and Wife

Last Town Council of Keokuk Falls, Oklahoma

Donor: Mrs. Maude Brant, Tecumseh, Oklahoma

First Printing Press in Guthrie

Donor: Earl Keys, Oklahoma City

Exhibits:

U. S. Flag—49 stars—purchased by Society

Cancellation Stamps:

Paro, Indian Territory, June 15, 1907

Holdenville, Oklahoma, 7:00 A.M., April 4, 1912

Holdenville, Oklahoma, 7:00 A.M., December 6, 1907

Holdenville, Indian Territory

Air Mail Stamp, National Air Mail Week, May 15-21, 1938

Donor: Mel Clow, Postmaster, Holdenville, Oklahoma

Cancellation Stamps:

Stillwater, Indian Territory

Windham, Oklahoma

Webb, Oklahoma

Greenland, Oklahoma

Donor: R. Ray Heath, Postmaster, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Documents:

Allotment Deed, Cherokee Nation, February 24, 1905 (Has Cherokee Seal)

Allotment Deed, Creek Nation, September 25, 1903 (Has Creek Seal)

Warranty Deed, Cherokee Nation, August 22, 1907

Certificate of Cecil Pitman, Creek by blood (Enrollment)

Donor: Dr. C. E. Cook, Jr., Muskogee, Oklahoma

Souvenir Button "I am for Arnett for County Seat"

Donor: Ross Kincade, Oklahoma City

- Coverlet, old hand made spread of blue and white wool
Donor: Mrs. J. W. Flynn, Phoenix, Arizona
- Antique Sugar Bowl, Bracelet Pattern
Donor: Mrs. Gerda E. Klucken, Arlington, Virginia
- Letter written by Congressman Will Rogers while in Washington
Donor: Mrs. C. B. McMillan, Oklahoma City
- Coverlet, blue and white wool, handmade
- Embroidered quilt top
- Pillow shams
Donor: Mrs. Alva J. Niles, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Two Coins, Good Luck Souvenir, struck by Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce
Donor: Chamber of Commerce, Oklahoma City
- Medal—Semi-Centennial, reverse has State Seal
Donor: Mrs. C. E. Cook, Oklahoma City
- Official Centennial Medals (8)
Medals produced for Individuals (Semi-Centennial)
Donor: L. J. Hargett, Okmulgee, Oklahoma
- Medal—Curt Brown Drilling Company
Donor: Curt Brown Drilling Company, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Medal—Harnden Oil Reserves, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Medal—Herman H. Kaveler
Donor: Herman H. Kaveler, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Kewanee Oil Company Medal
Donor: Kewanee Oil Company, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Medal—National Bank of Commerce
Donor: National Bank of Commerce, Pawhuska, Oklahoma
- Medal—Norbla Oil Company
Donor: Norbla Oil Company, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Medal—A. G. Oliphant
Donor: A. G. Oliphant, Tulsa, Oklahoma
- Service Drilling Company Medal
Donor: Service Drilling Company, Tulsa, Oklahoma

NEW MEMBERS FOR THE QUARTER OCTOBER 27, 1960

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

F. A. Sewell, Jr.	Clinton, Oklahoma
Robert A. Leyden	McAlester, Oklahoma
T. Winston Eason	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Jean I. Everest	" " "
W. D. Grisso	" " "
R. J. Spradling	" " "
Mrs. P. W. Tibbs	" " "
Charles W. Westfall	" " "

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

John J. Fleet	Ada, Oklahoma
Mrs. Cecil Foster	" "
Boone Jones	" "
Inez Neal Richmond	" "
M. R. Wynn	" "
Gayle Gerard	Anadarko, Oklahoma
Mrs. C. A. Cole	Bethany, Oklahoma
John Shaw	Burbank, Oklahoma
Mrs. Henry F. Bass	Caddo, Oklahoma
Reece B. Ingle	Cherokee, Oklahoma
Helen Huffman	Chickasha, Oklahoma
Dr. L. E. Woods	" "
James Francis Epling	Claremore, Oklahoma
Jane Tanner	" "
Mrs. Allison C. Kistler	Clinton, Oklahoma
Mrs. Howard McCarley	Colbert, Oklahoma
Eileen Coffield	Drumright, Oklahoma
Charles C. Graham	Duncan, Oklahoma
Chris C. Humphrey	" "
Gordon Folsom	Durant, Oklahoma
Hollis Hampton	" "
A. W. Mason	" "
Mrs. John A. Phillips, Sr.	" "
Mildred L. Williams	" "
John R. Nichols	Edmond, Oklahoma
Dr. A. G. Weber	Goltry, Oklahoma
Betty L. Miller	Idabel, Oklahoma
Wynona S. Nelson	Jay, Oklahoma
R. T. Abercrombie	Kingfisher, Oklahoma
Mrs. E. U. Sloan	" "
Dr. A. R. Zellers	" "
Mrs. Ray M. Buck	Langley, Oklahoma
Virgil V. Smith	Midwest City, Oklahoma
Harrell C. Clay	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Bert R. Barefoot, Jr.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Don R. Barney	" " "
Jerry M. Bernstein	" " "
Dr. Clifford J. Blair	" " "
Dr. John A. Blaschke	" " "
Howard J. Bozarth	" " "
Dr. Alton C. Brown	" " "
Emma L. Clause	" " "
David P. Delorme	" " "
Mrs. R. F. Fleet	" " "
Dr. R. O. Goodwin	" " "

Mrs. J. W. Gregory, Jr.	"	"	"
W. T. Bill Hale	"	"	"
Maude Harless	"	"	"
L. D. Lacy	"	"	"
James M. Little	"	"	"
Lucile M. McCoy	"	"	"
Phillip E. Michel	"	"	"
Mabel Murray	"	"	"
Phillip J. Rhoads	"	"	"
Mrs. Freda Sauer	"	"	"
Frank R. Swan	"	"	"
C. Harold Thweath	"	"	"
Dr. Oscar White	"	"	"
Mrs. John E. Gray	Okemah, Oklahoma		
Mrs. A. B. Gilland	Perry, Oklahoma		
Mrs. Gula Casto	Ponca City, Oklahoma		
Mrs. R. B. Ady	Pryor, Oklahoma		
Mrs. Flora Packard	Sand Springs, Oklahoma		
O. O. Cheatham	Seminole, Oklahoma		
Jack T. Alexander	Tulsa, Oklahoma		
Mrs. Alva J. Niles	"	"	
C. P. Rosenberger	"	"	
Robert O. Slater	"	"	
J. J. Beaver	Waurika, Oklahoma		
Mrs. George Hoyt	Taloga, Oklahoma		
Olivia De Havilland	Paris, France		
Mrs. Paul L. Ristroph	New Orleans, La.		
Frank S. Cleckler	Morristown, Tennessee		
O. A. Boatright	Mount Belvieu, Texas		
Mitzi H. Clem	San Antonio, Texas		
Kenneth F. Neighbours	Wichita Falls, Texas		

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are \$3.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of \$50.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$4.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), \$1.00 each plus postage. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



INDEX

— A —

Abbott, W. H., 317.
 Abert, Col. J. J., 157, 161.
 Abert, Lieut. J. W., 135, 140.
 Abert, Lieut. James W., 155.
 Abert (J.W.) Expedition, Historical Marker, 213.
 Abodaca, Jose, 317.
 Acree, Fred F., 409n, 410.
 Ada (Okla.), 157-167, 169, 256.
 Adams, F. E., 399.
 Adams County (Miss.), 95.
 Admire, J. V., 47.
 Akin, Dr. Robert H., gift of, 344.
 Alexander, E. B., 360.
 Alexander, William, 427.
 Alexandro, Josi, 317.
 Alfalfa County (Okla.), Historical Marker in, 209, 212.
 Altman, J. E., 317.
 American Baptist Home Mission Society, 271, 272.
 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 81, 83, 97.
 American College, at Louvain, Belgium, 35, 40.
 American Indian Culture, Seminar on, 341.
 American Society of Mayflower Descendants, 244.
 Ames, Mary Ellen, 316.
 Amos, Rev. L. J., 403.
 Anadarko (Okla.), Seminar on American Indian Culture at, 341.
 Anadarko Indians, in Texas, 276, 278n, 295.
 Andrew, H. A., Supt., Quapaw Agency, 18.
 Ankrim, Joel, 360.
 Antelope Hills, 177.
 Anthony, W. B., 204.
 Antwerp, Belgium, 35, 38, 40, 41; World's Fair at, 36.
 Apache Indians, in Texas, 359, 362; Mesquero, 290.
 Aquirre, Vincente, 360.
 Arapaho Indians, 51.
 Arbuckle, Gen, 158.
 Arbuckle Mountains, 253.
 Arbuckle Trail, 298.
 Ardmore (Okla.), Flood at, 261.
 Arkansas City (Kan.), 189.
 Arkansas Territory, 1822 Map of, 41.
 Arnett (Okla.) 453.
 Artillery & Missile Training Center, Fort Sill, 367.
 Asher, W. R., 399.
 Astor, John Jacob, 229.
 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, in Choctaw Nation, 253-264; in Run of 1889, 43, 44; through Osage Reservation, 9.

Atkins, Mrs. Manon, 450.
 Atkins, Mrs. Robert L., gift of, 453.
 Atoka County (Okla.), Historical Marker in, 214.
 Austen, F. B., 317.
 Autograph Rock, in Cimarron Co., Okla., 220, 310, 314, 443.
 Ayers, E., 316.

— B —

Babbitt, J. S., 201n.
 Babcock, A. E., 318.
 Babcock, Dr. William H., 289.
 Babens, J. T., 318.
 Bacon, Mrs. J. Dean, gift of, 343.
 Baden Powell Boy Scout movement, in Belgium, 38n.
 Bakersfield (Calif.), Junior College, 191.
 Baker, Mrs. Bessie, gift of, 343, 344.
 Baker, C., 316.
 Baker, J. N., 316.
 Ballou, Frank, 148, 223.
 Ballou, J. E., 148.
 Ball, J. M., 316.
 Ball, Roy Hutton, gift of, 452.
 Ballenger, T. L., Book review by, 447.
 Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo Company, 10.
 Balyeat, Frank A., "Arthur Grant Evans," by, 245-252.
 Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., 271.
 Barnard, Timothy, 427, 429, 430, 432, 434, 436.
 Barnes, Joe, 203.
 "Barrel Spring", 218n.
 Bartel, Mrs. Irene, gift of, 236.
 Bartlett, John Russell, 357-359.
 Base Hospital 85, World War I, 409-424.
 Bass, Althea, *The Story of Tullahassee*, reviewed, 334-335.
 Bass, Henry B., 326, 451; gift of, 235.
 Bats, in western Oklahoma, 221.
 Battle Creek, near Skiatook, Okla., 183.
 Battle of Chusta-Talasah, 180, 183.
 "Battle of Chustenahlah, The," by Arthur Shoemaker, 180-184.
 Battle of Lookout Mountain, 21n.
 Battle of Round Mountain, 183.
 Battle of Shiloh, 21n.
 Battle of the Washita, 116.
 Battle of Wichita Village, 283, 287n, 365.
 Baylor, John R., 277, 302-308, 369, 381, 384, 389, 392.
 Beal, E. H., 316.
 Beale, Lieut. Edward F., 139, 210.
 Bean, E., 316.
 Bean, Robert, 212.
 Bear's Glen, in Pawnee Co., Okla., 231.
 Beard, H. G., 399.

- Beard, Capt. John, 433.
 Beattie (Kan.), 57.
 Beatty, R., 318.
 Beaty, D., 316.
 Beaty, J. C., 318.
 Beaver (Okla.), 219.
 Beaver County (Okla. Ty.), 55n, 63.
 Beaver, River, 219.
 Bedford, Lieut. Alexander Marshall, 242.
 Beebe, S., 316.
 Beery, Cyrus, 13.
 Belgium, 35; Boy Scouts in, 38n; Sea Scouts in, 38n.
 Beloit (Wis.), Seminary, 21n.
 Belvin, Rev. Frank, 112.
 Bennett, Johnny, 70.
 Benson, C. J., 399.
 Benson, Charles, 398.
 Benton, Sen. Thomas H., 310.
 Benton, H. W., 318.
 Beopple, John, 61.
 Berry, Nellie, 57.
 Bertholf, Rev. Thomas, 209.
 Best, George S., 409n.
 Bevins, Ernest, 68.
 Bibb, S., 318.
 Biedler, G. A., 46.
 Big Horn Sheep, in Oklahoma, 365.
 "Big Jake's Crossing," by Bess Rogers, 50-54.
 Big Tallasee, Creek town, 427.
 Big Uchee Town, 427.
 Big Wichita River, 388.
 Biggerstaff, Mrs. M. B., gift of, 234, 344, 452.
 Biggs, Mary J., 403.
 Bigheart, James, 9.
 Bird Creek, 184.
 Birdville (Tex.), 375n.
 Birds, in Panhandle of Oklahoma, 219.
 Black Beaver (Delaware), 166, 167n, 173.
 Black Hawk (Sac & Fox Chief), 21n.
 Black Kettle (Cheyenne chief), 367.
 Black Kettle, Jay (Cheyenne), 218.
 Black Mesa, 220.
 Blain, Samuel, Wichita Indian Agent, 279.
 Blaine County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 213.
 Blair, S. A., 299.
 Blake, Beryl, 267.
 Blake, Blanche, 267.
 Blake, Byron S., 265, 267-269.
 Blake, James, Sr. 270.
 Blake, Lola, 265.
 Blake, Mrs. Lula G., 272.
 Blake, Mary G. Wofford, 265n.
 Blake, U. S. Grant, 265.
 Blake, William Packer, 266, 270-272.
 Bland, Rev. C. O., 403n.
 Blanton, Kelsey, gift of, 452.
 Bloss, Richard, gift of, 453.
 Blue Eagle, Acee, Memorial Scroll to, 206; Paintings of, 115, 235.
 Blue Springs Ranch, 76.
 Blum, Dr. William, Sr., gift of, 342.
 Bob, Daniel (Choctaw), 212.
 Bodovitz, J. V., 104.
 Bogdahn, Otto C., 409n.
 Boggy Depot (Choctaw Nation), 136n, 167n.
 Bohon, W. B., 316.
 Boise City (Okla.), 220.
 Bonfils, F. G., 47.
 Book Review: (*Comanche and Kiowa Captives in Oklahoma and Texas*, Corwin, 110; (*Johnny Osage*, Giles), 224-225; (*The Story of Tullahassee*, Bass), 334-335; (*Frontier Ways*, Dale), 335-336; (*American Heritage*, Catton), 444-447; (*Canadian River Hunt*, Strong), 447.
 Boomers, in Unassigned Lands, 109.
 Boone, Nathan, Historical Marker to, 218.
 Borden, Dr. Elizabeth, gift of, 344.
 Borum, Maj. Gen. Fred S., gift of, 236.
 Boundary between Mexico and United States, 357-364.
 Boundary Line, 1889 & 1893, Historical Marker to, 209, 216.
 Bowers, Emma, 58.
 Bowles, Indian, 427.
 Bowman, Edna (Mrs. George L.), 232, 348; gift of, 236.
 Boy Scouts, in Belgium, 38n.
 Boyd, President of Oklahoma University, 249.
 Boyle, E. H., 402n.
 Boyte, Otto, 257.
 Bradley, Father Daniel P., Catholic priest, 39.
 Brandon, Gerard C., Governor of Mississippi, 99.
 Brannum, Miss Sallie, 389, 394, 395.
 Branson, Dr. Carl, 128n, 140, 220.
 Brant, Mrs. Maude, gift of, 236, 453.
 Brazos Indian Reservation, in Texas, 276-278, 283n, 295, 302n, 370.
 Breeding, B. F., Salvation Army Captain, 199.
 Brewer, Judge Phil, 202.
 Bridgewater College, 13.
 Bristow (Okla.), Radio Station at, 67, 71.
 Brite, Arch, 316.
 British-American Oil Producing Company, gift of, 442.
 Brogan, Pat, gift of, 343.
 Broken Arrow, Creek town, 427.
 Brookhart, E., 318.
 Brookhart, M. F., 318.
 Brown, Mr., Peace Commissioner, 376.
 Brown, A. J. (Seminole), 273.
 Brown, Capt. De Witt, 197.
 Brown, "Aunt Fannie", 197.

Brown, Frances, 197.
 Brown, J., 316.
 Brown, Jackson (Seminole), 272.
 Brown, John F. (Seminole chief), 272, 273.
 Brown, John Henry, 374.
 Brown, Joseph C., Surveyor, 311.
 Brown, S., Co. F, 3d I. 318.
 Brown, Staunton (Seminole), 273.
 Brownsville (Tex.), 391.
 Bryan, Guy Morrison, 292.
 Bryan, Pete, 316.
 Bryant, Langley, 431.
 Butts, Mrs. A. W., 406.
 Buckner, Emory R., 101.
 Buckner, Dr. H. F., 271.
 Buckner, J. R., 318.
 Buffalo, in Oklahoma, 292, 365, 383, 387.
 Buffalo Bill, 69; Wild West Show, 36.
 Buffalo Hump (Comanche chief), 365.
 Buford, Lieut., 161.
 Burford, Judge John H., 101, 102, 105.
 Burnet, David Gouverneur, 274n, 369.
 Burnet, Hanna (Este), 280, 284n.
 Burnet, Ichabod, 280n.
 Burnet, Isaac, 280n.
 Burnet, Jacob, 280n.
 Burnet, William, 280n.
 Burnet, Lieut. William Este. 274-309.
 Burnet's Bay, in Texas, 280.
 Burnett, W., 318.
 Burnham, James, 217.
 Busby, Judge Orel, 166.
 Bush, Dr. Charles C., 326.
 Buso, Jose, 322.
 Butler, Col. Edward C. W., 356.
 Butterbaugh, Roy, 220.
 Butterfield Overland Mail Stage, Centennial of, 126.
 Butts, George N., ferry, 382.
 Byington, Cyrus, 13.
 Byrd, T. R., 316.

— C —

Cabell, Brig. Gen. W. L., 281.
 Cache Creek, 294.
 Caddo Battalion, 146.
 Caddo County (Okla.). Ghost Mound in, 150; Historical Marker, 210, 213, 214; Natural Mounds in, 146; Rock Mary in, 130.
 Caddo Indians, in Texas, 276, 278n, 295, 296.
 Cadenhead, I. E., Jr., "Will Rogers: Good Neighbor," by, 2-7.
 Calaham, W., 318.
 Calhoun, John C., 90, 91.
 California, Gold Rush in, 21, 154, 158, 172.
 California Overland Mail Route, 388.
 California Road, 131, 210, 211, 223.
 California Trail, through Oklahoma, 154-179.
 Calley, Sim, 318.
 Calvin, C. C., 318.
 Camp, in Wichita Mountains, 288, 291; on the Brazos River, 288; on Otter Creek, 291.
 Camp Colorado, in Texas, 291.
 Camp Cooper, in Texas, 278, 293, 302, 361-363, 376, 383.
 Camp Doniphan, at Fort Sill, 410.
 Camp Holmes, 166.
 Camp Inge, 361.
 Camp Mier, 357.
 Camp Radzinski, 277, 283n, 290n, 293, 364, 379; Historical Marker, 354.
 Camp Sabinal, 361.
 Camp Supply, 222.
 Camp Wichita, 366.
 Campbell, I. D., 318.
 Campbell, R. L., 318.
 Campbell, Robert W., 358, 359.
 Canadian River, North, 447.
Canadian River Hunt, by William E. Strong, edited by Fred Schonwald, reviewed, 447.
 Canady, Clair & Wood, cattlemen, 76.
 Canby, Gen. Edward, 282.
 Canton (Okla.), 217.
 Cantonment Military Post, 217.
 Capps, A. O., 316.
 Carlisle Barracks (Pa.), 361.
 Carlisle Indian School, 30, 31.
 Carpentier, Cornelia, 35.
 Carr, G. W., 316.
 Carruth, E. H., 181.
 Carson, Mrs. W. J., 406.
 Carswell, Dr. William A., 290.
 Case, J. M., 316.
 Cashion (Okla.), 105.
 Cass, Maj. Lewis, Jr., 356.
 Catholic Church, in Indian Territory, 35-42.
Catholic Home, The, 37n.
 Catoosa (Okla.), 76.
 Cattle, in Indian Territory, 76.
 Cattle Brands, of Texas, 342.
 Cave, H. L., 318.
 Chaffee, John W., gift of, 234.
 Chandler (Okla.), Postmaster of, 27.
 Chandler, O. K., Supt., Quapaw Agency, 15.
 Chandler, Rev. W. R., 403n.
 Chaney, Lon, 47.
 Chapman, Dr. B. B., 106, 119, 342, 451.
 Chappie, Mr., 63, 64.
 "Charles Newton Gould: 'Covered Wagon Geologist'", by Mildred Armor Frizzell, 126-129.
 "Charles Page," by Mrs. Walter Wood, 196-201.
 Checotah (Okla.), 323.

- Cherokee Advocate*, 117, 232.
 Cherokee Board of Education, 246.
 Cherokee Indians, in Texas, 167.
 Cherokee Male Seminary, 246.
 Cherokee Nation, during Civil War, 184;
 Presbyterian Board of Home Missions
 in, 246; Schools of, 246.
 Cherokee Outlet, opening of, 185, 188-
 189, 192, 209, 214.
 Cherokee Strip Cowpunchers Association,
 212.
 Cheyenne & Arapaho country, photograph
 of opening of, 188-189.
 Cheyenne Indians, 50, 51; Episcopal Mis-
 sion School for, 213.
 Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad,
 404n; in Oklahoma, 105; into Weather-
 ford, 50.
 Chickasaw Agency, 136n.
 Chickasaw Indians, Removal to the West
 of, 93.
 Chickasaw Nation, Fish in, 258; Flood in,
 261; Pioneer life in 255; Wild straw-
 berries in, 256; Wild Turkeys in, 258.
 Chickasha (Okla.), Catholic Church at,
 36.
 "Chief Bugler's Grave," Historical marker
 at, 212.
 "Chimney Hill", Historical marker at, 211.
 Chinnaby (Creek chief), 432.
 Chisholm, Jesse, 161, 173, 212.
 Chitwood, Mrs. James A., 259.
 "Choctaw Chief's House," Historical
 Marker at, 212.
 Choctaw County (Okla.), Easement to
 property in, 231; Historical Marker in,
 213, 214.
 Choctaw Indians, 166n; Liquor among,
 96; Removal to the West of the, 85-100.
Choctaw Intelligencer, 79, 80.
 Choctaw Nation, Abolitionism in, 78-84;
 Cotton in, 78; Delaware Indians in,
 167n; Missionaries in, 78, 80-82, 97;
 "Old Chief's House" in, 230, 442;
 Presbyterian Church in, 84; Shawnee
 Indians in, 167n; Slavery in, 78; Teach-
 er in, 13.
 Choctaw, Oklahoma & Gulf Railroad, 404n.
 "Choctaw Tom", 297n.
 Cholera, in Texas, 307.
 Chouteau, Col. A. P., 228.
 Chouteau, W. B., 229.
 Chouteau, C. E., 228, 229.
 Chouteau, Charles, 229.
 Chouteau, Jean Pierre, 228.
 Chouteau, Yvonne, 228.
 Chouteau Memorial Association, 228.
 Chouteau's Old Trading Post, 156.
 Chouteau's Trading House, 172.
 Chrisler, Mrs. Charlotte, 213, 230.
 Christian, J. F., 318.
Chronicles of Oklahoma, index, 101.
 Cimarron County (Okla.), Autograph
 Rock in, 310-314; Fort Nichols in, 310.
 Cimarron River, 447.
 Civil War, 281, 282, 361, 445-447; Bro-
 chure of folk songs of, 119; in Osage
 County, Okla., 180.
 Civil War Centennial Commission, Okla-
 homa, 326.
 Clardy, A. M., 399.
 Clark, Ben, 447.
 Clark, J. B., 316.
 Clark, Mrs. John A., 406.
 "Clarke, Lou Irion," by Florence Drake,
 113-114.
 Clarke, Ross, 114.
 Clarke, Sidney, 113, 114n.
 Clarksville (Tex.), 78, 82.
 Clay, Samuel, 399.
 Clement, Cyril, gift of, 452.
 Clopper, Joseph C., 280n, 394.
 Clopper, Mary, 369, 389.
 Clopper, Mary Este, 284n.
 Cloud, Jack, 218.
 Cloud, Mary, 403.
 Cloud Chief (Okla. Ty.). Mail from
 Weatherford to, 50.
 Clow, Mel, gift of, 453.
 Clowers, L. L., 316.
 Coal, in Oklahoma, 162.
 Coffee, John, 92.
 Coffee's Trading Post, 173.
 Coffin, O. S., 318.
 Colbert (Okla.), 261.
 Colbert Neighborhood School, in Choctaw
 Nation, 255.
 Colbert's Ferry, 382.
 Cold Springs Camp Ground, 220.
 Cold Springs Creek, 313, 314.
 Coldwater Valley, in Texas Co., Okla., 222.
 Cole, Eliza Patterson, 242.
 Cole, James Buchanan, 242.
 Cole, Capt. James Lowry, 242.
 Cole, Joy Donald, 244.
 Cole, Mary Patricia, 244.
 Cole, Mary Thompson Cross, 243.
 Cole, Olivia Harris, 243, 244n.
 Cole, Judge Redmond S., 117; "Redmond
 Selecman Cole," by Fannie Brownlee
 Misch, 242-244.
 Cole, Virginia Bedford, 243, 244n.
 Cole, Virginia Lee Bedford, 242.
 Coleman, L., 316.
 Collier, Mr., 64.
 Collins, Elizabeth Garth, 244n.
 Collins, Mary Avery, 244n.
 Collins, Ross Livingston, 244n.
 Collins, Virginia Bedford, 244n.
 Colonial Dames of Oklahoma, Monument
 erected by, 219.
 Columbia (Mo.), 242.
 Columbia University, 112.

- Comanche Indians, 276, 277, 278n, 295n, 297, 302n, 306; Attack on, 365; Campaign against, 283, 289n; Captives of, 110; Hostile, 359, 362, 380, 381, 386, 388; in Kansas, 365; Removal from Texas to Indian Territory, 377.
- Comanche Reservation, in Texas, 276, 278n, 280, 302n.
- Compton, J. T., gift of, 235.
- Condé, Gen. Garcie, 357, 360.
- Confederate Army, 146, 180, 281, 394; Indians in, 214.
- Confederate Cemetery, in Atoka County, Okla., 443.
- Constantine, Charles W., 45.
- Conway, Mary, 213, 223.
- Cook, Mrs. C. E., 207; gift of, 454.
- Cook, Dr. C. E., Jr., gift of, 453.
- Cooper, Col. D. H., 180.
- Cooper, Mrs. William E., gift of, 344.
- Corly, John L., 316.
- Cornell, Alexander, 426-429.
- Cornell, David, 426-428, 431-434, 438.
- Cornell, George, 428.
- Cornell, James, 428.
- Cornell, Joseph, 428, 432.
- Cornett, Edward, 384.
- Cornish, Arthur, 189, 190.
- Cornish, George, 189, 190.
- Coronado's Expedition, Monument to, 219.
- Corps of Engineers, 231.
- Cortina, Juan Nepomuceno, 391, 396.
- Cosby, Lieut. George B., 361.
- Coswell, W. L., 259.
- Cotteral, John H., 106.
- Cotton, in Pottawatomie Co., Okla., 405.
- Couch, Miss Edna, 222.
- Couch, William L., 109.
- Covington (Okla.), 61; history of, 55n.
- Covington, J., 61.
- "Cowboy Hill", in Kay Co., Okla., 443; Historical Marker at, 212.
- Coweta Indians, 427, 436, 437.
- Coyle, W. H., 104.
- Craddock, Emmett, 202.
- Cragg, Rexford B., 409n, 410, 414, 415.
- Craig, G. R., 318.
- Crain, James A., Chaplain, 423.
- Crazy Snake (Creek), 212.
- Creek Indians, in Battle of Chustenahlah, 180; Lower, 426; Loyal, 183; Missionary to 271; Upper, 427.
- Creek Nation, Cattle ranch in, 76 White Lieutenant in, 425.
- Crockett, Bernice Norman, "The Story of Rock Cut", by, 253-264.
- Cross, Bill, 204.
- Cross, Mary Thompson, 243.
- Cross Timbers, 174, 175, 388; Upper, 140.
- Crossed Saber Cattle Ranch, 72.
- Crossett, Fay, 262.
- Crow, Mrs. A. W., 406.
- Crow, Rhett Mae, 406.
- Crowder (Okla.), 323.
- Cruce, Lee, 251.
- Crugar, Jacob, 370.
- Cullimore, Allan Reginald, 191.
- Cullimore, Catherine, 191.
- Cullimore, Clarence, "Perry's First Doctor," by, 191-195.
- Cullimore, Donald Grant, 192.
- Cullimore, Dr. Grant, 192.
- Cullimore, James, 191.
- Cullimore, Mary Pearce (Joy), 191n.
- Cullimore, Dr. Thomas McIntyre, 191-195.
- Cullimore, Virginia Lois (Sharp), 192.
- Cunningham, Robert E., "Oklahoma's 'Missing Link,' by, 185-190.
- Curd, I. D., 316.
- Curt Brown Drilling Company, gift of, 454.
- Cussetah Indians, 426, 429.
- Custer, Gen. George A., 212, 222, 367.
- Custer, Ralph, gift of, 344, 452.
- "Custer's Rendezvous", Historical Marker, 212.
- Cutlip, Guy, 405.
- Cutrell, Dave, 70.

— D —

- Dagget, C. F., 316.
- Dale, Edward Everett, 451; *Frontier Ways, reviewed*, 335-336.
- Dalton Brothers, 21.
- Davidson, L. A., 257.
- Davis (Okla.), 254, 255, 256.
- Davis, Mrs. Alice Brown, 272, 273.
- Davis, C., 316.
- Davis, Jefferson, 361.
- Davis, Mary DeLand, 318.
- Davis, Sam H., 256, 264.
- Davis, William, 402.
- Daugherty, Eleanor McGeehee, 75.
- Daugherty, Elizabeth Middleton, 77.
- Daugherty, James Madison, 75.
- Daugherty, James Monroe, 75.
- Daugherty, Marcus, 402.
- "Daugherty Ranch, Creek Nation, The," by Ella M. Robinson, 75-77.
- Daugherty Ranch, Vanhorn, Texas, 76.
- Day County (Okla. Ty.), 72, 209, 211, 216.
- Dean, Carney, gift of, 343.
- Dean, J. E., 316.
- Decker, A., 318.
- Deer, Thomas, 400n.
- Delaware Creek, in Johnston Co., Okla., 167n.
- Delaware Indians, 166, 167n, 296; painting on native culture of, 29.
- Delaware Mount, in Oklahoma, 157, 161, 167, 169; Historical Marker, 210.
- Deleny, J., 318.
- Delgado, E., 316.

- Delgado, F. B., 318.
 Delta Kappa Gamma, 20.
 De Morse, Charles, 78.
 Denison (Tex.), 254.
 Dent, Capt., 160.
 Dent, J. C., 316.
 Dent, L., 316.
 Denton, Rev. Troy, 403n.
 Denton County (Tex.), 75.
Denver Post, 47.
 Depreitere, Monsignor G., 36.
 De Rosier, Arthur H., Jr., "Negotiations for the Removal of the Choctaw: U.S. Policies of 1820 & 1830," by 85-100.
 Detamore, William, 316.
 Devil's Canyon, 116.
 DeWeese, Mr., trader, 21.
 Dewey County (Okla.), 223.
 Dierker, Charles, gift of, 344.
 Dimelow, Mrs. Lucy E., gift of, 235.
 Dinosaur Quarry, in Oklahoma, 220.
 Dismukes, Mrs. George, 216.
 Dixon, H. B., 318.
 Dixon, J., 316.
 Dixon, Walter Kate, 318.
 Doak's Stand, Council at, 91.
 Doaksville (Choctaw Nation), 79; Historical Marker at, 213.
 Doan, C. F., 211.
 Doan's Crossing, Historical Marker at, 211.
 Doerner, E. J., 201n.
 Doheny, J., 318.
 "Dome Rock," on Canadian River, 382.
 Domenech, Abbé, Em., 139, 140.
 Dott, Robert H., 151. "Lieut. Simpson's California Road Across Oklahoma," by, 154-179.
 Dougherty (Okla.), 256, 257, 261.
 Douglas (Okla.), 55n.
 Douglas, H. T., III, 114.
 Douglas, Mrs. Tom, 114.
 Dragoon Expedition, 166, 167n.
 Dragoon Trail, 166.
 Dragoons, U. S., 354.
 Drake, D. M., 318.
 Drake, Florence, "Lou Irion Clarke," by, 113; "Tecumseh at the Turn of the Century," by, 397-408.
 Drake, John W., 397n, 405.
 Drew, W. R., 256.
 Duncan (Okla.), 40.
 Durham, Hattie, 406.
 Durham, Nettie, 406.
 Durham, Mrs. W. M., 406.
 Duey, Anna, 318.
 Duey, Emma, 318.
 Duey, J., 318.
 Duey, J. S., 318.
 Duperu, Capt. Alphonse, 357.
 DuMars, John E., 106.
 Dwight Mission, 246.
 Dyer, Col. D. B., 45.
 Easley, Mrs. Ruby, 221.
 Eastman, Col. William R., 422, 423.
 Eaton, A. S., 318.
 Eaton, John, 96.
 Eddie, Mr. and Mrs. B. D., 342.
 Edwards Trading Post, 167, 210; Historical Marker at, 211.
 Egbert, C. H., 316.
 Eighty-Niners' Club, Oklahoma City, Okla., 210.
 Eisele, Ernest John, 60, 64.
 Eisele, Fannie L., "We Came to Live in Oklahoma Territory," by, 55-65.
 Eisele, Herman, 64.
 Elder, Miss L. A., 272.
 Elk, in Oklahoma, 365.
 Ellis County (Okla.), 72; Historical Marker in, 209, 211.
 El Paso (Tex.), 360.
 Emahaka Academy, 265-273.
 Emerick, Clarence, 409n.
 Emory, Maj. William H., 279, 358-360.
 England, 245, 246.
 Enid (Okla. Ty.), 62.
 Episcopal Mission, for Cheyenne Indians, 213.
 Erixon, Gustave A., 102.
 Ervin, Mrs. John Witherspoon, gift of, 452.
 Esgiudel, J. S., 318.
 Este, Hanna, 280.
 Este, Moses, 284n.
 Estep, Raymond, "Lieutenant Wm. E. Burnet: Notes on Removal of Indians from Texas to Indian Territory," by, 274-309; "Lieutenant Wm. E. Burnet Letters: Removal of the Texas Indians and Founding of Fort Cobb," by, 369-396.
 Estes, O. C., 316.
 Estill, Paul E., 201n.
 Eufaula (Okla.), 271, 323.
 Eufaula Indian Boarding School, 112.
 "Evans, Arthur Grant," by Frank A. Balycat, 245-252.
 Evans, Arthur W. Robb, 252n.
 Evans, Carolyn (Taylor), 245.
 Evans, Carrie, 246.
 Evans, Rev. E. J., 245.
 Evans, Edward (Ted) Andrew, 252n.
 Evans, Jessie Elizabeth, 252n.
 Evans, Katherine Robb, 247.
 Evans, Martha Gwenllian, 252n.
 Evans, Mary Carol, 252n.

- Factor, Rev. James, 271.
 Factor, William, 273.
 Faft, Mr., 59.
 Fairbanks, Arthur, 192, 195.

- Fairfax (Okla.), 9, 10.
 Farmer, Rev. R. L., 403n.
 Farrand, Lieut. Charles E., 304.
 Farron, Mary, 21n, 27n.
 Ferdinandina Trading Post, 310.
 Ferry Boat, at Big Jake's Crossing, 50.
 Fields, Raymond H., 219.
 Fife, Rev. Dorsey (Seminole), 273.
 Fifth Cavalry of the Union forces, 361, 362.
 Fink, Mrs. John B., gift of, 344.
 Finney, Frank F., Sr., "Maria Tallchief, in History: Oklahoma's Own Ballerina," by, 8-11.
 Finney, James E., 8n, 9n.
 Finney, Thomas M., 8n, 9n.
 "First Military Road," Historical Marker, 212.
 First National Bank, Dallas, Texas, gift of, 342.
 Fischer, Aaron, 218.
 Fischer, Dr. Leroy, 326.
 Fisher, William G., 315.
 Fitzameier, Lena, 57.
 Fitzpatrick, H. L., *Oklahoma Almanac and State Encyclopedia*, reviewed, 336-337.
 Fleming, Capt. John, 433.
 Flood, in Chickasaw Nation, 261.
 Florer, John, 9.
 Floyd, John, 402.
 Flynn, Dennis T., 43, 46, 102.
 Flynn, Mrs. J. W., gift of, 454.
 Foley, M. W., 319.
 Folsom, David (Choctaw chief), 98.
 Foos, V., 319.
 Forbes, A. A., photograph of, 188, 190.
 Ford, Capt., 381, 389.
 Ford, John Salmon (Rip.), 297.
 Ford's Rangers, 381.
 Foreman, Carolyn Thomas, "The White Lieutenant and Some of His Contemporaries," by, 425-440; gift of, 236.
 Forsey, Caleb G., 281.
 Forsythe, Jay, 76.
 Fort Arbuckle, 277, 279.
 Fort Belknap, 275, 276, 287, 361, 364, 384, 386.
 Fort Chadbourne, 275, 288, 289.
 Fort Clark, 275, 295, 361.
 Fort Cobb, founding of, 274, 279, 369, 396; Granite Marker to be erected at, 442.
 Fort Croghan, building of, 275.
 Fort Fidius (Ga.), 435, 439.
 Fort Gates, building of, 275.
 Fort Gibson, during Civil War, 197; Property owned by Oklahoma Historical Society at, 338-351, 443.
 Fort Gibson-Fort Washita Road, 163n.
 Fort Graham, building of, 275.
 Fort Holmes, old, 166, 172, 210.
 Fort Inge, building of, 275.
 Fort Martin Scott, building of, 275.
 Fort Mason, 361, 362.
 Fort McIntosh, 361.
 Fort McKavett, 275, 284, 287, 289, 290.
 Fort Nichols, 310.
 Fort Osage (Mo.), 311.
 Fort Phantom Hill, 275.
 Fort Sill, 366; Camp Doniphan at, 410.
 Fort Smith, 158; Establishment of, 108.
 Fort Smith-Boggy Depot Road, 211.
 Fort Supply, 222.
 Fort Terrett, 275.
 Fort Washita, 116; Chickasaw Agency at, 136n; Maps of, 339; Site of 443.
 Fort Wichita, 361.
 Fort Worth, building of, 275.
 Foundation of Foreign Affairs, gift of, 234.
 Foutz, John, 76.
 Fowler, Dr. R. G., gift of, 452.
 Fraker, Elmer L., 216, 232, 326, 348; gift of, 453.
 France, Base Hospital 85 in, 414, 415.
 "Free Homes," 102.
 Freed, John, 315.
 Freeman, Lieut. Col W. G., 287n.
 French Alliance, 228.
 French Trading Post, in Oklahoma, 211, 310.
 Friedberg, Maj. Stanton A., 411.
 Friends Church, Tecumseh, Okla., 399, 403, 404.
 Frisco (Okla.), 45.
 Frizzell, Frank, 409n.
 Frizzell, John D., 151.
 Frizzell, Mildred Armor (Mrs. John D.), 126, 143, 151, 218; "Charles Newton Gould: 'Covered Wagon Geologist,'" by, 126-129.
 Frizzell, Minette, 149.
 Fullerton, Clara, 402n.
 Fullerton, Frank, 402n.
 Fullerton, J. C., 402.
 Fullwider, Leonard, 70.

— G —

- Gage, J. T., 319.
 Gaines Creek Crossing, 163n.
 Gallo, J. B., 76.
 Galveston (Tex.), 386, 387.
 Galvez, Gov. Bernardo de, 211.
 Galveston Bay & Texas Land Co., 280.
 Garber (Okla. Ty.), trader at, 59.
 Garber, Bird, 59.
 Garber, M. C., 59.
 Garcia, F., 319.
 Gardner, Jerrey, 316.
 Garfield Co. (Okla.), 55n, 65.
 Garland Cemetery, in McCurtain Co., Okla., 443.
 Garric, W., 319.

- Castel, Rev. John, 37.
 Gate (Okla.), 218.
 Gayler, Bob, 220.
 Gayler, R. H., 314.
 Gen. Forrest Chapter, U. D. C., gift of, 344.
 Geological Formation of country, between Fort Smith and Delaware Mound, 170; between Delaware Mound and Cross Timbers, 171.
 Germany, 55.
 Gibbs, E. B., 316.
 Gibson, A. M., 326; "Joe Kagey; Indian Educator," by, 12-19.
 Gilbert, Capt. Charles C., 304, 308, 377, 395.
 Gilham Granite Co., Mountain Park, Okla., 367.
 Gill, Ed, gift of, 452.
 Gill, Jim H., 402n.
 Gill, Nina, 402n.
 Gillespie, H. D., 319.
 Gillis, Earl A., 316.
 Gilstrap, Harriet Patrick (Mrs. Harry), "Memoirs of a Pioneer Teacher," by, 20-34; gift of, 235.
 Gilstrap, Harry, 26-28.
 Gilstrap, Hayes, 28n.
 Gilstrap, Lee, 27, 28n.
 Gilstrap, Mary Lee, 28n.
 Gilstrap, Patrick, 28n.
 Gilstrap, Ronnie, 28n.
 Gilstrap, Sam, 28n.
 Givens, G. W., 316.
 Glass Mountains, 218.
 Godfrey, C. L., gift of, 344.
 Goetzmann, William H., gift of, 452.
 Gold, in California, 21, 154, 158, 172.
 Gonzalez, D. J., 319.
 Gonzales, R., 319.
 Good Hunter (Creek), 426.
 Goodland School & Orphanage, in Choctaw Nation, 13-15.
 Goodloe, R. W., Chaplain, 409n, 420, 423.
 Goodwell (Okla.), 221.
 Gopfert, Charles, 55.
 Gopfert, Elizabeth, 55.
 Gopfert, Fannie L., 55.
 Gopfert, Herman, 55, 61.
 Gopfert, Ida, 55.
 Gorham, H. D., 319.
 Gorman, Mrs. T. F., gift of, 236, 343.
 Gould, Anna Arvilla (Robinson), 126.
 Gould, Charles Newton, 126-129.
 Gould, Simon Gilbert, 126.
 Gouverneur, Gertrude, 280n.
 Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa, 112.
 Grady County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 210.
 Graff, Miss Birdie, 21.
 Graham, Lieut. Col. James D., 357.
 Grand (Okla. Ty.), Historical Marker in, 209, 211, 216.
 Granite, in Oklahoma, 367.
 Grass, Mrs. Frank, gift of, 234.
 Graves, John N., 319.
 Gray, Ottoe, 72, 73.
 Gray Horse Trading Post, 8, 9.
 Green, Mr., 63.
 Green, C., 319.
 Green, "Cannon Ball", 126.
 Green, Fred W., 102.
 Greenwood, Roy, 183.
 Greer, Frank, 43.
 Greer County (Okla.), Historical Marker in, 212.
 Gregg, Josiah, 155.
 Gregg, Riley, 316.
 Gregory, R. A., 319.
 Grey, Mrs. E. J., 406.
 Grierson, Col. B. H., 366.
 Griffith, F. M., 402n.
 Grimes, Levi, 319.
 Grimes, Philip, 385.
 Grisham, Rev. Eculis, 403n.
 Groom, Mr., 60.
 Grove, Bryant L., 409n.
 Gruber, William, Chief Bugler, 19th Kansas Cavalry, 212.
 Guadalupe Mountains, Pass of, 290n.
 Guerif, Father J., 422.
 Gulf Oil Company, 243.
 Guthrie (Okla. Ty.), 101, 104, 105, 106, 188, 189, 207; Catholic Church at, 37; Famous people who lived in, 47; First bank in, 46; First native stone building in, 47; in April 1889, 45; Postmaster of, 46; Rough Rider Troop organized at, 48.
Guthrie Get Up, The, 46.
 Guymon (Okla.), 219.
 Gypsum, in Oklahoma, 177, 390.
 Gurley, Rev. Glen, 403n.

— H —

- Hackett, Father Harry J., 423.
 Hackney, H. C., 68, 72.
 Hadden, Evelyn, 319.
 Hadden, Ruth, 319.
 Hadden, Joe W., 319.
 Hagerman, Mr., 389, 396.
 Hagerman, James, 392.
 Hagans, John, 316.
 Haefker, Rev. W. A., 235.
 Hale, Homer E., 409n, 410.
 Haley, Maj. David W., 100.
 "Half-way House" in Panhandle of Oklahoma, 63.
 Hall, Bill J., 315.
 Hall, J., 316.
 Halliburton, R. Jr., Book review by, 110.
 Hallowing King (Coweta), 439.
 Ham, Dr. William, 140.
 Hamilton, Betty L., 43n, 49.
 Hamilton, Charles, 76.

Hamilton, W. H., 344.
 Hampson, F., 319.
 Hanging Maw (Cherokee chief), 433, 434.
 Hankla, B. L., 319.
 Hardee, Maj. William J., 361.
 Hardesty (Okla.), 222.
 Hardin, Davis, 399.
 Hardin, T. J., 316.
 Hargett, L. F., gift of, 454.
 Harjo, Chitto, Historical marker at grave of, 212.
 Harkins, Col. George, 255.
 Harper, John, 319.
 Harper, W. C., 319.
 Harper County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 213.
 Harper Oil Company, gift of, 442.
 Harrison, Lieut., 161, 223.
 Harrison, Edwin, 319.
 Harrison, Luther, 204.
 Harrison, Lieut. M. P., 213.
 Harrison, Morton, 117, 232.
 Harrison, Paul, 68, 72, 73.
 Hartell, R. M., 319.
 Hartzell, John A., 319.
 Haskell, C. N., 204, 251.
 Haskell County (Okla.), coal in, 162.
 Haskell Institute, 25, 28, 30.
 Hasque, George de, 38.
 Hasque, Joseph de, 38.
 Hasque, Joseph Alexander de, 35.
 Hasque, Maurice de, 38n.
 Hasque, Urban, Alphonse. Marie de, 35-42.
 Hatch, Col. Edward, 109.
 Haverstick, R., 316.
 Hawkins, George H., 319.
 Haynes, O. E., 316.
 Hays, Alfred, 319.
 Headington, J., 316.
 Heath, R. Ray, gift of, 453.
 Heavener (Okla.), Rune stone near, 233.
 Hegler, Capt. Benjamin F., 102.
 Helium, in Oklahoma, 220, 221.
 Hemme, F. W., 73.
 Hemme, J. M., 73.
 Henderson, J. M., 319.
 Henderson, James Pinckney, 280.
 Hendry, Lela, 403.
 Hennessey (Okla.), 36.
 Henry, Rev. W. A., 403n.
 Henry Kendall College, 247.
 Hensley, Claude E., gift of, 343.
 Herrera, J. J., 319.
 Herrick, Manuel, 28.
 Herrington, Rev. G. W., 403n.
 Hess, Moore, gift of, 344.
 Hibbard, J. H., 398.
 Hickox, Millar W., gift of, 115, 235, 236.
 Hickox, Joseph O., gift of, 115, 235, 236.
 Higby, Dr. Brewster, 209.
 Higgins, Thomas A., 101-106.
 Highsaw, J. I., 319.
 Hill, C., 319.
 Hill, Hulan, 319.
 Hinds, Thomas, 90, 92.
 Hinds, Thomas, 409n.
 Hinton (Okla.), 147.
 Historical Markers, in Oklahoma, 106, 441-443.
 Hitch, Henry C., Ranch of, 221.
 Hitch, James Kerrick, 222.
 Historical Tour, 1960, 217-223.
 Hixson, Mrs. Clarence, 266.
 Hobby, A. M., 374n.
 Hoe, Chaon, Sr., 316.
 Hoevel, Kenneth, 227.
 Hoffman, Roy, 25.
 Hogan, Dan, 105.
 Hoks, Lem, 76.
 Holloway W. J., 228.
 Holman, Miss Aline, 16.
 Holmes, David, Gov. of Mississippi, 89.
 Holway, Hope, book review by, 224-225.
 "Home on the Range," Historical marker at grave of author of, 209.
 Hominy (Okla.), 9.
 Hominy Creek, 184.
 Hood, Andy, 316.
 Hood, J. A., 319.
 Hood, Lieut. John Bell, 361.
 Hopkins, G. G., gift of, 453.
 Hopkins, George, gift of, 452.
 Hopkins, Hazel, gift of, 452.
 Hopkins, Mrs. Mary Wenner, 43n, 48.
 Hopoithle, Yohola, 428n, 434n.
 Houston, Sam, 280, 371, 386.
 Houston, Temple, 105.
 Howard, H. F., Windham, Vt., 320.
 Howard, T. J., 316.
 Howat, Mrs. Harold Bradshaw, 112.
 Howell, Ellen, 255.
 Howell, Mrs. O. E., gift of, 236.
 Howell, Dr. Tom P., 255.
 Hudnut, J. M., 320.
 Hudson, Ralph, gift of, 343.
 Hughes, Edward R., 409n.
 Hughes, J. L., 316.
 Hughes, Russell, 409n.
 Hughes County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 210.
 Hulputta, Rev. (Seminole chief), 272.
 Humbolt, Edgar Davis, 320.
 Hurst, R. C., 403n.
 Hurt, Lizzie, 320.
 Huston, Judge A. H., 102, 103.
 —I—
 Illinois Infantry, 34th, 21.
Indian Advocate, The, Catholic publication, 37.
 Indian artist, 29-30.
 Indian Mission Conference, 216.
Indian Missionary, 271.

Indian Territory, Catholic Church in, 35-42; Cattle in, 76; Removal of Indians from Texas to, 274-309; Schools for white children in, 247.
 Indianola (Tex.), 286.
 Influenza epidemic, 412, 414.
 Ioland (Okla. Ty.), 211.
 Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, 112.
 Irion, Lou, 113.
 Irion, Thomas, 113.
 Irving, Washington, in Oklahoma, 231.
 Irwin, Clinton F., 106.

— J —

Jackson, Andrew, 90, 93.
 Jackson, Jessie Elizabeth Evans, 252n.
 Jackson County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 212.
 Jacksborough (Tex.), 374.
 Jacksborough Rangers, 298, 300.
 Jacksonville (Ill.), 191.
 James, Alta, 316.
 James, F. L., 316.
 James, Hugh, 316.
 James, W. T., 316.
 James River Kanawha Canal Co., 356.
 Jarot, F. C., Dayton, Ohio, 320.
 Jarrell, Rev. L. E., 403n.
 Jay Forsythe Ranch, 76.
 Jefferson, James W., 409n.
 Jefferson Barracks, 361.
 Jefferson County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 211.
 Jeffries, Dale, 409n, 410.
 Jenks, Rev. E. L., 403n.
 Jennifer, Lieut. Walter H., 361.
 Jerry Ryan Creek, in Cimarron Co., Okla., 317n.
Johnny Osage, by Janice Holt Giles, reviewed, 224-225.
 Johnson, Col. Albert Sidney, 361.
 Johnson, Ben, 97.
 Johnson, Charles ("Boggy"), 136.
 Johnson, J. T., 149.
 Johnson, Jack, Jr., 220.
 Johnson, L. Wayne, 101.
 Johnson, Louis, 243.
 Johnson, Montford, 136n.
 Johnson, S. Neal, 201.
 Jones,, U. S. Marshal, 45.
 Jones, Callie, 403.
 Jones, Frank, 324.
 Jones, Fred, Supt. of School, at Salina, Okla., 228.
 Jones, H. C., 201n.
 Jones, Jenkin Lloyd, 118, 326.
 Jones, Robert M., 167n.
 Jones, Father Vern, Episcopal Vicar, 222.
 Jones Academy, 14.
 Journeycake, Charles, home of, 232.
 Joy, Mary Pearce, 191.
 Jumper, John (Seminole), 214, 266, 271.

— K —

Kagey, Aline (Holman), 16.
 "Kagey, Joe: Indian Educator," by A. M. Gibson, 12-19.
 Kansas, 126, 127; Hostile Indians is, 365.
 Kansas Southern Railroad, 254.
 Kapepele, Father Titus A., 41.
 Ka-tump-sa (Comanche), 391.
 Kaufman, Capt. Solomon, 214.
 Kaveler, Herman H., gift of, 454.
 Kay County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 212.
 Kaypolk, James, 193.
 Keller, William, 113.
 Keltner (Okla. Ty.), 63.
 Kendall, C. A., 320.
 Kenton (Okla.), 221.
 Kentucky Military Institute, 281, 374n.
 Keokuk Falls, Town seal of, 236.
 Kesting, Jennie, 272.
 Kewanee Oil Company, gift of, 454.
 Keyes, Earl F., 203; gift of, 453.
 Keys, (Okla.), 221.
 Keystone (Okla.), 183.
 Keystone Dam, 231.
 Kichai Indians, in Texas, 276, 279.
 Kickapoo Indians, hostile, 380.
 Kincade, Ross, gift of, 453.
 King, Mrs. A. D., 406.
 King, Dean, 228.
 King, J. S., 320.
 King, Capt. John Haskell, 295, 297.
 King, W. R., 247.
 Kingfisher (Okla.) 46, 209.
 Kingfisher County (Okla.), Historical Marker in, 209.
 Kingsbury, Cyrus, 13, 79, 80, 83.
 Kingsbury, John P., 79, 80, 82.
 Kinzey, Charley, 316.
 Kiowa County (Okla.), Camp Radzinski in, 367.
 Kiowa Indians, captives of, 110; hostile, 380; in Kansas, 365; in Texas, 362.
 Kirkland, Mrs. Martha, gift of, 344.
 Kirkpatrick, Rear Admiral John, 228.
 Kleiser,, Deputy City Marshal, 324.
 Kline, J. W., Lebanon, Pa., 320.
 Klucken, Mrs. Gerda E., gift of, 454.
 Knight, Dr. Homer L., 326.
 Kniskern, W. H., gift of, 452.
 Know-Nothing Party, 371n.
 Knowlton, F. M., 47.
 Knox, R. M., gift of, 236.
 Knox Industries Corporation, gift of, 207.
 Kuhn (Okla. Ty.), 63.
 Kulli Chaha (Choctaw Nation), 202.

— L —

Lafayette, Jean Paul, gift of, 343.
 Lake Mohawk Indian Conference, 248.

- Lake Texhoma, 332.
 Lamar, Mirabeau Bonaparte, 280, 395.
 Lambright, Rev. J. W., 403.
 Lance, Floyd, 320.
 Lance, Mrs. Fred, 223.
 Langston, Aileen, "Eva Zerline Lewers," by, 112-113.
 Langston, Mrs. William Carroll, 112.
 Larregui, Jose Salazar y, 357, 360.
 Larsh, S. P., 400; Mrs. 406.
 Latimer County (Okla.), Historical Marker in, 211.
 Laughinghouse, Lieut. Col. Charles O., 411, 414, 422.
 Lawrence, Judge S. S., 102.
 Lazelle, Lieut. Henry M., 290.
 Leadville (Col.), 247.
 Leak, H., 317.
 Leavenworth, Gen. Henry, 166.
 Lee, Lieut. Fitzhugh, 306, 361, 365.
 Lee, Oscar G., 399.
 Lec, Robert E., 354, 361, 362, 366.
 Lee-Huckins Hotel, Oklahoma City, 205.
 Leeper, Col., 377.
 Leeper, J. M., 320.
 Leeper, Mrs. M. F., gift of, 453.
 Leeper, Matthew, 277, 278n, 279, 296.
 LeFlore, Greenwood (Choctaw chief), 98-100, 213.
 LeFlore County (Okla.). Historical markers in, 212.
 Lenape Indians, Native culture of, 29.
 Leonard, Judge Dwight, 219.
 Lester, H. A., 320.
 Leven, Monsignor. Stephen, 41.
 Lewers, Charles Alexander, 112.
 Lewers, Christopher Hamilton, 112.
 "Lewers, Eva Zerline," by Aileen Langston, 112-113.
 Lewers, James Greenwood, 112.
 Lewers, Jeanette Greenwood, 112.
 Lewis, Admire, 47.
 Lewis, D. C., 25.
 Lewis, Mrs. Ida, 405, 406.
 Lewis, J. W., 402n.
 Lewis, Mrs. O. D., 30n.
 "Lieutenant Simpson's California Road Across Oklahoma," by Robert H. Dott, 154-179.
 "Lieutenant William E. Burnet: Notes on Removal of Indians from Texas to Indian Territory," by Raymond Estep, 274-309.
 "Lieutenant William E. Burnet Letters: Removal of the Texas Indians and the Founding of Fort Cobb," by Raymond Estep, 369-396.
 Lilly, H. A., 320.
 Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission, gift of, 452.
 Lindsay (Okla.), 40.
 Lindsley, W. D., 344.
 Lipan Indians, in Texas, 362.
 Little Eagle, Paul, 409n, 410, 422.
 "Little Sahara" in Wood County, Okla., 218.
 Lobato, Don, 320.
 Logan, David M., gift of, 234.
 Lollar, Robert C., 216.
 Lomax, Lieut. Lunsford L., 394.
 London (England), 245, 246.
 Long, C. C., 273.
 Long, Maj. Stephen H., 108.
 Long Beach (Calif.), 251.
 Lookeba (Okla.), naming of, 324.
 Looney, Mrs. Rella, 101.
 Louisville (Ky.), 361.
 Lovell, H., 320.
 Lowe, Rev. George, 403n.
 Lowry, Capt. James, 242.
 Lucero, A. M., 320.
 Luella (Okla. Ty.), 61.
 Lytle Leonard gift of 452.
- M —
- MacArthur, Capt. Arthur, 47, 207.
 MacArthur, Douglas, 47, 207.
 Macarty, Mrs. Elie, gift of, 236.
 Mackenzie, Col. R. S., 291n.
 Mad Beaver (Creek), 426.
 Mad Dog (Creek), 426-429, 432, 433, 439.
 Mad Spanyard (Creek), 426.
 Mad Tiger (Creek), 426.
 Mad Tom (Creek), 426.
 Madden, Mrs. D. B., 406.
 Madras (India), 245.
 Mahardy, Sam, 254.
 Mail Route, from Gainesville, Tex., to Fort Arbuckle, 388; from Houston to Gainesville, Tex., 388; from Weatherford, Okla., to Cloud Chief, Okla., 50; to California, 290, 298, 299; to County B, Okla. Ty., 399; to Fort Cobb, 395.
 Major, Lieut. James P., 287, 295.
 Marcou, Jules, 137, 158.
 Marcy, Randolph B., army officer, 130, 155, 158, 161, 173, 210, 211, 223, 276.
 Marlin, Mr., fight at home of, 372, 373, 375, 384.
 Marlin, William, 305.
 Marlow (Okla.), 40.
 Marple, P. B., 317.
 Martin, Bill, 404n.
 Martin, J. B., 216.
 Martin, J. Jn., 317.
 Martin, (John) (Cheorkee), grave of, 349.
 Martin, M., 317.
 Marum, D. P., 105.
 Marvin, H. L., 254.
 Massey, George, 398.
 Mather, Thomas, 311.
 Mathis, Bob, 77.
 Matlock, M. M., 320.
 Matthews, D., 317.

- Mauk Chunk (Pa.), 34.
 Maury, Maj. Gen. D. H., 281, 282.
 McBride, Joe, 118, 233, 341.
 McBroom, Rev., 403n.
 McCartney, John A., 399.
 McCarty, C. E., Gifts of, 234.
 McClain, Lola (Blake), 265n.
 McClellan, D. D., 317 .
 McCurtain County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 212.
 McDonald,, British Agent to Cherokee Indians, 428, 430.
 McElroy, Annie, 406.
 McGee, Rev. L. W., 403n.
 McGeehee, Eleanor, 75.
 McGeisey, Thomas, 273.
 McGillivray, Alexander (Creek chief), 425.
 McGillivray, Daniel, 439, 440.
 McGinty, Bill, Cowboy band of. 66-74.
 McGinty, Mollie, 73.
 McGinty, O. W. (Jack), 73.
 McGregor, Dr. Rob Roy, 326.
 McIntosh, Col. James, 180.
 McIntosh County (Okla.), County seat war in, 323.
 McIntyre, La Jeanne, 348.
 McKee, John, Indian Agent, 87, 88.
 McKee, Dr. Marvin, 219, 221.
 McKenney, Thomas L., 93, 99.
 McKinney, Lee A., gift of, 234, 342.
 McMillan, Mrs. C. B., gift of, 454.
 McMurrey & Brewer, merchants, 202.
 McNabb, G. G. A., gift of, 344.
 McNeill, Judge N. E., 243.
 McNerney, James, 404n.
 McPherson, Col. Donald A., 107.
 McPherson, Lieut. Edward, 357.
 McQuarrie, J., 320.
 McRill, Rev. L. A., gift of, 234.
 McRill, Leslie A., "Music in Oklahoma by the Billy McGinty Band," by, 66-74; gift of, 115, 207; 235.
 McWhirter, Nolan, 221.
 Meagher, Tom, 183.
 Meerschaert, Bishop Theophile, 35, 36.
 Mekusukey Academy, 266.
 Melton, John H., 107.
 Melvin, William B., 95.
 "Memoirs of a Pioneer Teacher" by Harriet Patrick Gilstrap, 20-34.
 Memphis (Tenn.), 363.
 Menard, Pierre, 311.
 Mennonite Mission, in Blaine Co., Okla., 217.
 Merwin, Charles L., gift of, 343.
 Messecar, Guy, 68, 72.
 Messenger, Rev. Loren, 403n.
 Methodist Episcopal Chhurch, Tecumseh, Okla., 403, 404.
 Mexican War, 357.
 Mexico, hostile Comanche Indians in, 359.
 Meyer, Leo, 204.
 Meyer, Rev. William, 402.
 Meyers, Mrs. Sam M., 107.
 Middle Boggy Battle, in Atoka Co., Okla., Historical Marker at, 214, 216.
 Middlebuscher, W. H., 320.
 Middleton, D. H., 77.
 Middleton, Elizabeth, 77.
 Military Road, 212; from Fort Reno to Camp Supply, 218n.
 Miller, A., Co. K, 1st Cal. Vols., 320.
 Miller, Frank, 189, 190.
 Miller, Freeman E., 107.
 Miller, G. W., 50.
 Miller, R. G., 151, 218, 348, 451; American Association of State & Local History Award presented to, 325; gift of, 235.
 Miller, Mrs. Tessie, gift of, 343.
 Miller, Zack, 212.
 Milton, H. A., Liberty, Mo., 317.
 Minerva, Aunt, 215.
 Miranda, Francisco, 280.
 Miranda, Guadalupe, 360.
 Mire Spring, 314.
 Misch, Fannie Brownlee, "Redmond Selecman Cole," by, 242-244.
 Missionaries, in Choctaw Nation, 78, 80-82, 97.
 Mississippi, Choctaw Indians in, 92.
 Missouri Historical Society, 243.
 Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad, 106.
 Missouri Pacific Railroad, 229.
 Missouri State College, 112.
 Missouri University, 242, 243.
 Mitchell, Alvin ("Fat"), 73.
 Mitchell, Mrs. Edith, 450; Oklahoma Historical Society Commendation Certificate given to, 451.
 Mitchell, Mrs. Marie, 68.
 Mitchell, Winnie, 406.
 Mitchum, Rev. Carl, 403n.
 Mitscher, Admiral Marc A., portrait of, 117, 227, 344.
 Mitscher, Tom, 227; gift of, 344.
 Mcffit, Daniel, 433.
 Mogutieres U. A., 320.
 Mollhausen, Baldwin, 138, 139.
 Moltanhead (Creek), 426.
 Monnet, J. C., 251.
 Mousell, E. M., 201.
 Montford, Joe, 216.
 Moody, John 409n.
 Moon, J. M., 320.
 Moore, Ben T., 317.
 Moore, Guy R., "Reminiscences of Two Corps Men of Base Hospital 85, World War I," by, 409-424.
 Moore, U. E., 68, 70, 72.
 Moran, "Bull", 409n.
 Morgan, B. M., 320.
 Morris, Bishop Thomas A., 209.

Morrison, Dr. James D., 230, 441; "Notes on Abolitionism in the Choctaw Nation," by, 78-84.
 Morrison, Marcia, 197.
 Morrow, J. U., 203.
 Morton, Levi P., Vice-President of the U. S., 24.
 Mount Radziminiski, 367.
 Mountain Station, Historical marker at, 211.
 Moyle, Mr., 399.
 Moyle, Laura A., 403.
 Mudd, Alexander, 409n.
 Muldrow, Fisher, 119, 348, 450.
 Muldrow, Hal., 450.
 Mullins, P. V., 221.
 Munday, Betty, 403n, 406.
 Murdock, Victor, 43.
 Murphy, M., 320.
 Murrah, Judge A. P., 227.
 Mushulatubbee (Choctaw chief), 98, 99.
 "Music in Oklahoma by the Billy McGinty Cowboy Band," by Leslie A. McRill, 66-74.
 Muskogee (Ind. Ty.), School for Indian girls at, 247.
 Myers, Amy D., 48.

— N —

Nail, Capt. Adam, 214.
 Narron, Anna, 320.
 Narron, H. H., 320.
 Narron, J. C., 320.
 Natchez (Miss.), 97.
 Natchitoches (La.), 280.
 Natural Mound, on California Road, Historical Marker at, 211.
 National Bank of Commerce, Pawhuska, Okla., gift of, 454.
 National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, Bust of Jim Thorpe at, 34.
 National Park Service, Santa Fe, N. M., gift of, 235.
 Navajoe (Okla. Ty.), 336.
 Navy League, 342; gift of, 116.
 Naylor, Rev. G. R., 403n.
 Neff Boss, 320.
 Negro Slaves, 288; in Texas, 392, 394, 395.
 Negro Spirituals, 215.
 Neighbors, Mrs. Lizzie A., 278n.
 Neighbors, Robert S. 277-279, 296, 302n, 377, 391; murder of, 384, 386.
 "Negotiations for the Removal of the Choctaw: U. S. Policies of 1820 and 1830," by Arthur H. De Rosier, Jr., 85-100.
 Neilson, William P., gift of, 343.
 New York City Ballet Company, 10.
 Newark (N. J.) College of Engineering, 191.
 Newbern, Mary E., "Fred L. Wenner: Reporter," by, 43-49.

Newby, Errett R., gift of, 343.
 Newsom, Joseph, Friends missionary, 399.
 Nieberding, Velma 216; "The Very Reverend Urban de Hasque, S. T. D., L. L. D., Pioneer Priest of Indian Territory, by, 35-42.
 Night Walker, Jim (Cheyenne), 218.
 Niles, Mrs. Alva J., gift of, 454.
 Nineteenth Vol. Kansas Cavalry, 367.
 No Man's Land in Oklahoma, 217, 219, 220.
 Noble County (Okla.), 55n.
 Norbla Oil Company, gift of 454.
Northern Standard, The, 78.
 Northup, Keta (Blake), 265n.
 Norton, Mrs. George T., gift of, 343, 452.
 Norwalk Mission School, in Choctaw Nation, 81.
 Norway Embassy, gift of, 342.
 "Note on Abolitionism in the Choctaw Nation," by James D. Morrison, 78-84.
 Notes & Documents, 202-223, 323-333, 441-443.
 Notre Dame University, 38.
 Nunn, Wesley L., gift of, 234.

— O —

Oakfuskee Indians, 430, 436, 437.
 Oaks, George, 409n.
 Ochoa, J. D., 320.
 O'Hara, Lieut. Theodore, 361.
 Oklahoma (Okla. Ty.), postmaster of, 46.
 "Oklahoma," old song, 107.
 Oklahoma, Bats in Western, 221; Dinosa-
 ur Quarry in, 220; Districts of, 101,
 105; Granite in, 367; Gypsum in, 390;
 Helium in, 220, 221; Historic Markers
 in, 106; Opening of Co. B in, 397; Open-
 ing of 1889, 43-45, 109, 207, 209, 210;
 Opening of 1893, 109; Pumice in 218;
 Railroads in, 253; Removal of Seal from
 Guthrie to Oklahoma City, 203-205;
 Report of Committee on historic sites
 in, 441-443; "Sacramental Wine Case"
 in, 37, 38; Sandstone formations in,
 221; Wild game in, 365.
Oklahoma Almanac & State Encyclopedia,
 edited by H. L. Fitzpatrick, reviewed,
 336-337.
 Oklahoma Baptist Orphans Home, Okla-
 homa City, 403.
 Oklahoma City (Okla.), 188, 204; Cham-
 ber of Commerce, gift of, 454; in 1889,
 20, 46; pictures of, 344; Statue com-
 memorating Run of 1889 in Civic Cen-
 ter, 342.
 Oklahoma City Land Office, 399.
 Oklahoma City University, Geology de-
 partment at, 126.
 Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commis-
 sion, 326, 449.

- Oklahoma Conference Council, 209.
 Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, 248.
 Oklahoma County (Okla.), 397.
Oklahoma Courier, The, Catholic publication, 37n.
 Oklahoma Geological Survey, 127, 220.
 Oklahoma Geological Society, 218; Magazine of, 126.
 Oklahoma Hall of Fame, 228; Honoree in, 59.
 Oklahoma Memorial Association, 228.
 Oklahoma National Guard, 27.
 Oklahoma Panhandle, 217, 219, 220; Education in, 64.
 Oklahoma Science & Arts Foundation, 310.
 Oklahoma State Writers, 50; Distinguished Service Award by, 118.
 Oklahoma Station (Okla. Ty.), 46.
 Oklahoma Historical Society, 243, 310; Accessions to library of, 327; Air-conditioning of, 203; Annual members of, 237, 345, 455; Gifts to Confederate Memorial Room, 236; Gifts to Library, 234, 342-343, 452; Gifts to Museum, 235, 343-344, 453; Gifts to Union Memorial Room, 236; Funds of, 115, 230, 339, 448; Historic Sites Committee, 230; Historical Tour of 1960, 117, 217; Historical Tour of 1961, 449; Legislative Committee, 450; Life Membership Endowment Fund, 339-340, 346-349, 449, 450; Life Members, 237, 345, 455; Markers and Monuments erected by, 208-216; Microfilm Archives Vault, 340; Microfilm Project, 117, 230, 340, 450; Minutes of Annual meeting of April 28, 1960, 226-229; Minutes of Quarterly meeting of Board of Directors of Jan. 28, 1960, 115-119; Minutes of Quarterly meeting of Board of Directors of April 28, 1960, 229-233; Minutes of Quarterly meeting of Board of Directors of July 28, 1960, 338-342; Minutes of Quarterly meeting of Board of Directors of Oct. 27, 1960, 448-451; Newspapers of, 341; Officers of, 232; Oil derrick given to, 442; Paradise tree planted in front of, 228; Portraits in, 117, 449; Property at Fort Gibson owned by, 338, 349-351; Stage coach owned by, 118.
 Oklahoma Territory, Civil War Veterans in, 46; Cost of living in, 59; Courts of, 101-106; First Newspaper in, 46; Seal of, 248; Social activities in, 62, 405-407.
 Oklahoma University, 249-251.
 "Oklahoma's Missing Link," by Robert E. Cunningham, 185-190.
 Okmulgee (Okla.), 39.
 "Old Chief's House" in Choctaw Nation, 230.
 Old Day County Pioneers Association, 209.
 Old Tales (Creek), 426.
 Oliphant, A. G., gift of, 454.
 Oliver, Minnie, 406.
 O'Neill, Gov. Arturo, 425, 434.
 Opening of Cherokee Strip, 109, 192; Historical Marker, 209, 214; Photograph, 185.
 Opening of Cheyenne & Arapaho country Photograph, 188, 189.
 Opening of County B, 397.
 Opening of 1889, 109, 207; Historical Marker, 209, 210; Photograph, 185, 186, 188.
 Opothleyohola (Creek), 180, 181, 183, 428n, 434n.
 Ormsby, John, 427.
Orphans Record, The, Catholic publication, 37.
 Orrell, Mrs. J. R., gift of, 234.
 Ortiz, G., 320.
 Osage County (Okla.), Civil War battle in, 180, 181, 184.
 Osage Indians, 224, 229; traders, 8, 9.
 Osage Reservation, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad through, 7-9.
 Osage Village, 8.
 Oswego (Kan.), 247.
 Ottawa (Kan.) Baptist University, 20.
 Ottawa County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 214.
 Otter Creek, in Tillman Co., Okla., 364, 365.
 Ouachita National Forest, 212.
 Our Lady's College, Antwerp, Belgium, 35.
 Overholser, Ed, gift of, 344, 452.
 Overland Mail Route, 211, 290, 298, 299.
 Overton, J., 320.
 Owen, Robert L., 246.
 Owens, Rev. Carl, 403n.
 Oyer, Jose Teodoro, 320.
- P —
- Pablo, Antonio, 317.
 Pacific Railroad, 155, 156, 229, 290.
 Pacheco, Jesus M., 320.
 Pacheco, Silbello Elillas, 320.
 Page, Charles, 196-201; picture of, 194-195.
 Page, Edwin A., 197, 201.
 Page, James William, 196.
 Page, Mary, 200.
 Page, Mary Ann Gottry, 196.
 Page, William, 197.
 Page Memorial Library, Sand Springs, Okla., 196.
 Pahunka, Harry, 409n.
 Panhandle, Oklahoma, 217.
 Panhandle A. & M. College, 219, 221.
 Panton, William, 426, 430, 434, 439.
 Paris (France), Armistice Day in, 418, 419.
 Paris Opera Ballet, 9n.

- Park Hill (Cherokee Nation), School and church at, 246.
- Parker, Gabe, 248.
- Parker, S., 317.
- Paschen, Elise, 10.
- Paschen, Henry D., Jr., 10.
- Paschen, Maria Tallchief, 10.
- Patell, Louis, 317.
- Patrick, Cosette Stratton, 25.
- Patrick, Mrs. Ed, 26.
- Patrick, Harriet, 20-34.
- Patrick, Lee, 20, 25, 26.
- Patrick, Mary Farron, 21n, 27n.
- Patrick, Samuel Lee, 20, 21n, 27n.
- Patten, Charles W., Oswego, N. Y., 317.
- Patterson, C. W., 317.
- Patterson, Rev. Samuel G., 216.
- Paul, Robert, 320.
- Pawhuska (Okla.), 9.
- Pawnee (Okla.), 243.
- Pawnee Bill's Wild West Show, 36, 70.
- Pawnee Indians, 409n.
- Payne, David L., 109.
- Payne, T. J., 402.
- Payne County (Okla.), Historical marker in, 210, 214.
- Payne County Historical Society, 106.
- Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn., 112.
- Peah-che-peah so (Shawnee woman), 30.
- Pearl River, in Mississippi, 89.
- Peck, H. T., 317.
- Penateka ("Honey Eaters") Comanche Indians, in Texas, 276-278, 295n, 302n.
- Pendleton (Ore.), 247.
- Penland, Theodore A., picture of, 233.
- Penn, Walker, 409n.
- Pensacola (Fla.), 426, 434.
- Perryman, Legus, 76.
- Perry (Okla.), 191-195; Catholic Church at, 40.
- "Perry's First Doctor." by Clarence Culmore, 191-195.
- Pheffer, Otto, 59.
- Phillips, A. H., 321.
- Phillips, Mrs. J. B., gift of, 234.
- Phillips, Milt, 232, 348.
- Phillips Petroleum Company, gift of, 442.
- Phipps, C. M., 403.
- Phipps, John, 403.
- Pickens, Mrs. J., 406.
- Pierce, Earl Boyd, 349.
- Pike, Dixie, 409.
- Pinkerton, Judge Paul, 201.
- Pioneer Telephone & Telegraph Company, 323.
- Pitchlynn, James, 89, 90.
- Pitkin, Horace W., Missionary to Choctaw Indians, 81-83.
- Pittman, Lillian, 406.
- Pitts, Paul (Osage chief), 10.
- Placido, Tonkawa Indian Scout, 296, 306.
- Plummer, J. T., 321.
- Plummer, Capt. Joseph Bennett, 278, 287-289, 294, 297, 298, 304, 305, 371, 372, 374, 375, 377, 380, 386, 387, 390, 393.
- Poe, R. R., 317.
- Poland, 354, 355.
- Polinario, Atancio, 321.
- Polish Revolution, against Russia, 354, 355.
- Polk, Maj. William H., 356.
- Pollock, Judge J. C., 105.
- Pontiac, Statue in Indian Hall of Fame, 451.
- Pontiac Division of General Motors Corporation, gift of, 451.
- Pontotoc County (Okla.), 169; Historical Marker in, 210, 211.
- Poppino, Mrs. H. E., gift of, 234.
- Porter, J., 321.
- Porter, Peter, 96.
- Porter, Pleasant, oil painting of, 344.
- Porter, Mrs. William, gift of, 344.
- Posey, Alex, 261.
- Potawatomie-Shawnee Reservation, 167n, 169.
- Pottawatomie County (Okla.), 399-401; Cotton grown in, 405.
- Potter, B. F., 321.
- Potter, F. L., 317.
- Potter, T., 321.
- Potts, D. M., 321.
- Potts, Ramsay, missionary to Choctaw Indians, 82.
- Powderhorn (Tex.), 286.
- Prall, J. W., 321.
- "Preliminary Report of Survey of Inscriptions Along Santa Fe Trail in Oklahoma," 310-322.
- Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, 246, 247.
- Presbyterian Board of Missions, in Choctaw Nation, 13.
- Presbyterian Church, at Tecumseh, Okla., 402.
- Presbyterian Church, in Choctaw Nation, 84, 97.
- Preston (Tex.), 382.
- Prettyman, W. S., 188-190.
- Previtt, E. W., 317.
- Price, Nathan, 255, 256.
- Price, S. F., 204.
- Price's Falls, 255, 256.
- Prickett, Miss Sadie, 272.
- Prickett, Miss Zanna, 266, 267, 272.
- Prieto, Thomas 321.
- Pumice, in Oklahoma, 218.
- Purcell, James, 310.
- Purcell (Okla.), flood at, 261.
- Pushmataha (Choctaw chief), 90, 100.
- Q —
- Quantrill, William Clarke, 446-447.
- Quapaw Agency, teacher at school under, 26.
- Quartz (Kan.), 57.

Radzinski, Lieut. Charles, 293n; "Charles Radzinski: Patriot, Exile, Pioneer," by Stanley F. Radzinski, 354-368.
Radzymin (Poland), 355.
Radzinski, Stanley F., "Charles Radzinski: Patriot, Exile, Pioneer," by 354-368.
Railroads, in Oklahoma, 253.
Ramfre Press, gift of, 452.
Rankin, Della, 272.
Rascoe Darrell H., gift of, 343.
Reasoner, Jacob, 321.
Rector, Elias, 277.
Rector, J. P., 317.
Red Cloud (Cheyenne chief), picture of, 235.
Red Fork Station, Historical marker at, 209.
Red Oak postoffice, 211.
Red River, 78, 382, 386; flooding of, 261.
Red Rock State Park, 147.
Red Shoes (Creek), 426.
Redford, Zack, 257.
Reed, Thomas B., 92.
Reeds, Mrs. Mildred, 140.
Reeves, Ben H., 311.
Reid, Rev. Alexander, 215.
"Reminiscences of Two Corps Men of Base Hospital 85, World War I," by Guy R. Moore, 409-424.
Removal of Indians from Texas to Indian Territory, 369-396.
Renfrow, Dr., 61.
Renick, J. H., 321.
Resor, Julia, 395.
Resor, William, Jr., 395.
Reynold, Lieut. Samuel H., 293.
Reynolds, Col. Royal, 422.
Reynolds, W. E., 228.
Rhodesia (North Africa), Catholic Church at, 40.
Richardson, Williard, 381, 387.
Rider, J., 321.
Riggs, F. C., 321.
Riley's Chapel, Historical Marker at, 209, 215.
Ringgold Barracks, 359.
Ringo, T., 317.
Rio Grande River, 359, 360.
Rio Nutria, 219.
Ripley (Okla.), 68, 73.
"Ripley (Okla.) Cowboy Band," 66, 67.
Rizley, Judge Ross, 220, 226.
Road, from Fort Smith to Santa Fe, 159; from Fort Gibson to Camp Washita, 166.
Robb, Andrew W., 247.
Robb, Katherine, 247.
Robb, Martha (Requa), 247.
Robberson, R. W., 342.
Robertson, Alfred N., 321.

Robertson, Alice, 247.
Robertson, Rev. William Schenck, 334.
Robinson, George P., Wakefield, R. I., 321.
Rock, Marion Tuttle, 188.
Rock Cut, in Arbuckle Mountains, 253-264.
Rock Mary, 130-153, 174, 210, 223; Historical Marker, 213.
Rockingham County (Va.), 13.
Rocky Mount (N. C.), 31, 33.
Rodgers, Lewis, 321.
Rogers, Bess, "Big Jake's Crossing," by, 50-54.
Rogers, Penn, 509n.
Rogers, Will, 70; "Will Rogers: Good Neighbor," by I. E. Cadenhead, Jr., 2-7.
Rogers, William P., 409n.
Romero, Hilario, 321.
Romero, Jose E., 321.
Romero, T., 321.
Rone, Charles C., gift of, 235.
Rose Hill Cemetery, 443.
Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Tex., 274, 369.
Ross, Capt., 377, 381.
Ross, A. R., 202.
Ross, Lawrence Sullivan ("Sul"), 283, 307, 364.
Ross, Shapley Prince, 283n, 295n, 296, 298.
Rough Riders, 68, 71.
Roundtree, Dr., 398.
Row, Isaac, 403n.
Rowe, Robert C., 256.
Royal Geographic Society, 40.
Royall, Lieut. William B., 361.
Rucker, J. M., 403n.
Rucker, Mrs. J. M., 406.
Rucker, Rena, 406.
Rueno, Antonio, 321.
Ruffner, Lieut. E. A., 157.
Runnels, H. A., 80.
Runnels, Gov. H. R., 303n.
Run of 1889, 43-45; Photograph of, 185, 186, 188; Statue Commemorating, 342.
Rush Springs Sandstone, 140.
Russell, Orpha B., 183.
Russell, Stillwell H., 103.
Ryan, J., 321.
Ryan, James E., 317.
Ryan, Jerry, 317.

— S —

Sabin, Mrs. Milton, 9.
Sac & Fox Indian Agency, 20, 21; Allotment of land to Indians of, 24; Per Capita Payment to Indians of, 23; Postoffice at, 21; Smallpox Epidemic at, 26; Typhoid Fever Epidemic at, 22.
Sac & Fox Indian Board School, 30.

- Sac & Fox Indian Reservation Hunting on, 24; in Illinois, 21n; in Kansas, 21n; Opening of, 24, 46.
- "Sacramental Wine Case," in Oklahoma, 37, 38.
- Sacred Heart Abbey, 37.
- Saddler, Ewing, 269.
- Sadler, Mrs. Mettie (Wolfe), 255.
- Salida (Colo.), 247.
- Salina (Okla.), 228.
- Salt Plains, in Oklahoma, 212.
- Salvation Army, in World War I, 423.
- San Bernardo, in Oklahoma, Historic Marker at, 211.
- Sanchez, Juan Jose, 360.
- Sans Bois (Okla.), 162.
- Sand Dunes, in Woods Co., Okla., 218.
- Sand Springs (Okla.), Charles Page Memorial Library at, 195; Home for children at, 199, 200; Platting of, 201.
- Sand Springs Railroad, 201.
- Sandstone formations in Panhandle of Oklahoma, 221.
- Sandobal, Agapito, 321.
- Sandoval, Julian, 321.
- Santa Barbara, (Calif.), 251, 252.
- Santa Fe (N. M.), 310.
- Santa Fe Trade, 155.
- Santa Fe Trail, 154, 220; Survey of Inscriptions along, 310-322.
- Santys, Benyno, 321.
- "Savannah Jack," 434n.
- Schamaun, Loy P., 321.
- Schiffbauer, Charles, 8n, 9n.
- Schonwald, Fred P., 447; gift of, 344.
- "School Days at Emahaka Academy," by Robert E. Trevathan, 265-273.
- Schoten, Mrs., 325.
- Scott, Rev. J. A., 403.
- Scott, M. B., 321.
- Scott, William Lester, 402.
- Scott, William Pratt, 402.
- Scovill, W., 321.
- Seagrove, James, 425-427.
- Seal, of Oklahoma, removal from Guthrie. 203-205; of State of Sequoyah, 248; of Territory of Oklahoma, 248.
- Search, Emma, 402n.
- Search, William, 402n.
- Second Cavalry, 354, 361, 362, 366, 377.
- Seger, Genevieve, gift of, 344.
- Seger General Merchandise Store, Tokens issued by, 119.
- Sego, John, 321.
- Seibels, Mrs. Calder, 200.
- Seibels, John Page, 200.
- Seibels, Mary Page, 200.
- Selecman, Mary Elizabeth, 242.
- Seminole Academy, at Sasakwa, Okla., 271.
- Seminole Indians, in Battle of Chustenalah, 180; Missionary to, 271.
- Seminole Nation, Emahaka Academy in, 265.
- Seneca Indian School, Wyandotte, Okla., 12, 13, 15-19.
- Sequoyah Convention, 248.
- Service Drilling Co., Tulsa, Okla., gift of, 454.
- Seventh Infantry Regiment, 108.
- Seventh U. S. Cavalry, 367.
- Shackleford, R. S., 403.
- Shaeffer, Dr. James B., 116, 339.
- Shale Shaker, 126.
- Shallcross, Thomas R., 363.
- Shannon, W. R., 317.
- Sharp, Louise, 219.
- Sharp, Pearl, 219.
- Shaw, J., 317.
- Shawnee (Okla.), 113, 167n; Historical Marker in, 209; Rotary Club, 209.
- Shawnee Hills, 165.
- Shawnee Indian School, 21-23, 27n.
- Shawnee Indians, 296; Absentee, 166; Society of Friends among, 12.
- "Shawnee Trace," 164.
- Shawneetown (Potawatomi Nation), 400; Historical Marker, 210.
- Shawneetown, south of Little River, in Okla., 164.
- Sheridan, Gen. Phillip, 218n, 366, 447.
- "Sheridan's Roost," 218n, 447.
- Sherman, Genal, 392.
- Sherman, Gen. Sidney, 280, 286.
- Sherill, Frank, 67, 68, 72.
- Shifflett, Riley F., 409n.
- Shirk, George H., 107, 149, 151, 226, 232, 326, 348, 315; Book review by, 336, 447; Gift of, 234, 452.
- Shoemaker, Arthur, "The Battle of Chustenalah," by, 180, 184.
- Shultz, L. C., 322.
- Sibley, George C., 311; Historical Marker to Expedition of, 212.
- Sickles, Mrs. Ruth, gift of, 344.
- Sieber, Charles S., 322.
- Simmons, T. W., 322.
- Simpson, Licut. James H., 130, 149, 157, 173, 213, 223.
- Simpson, J. W., 317.
- "Six Shooter Bill," 256.
- Six Town Indians, 90.
- Skibine, Mrs. George (Marjorie Tallchief), 9n.
- Slapout (Okla.), 222.
- Slaves, Negro, 288, 392, 394, 395.
- Slief, Miss Golda B., gift of, 235.
- Smith, Bishop Angie, 215.
- Smith, Caleb, 360.
- Smith, Rev. Clarence, 220.
- Smith, Ed, 46.

- Smith, Edith, 322.
 Smith, Capt. Edmund Kirby, 306, 360, 361, 365.
 Smith, I. A., 403n.
 Smith, Ida, 46.
 Smith, J. D., 322.
 Smith, Miss Jane F., 440n.
 Smith, Mrs. Jeston, 403n.
 Smith, John, 403n.
 Smith, Maj. Gen. Persifer F., 275.
 Smith, R. H., 322.
 Smith, Dr. Robert Nelson, gift of, 343.
 Smith, Tom, 398.
 Smithsonian Institution, gift of, 234.
 "Snake Uprising," 212.
 Snearly, May, 322.
 Society of Friends, among Wyandot, Seneca & Shawnee Indians, 12; in Pottawatomie County, Okla., 399.
 "Soldiers of the Frontier: A Tribute," address by Col. Donald A. McPheron, 108-109.
 Sons of the American Revolution, Oklahoma City, Okla., 244.
 Sorghum Flat, in Chickasaw Nation, 255, 256.
 Soukup, Anton, 367.
 South McAlester (Okla.), 323.
 South McAlester-Eufaula Telephone Company, 323.
 Southern Historical Association, meeting of, 448.
Southwest Courier, *The*. Catholic publication, 37n.
 Soviet Embassy, gift of, 235, 342.
 "Spanish Influenza", 412, 414.
 Spencer, John C., Secretary of War, 214.
 Spencer Academy, Historical Marker, 214, 215.
 Spinks, David, 28n.
 Spinks, Mrs. Mary Lee Gilstrap, 28n.
 Spybuck, Ernest (Shawnee), 23, 29-30; Water color by, 235.
 Spybuck, John, 30.
 St. Ann's Home for Aged, in Oklahoma City, 40.
 St. Vincent's Home, Oklahoma City, 40.
 Stagecoach, owned by Oklahoma Historical Society, 126; by John Frizzell, 126.
 Stage line from Fort Smith to Fort Cobb, 256.
 Stanifer, R. G., 76.
 Stark, Rev. Oliver Porter, 14.
 Stauber, Mrs. C. A., 406.
 Steen, Enoch, 139, 210.
 Steen's Buttes, Historical Marker, 210.
 Stella Friends Academy, Historical Marker, 209, 215.
 Stephenson, Capt. Robert H., 409, 411.
 Stevens, Anna Smith, gift of, 453.
 Steward, Rev. M. C., 403n.
 Stewart, Lieut. W. W., 421.
 Stillwater (Okla.), Historical Marker at, 106.
 Stone, Rev. A. P., 403n.
 Stoneman, Capt. George, 361.
 Story, G. C., 403.
 Story, Mary, 403.
 "Story of Rock Cut, The," by Bernice Norman Crockett, 253-264.
 Stover, Rev. E. S., 403n.
 Stratton, Cosette, 25.
 Stratton, William, 317.
 Strawberry Flat, in Chickasaw Nation, 256.
 Strong, J. H., 322.
 Strong, Gen William, 447.
 Stuart, Alex H. H., 358.
 Stuart, Capt. John, 212.
 Sturm, Dr. J. J., 298.
 Sugar Loaf Mountain Resort, 202, 203.
 Sullivan, D., 317.
 Sullivan, Stephen, 429, 439, 440.
 Surtleff College, Alton, Ill., 191.
 Svoboda, Frank, 367.
 Swink (Okla.). Old Chief's House near, 230, 442.

— T —

- Tahlequah (Okla.), Historical Marker at, 209.
 Talkington, Florence, 272.
 Tall Chief (Osage), 8.
 Tall Chief, Alex, Jr., 9.
 Tall Chief, Alex, Sr., 8.
 Tall Chief, Eves, 8.
 Tall Chief, Henry, 8.
 Tallchief, Maria, In History: Oklahoma's Own Ballerina," by Frank F. Finney, Sr., 8-11.
 Tallchief, Marjorie, 9.
 Taloga (Okla.), 222.
 Tandy, Mrs. Walter, 220.
 Tawaconi Indians, in Texas, 276, 278n.
 Taylor, Baxter, 232, 348.
 Taylor, Geneva, 317.
 Taylor, H., 317.
 Taylor, Corp. Joseph P., 284.
 Taylor, Mrs. Mary, 222.
 Taylor, Nat M., 324.
 Taylor, R. T., 317.
 Taylor, Russell H., gift of, 344.
 Taylor, T. Z., 322.
 "Tecumseh at the Turn of the Century," by Florence Drake, 397-408.
 Telfair, Gov. Edward, 433, 434.
 Tettelin, Mrs. Pierre, 228.
 Texas, Cattle Brands of, 342; Cattlemen in, 77; Cherokee Indians in, 167; Cholera in, 307; Hostile Indians in, 359, 362; Removal of Indians to Indian Territory from, 274-309, 369; Slavery in, 78, 392, 394, 395.

Texas Almanac, 363.
 Texas Cattle Trail, 211.
 Texas County (Okla.), 63.
Texas Indian Papers, 1825-1843. Edited by Dorman H. Winfrey, reviewed, 110-111.
 Texas Military Institute, Galveston, Tex., 281.
 Texas Rangers, 297n, 366.
 Thomas, Mrs. Edna, gift of, 237.
 Thomas, Edward L., Sac & Fox Indian Agent, 26n.
 Thomas, Elmer, 341.
 Thomas, Maj. George H., 277, 361, 377.
 Thomas, Richard, 434.
 Thompson, A. K., 317.
 Thompson, Mary Agnes, manuscripts of, 119.
 Thompson, W. P., 43.
 Thompson, Warren, 222.
 Thorpe (Pa.), 34.
 Thorpe, Charles, 22, 30, 31.
 Thorpe, Hiram, 30.
 Thorpe, James Francis (Jim) (Wathohuck), 22, 30-34; Statue of, 341.
 Thurston, Rev. Elwyn O., 220.
 Tidrowe, Capt. E. W., 409n.
 Tidwell, Maj. Gen. M. R., Jr., 343.
 Tiffin (Ohio), 44.
 Tilghman, Mrs. Zoe, gift of, 343.
 Tipton, W. B., 317.
 Tobacco, curing of, 269, 270.
 Toler, E., 322.
 Tomas, Jose, 322.
 Tonkawa Indians, in Texas, 276, 278n, 295, 306.
 Torrey, R., 322.
 Townsend, Jacob, 433.
 Trader, among Osage Indians, 8, 9; among Plains Indians, 161; at Big Jake's Crossing, 50; in Oklahoma, 310.
 Trail, Arbuckle, 298; "Old Radziminski", 291n.
 Treaty of Doak's Stand, 91.
 Trevathan, Marianne (Blake), 265n.
 Trevathan, Robert E., "School Days at Emahaka Academy," by, 265-273.
 Tripp (Okla. Ty.), 61.
 Trujillo, E. M., 322.
 Trujillo, G., 322.
 Trujillo, J. B., 322.
 Trujillo, Louis, 322.
 Trujillo, Narcisco, 322.
 Tuckabatchee Indians, 428, 436.
 Tucker, Dr. Jim, 64.
 Tullahassee Mission, 334-335.
 Tulsa (Okla.), Cross & Anchor Home for Children in, 200; Henry Kendall College at, 247.
 Turkey Track Ranch, 21.
 Turkeys, wild, 218n, 387, 447.
 Turner, J. E., 322.
 Turner, Mazeppa T., 256.

Turner, Van New, 322.
 Turner Falls, 256.
 Tusaquach (Wichita chief), 181.
 Tuskegee Indians, 426.
 Tuskena Atca (Taskinahatkie) (White Lieutenant), 429, 440.
 Tustennuggee, Haleck, 180.
 Tuttle, S. M., 317.
 Twiggs, Gen., 371.
 Twiggs, Gen. David, 287, 364.
 Twin Bridges State Park in Ottawa County, Okla., 216.

— U —

U. S. S. *Oklahoma*, Anchor from, 116, 342.
 Uganda Martyrs, 39.
 Union Mission, 224; Cemetery, 443.
 United States, 1825, French Atlas of, 41.
 United States Dragoons, 354, 356.
 United States-Mexican Boundary Commission 357-362.
 United States Park Service, 351.
 University of City of New York, College of Medicine, 191.
 University of Kansas Library, gift of, 343.
 University of Oklahoma, 116; Geology Department of, 127; Gift of Library of, 234; Surveys and Excavations made at Fort Washita by, 443.
 Updegraff, Lieut., 161.
 Urban de Hasque, Pioneer Priest of Indian Territory, 35-42.
 Urbansky, A. J., gift of, 235, 236.

— V —

Van, N. D., 317.
 Van Camp, Lieut. Cornelius, 283, 284, 365.
 Van Dorn, Maj. Earl, 283-285, 287, 289, 292, 294, 296, 361, 364, 365, 371, 372, 381.
 Vanhorn (Tex.), 77.
 Vaught, Judge Edgar S., 117; Tribute to, 226, 342.
 Venezuela, Miranda's attacks on, 280.
 "Very Reverend Urban de Hasque, S. T. D., L. L. D., Pioneer Priest of Indian Territory, The," by Velma Nieberding, 35-42.
 Veteran (Okla.), 45.
 "Victoria's Peak", in Texas, 388.
 Virginia, 13.

— W —

Waco Indians, in Texas, 276, 278n, 295.
 Wagner, Mrs. H. H., 406.
 Wagner, Lynn, gift of, 344.
 Wagner, R., 322.
 Wagnon, C. H., 322.
 Wagon routes through Oklahoma, 155.
 Walker, A. O. "Red", 367.
 Walker, Claudia, 367.

- Walker, Col. J. Knox, 363.
 Walker, Mrs. Olivia E., 367.
 Wallace, Mrs. Alma, 20.
 Wallace, H. C., 322.
 Wallace, Mrs. Mary Wright, death of, 119.
 Wallace, Judge W. R., 227.
 Wallace, Uncle, Composer of Negro spirituals, 215.
 War of 1812, Choctaw Indians in, 85.
 Ward, Mrs. George, 406.
 Ward, Sephen, Sub-Agent in Choctaw Nation, 97.
 Warner, Glenn ("Pop"), 31.
 Warrior King (Creek), 436.
 Warryburg, N. A., 403.
 Warsaw (Poland), 354.
 Washington, George (Caddo), 144, 146.
 Washita River, Bridge across, 258; Camp on, 390, 391; Flood, 53, 262.
 Watie, Stand, 181.
 Watson, J. E., 322.
 Watts, Joan Lee (Blake), 265n.
 Waugh, Harold, 219.
 Waurika (Okla.), 40.
 Waynoka (Okla.), 218.
 "We Came to Live in Oklahoma Territory," by Fannie L. Eisle, 55-65.
 Weatherford (Okla.), 50.
 Weatherford, Charles, 426-428.
 Weaver, John, 40.
 Webb, W. W., 317.
 Weber, Ruth (Blake), 265n.
 Wellenreuther, A., 322.
 Wells, Jim, 107.
 Wells, Rev. W. H., 221.
 Wellston (Okla.), 21.
 Wenner, Mrs. Amy D. Myers, 48.
 Wenner, David, 48.
 Wenner, Fred, 188; "Fred L. Wenner: Reporter," by Mary E. Newbern, 43-49.
 Wenner, Henry, 48.
 Wenner, Mrs. Mary, 43n.
 Wenner, Mary E., 48.
 Wen-the-eh-beh (Shawnee), 165n.
 West, Sam, gift of, 234.
 Western Cattle Trail, Historical Marker, 213.
 Western State Hospital, in Oklahoma, 222.
 Wewoka Trading Company, 273.
 Whipple, Lieut. A. W., 135, 155, 156.
 Whipple Railroad Survey, 210.
 Whirlwind (Cheyense chief), 213.
 Whirlwind Mission, Historical Marker, 213.
 White, B., 317.
 White, B. F., 317.
 White, G. W., 402n.
 White, George A., gift of, 343.
 White, William Allen, 43.
 White Bird King (Cussetah), 427.
 "White Lieutenant and Some of His Contemporaries, The," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, 425-440.
 Whiting, Capt. Charles, 361, 362.
 Wichita Mountains, Camp at, 288.
 Wichita Village, 211; Battle of, 283, 287n, 365.
 Wigfall, Sen. Louis T., 389.
 Wilhelm, Rev. Joseph, 403n.
 Willets, Maj. Charles, 214.
 Williams, D. H., 322.
 Williams, Luther, gift of, 343, 344.
 Williams, W. H., gift of, 115, 236.
 Williams, W. P., 322.
 Williamson, Charlie, 71.
 Williamson, Dooley, 204.
 Williston, Prof. S. W., 128.
 Willock, D., 317.
 Wilson, Charles, 203.
 Wilson, Mrs. Edna Eaton, 107.
 Wilson, Samuel E., 244.
 Wisconsin, 196-198.
 Wismeyer, L. A., 9.
 Withington, W. R., 323; gift of, 343.
 Wofford, Mary G., 265n.
 Wolfe, Ellen Howell, 255.
 Wolfe, Matt, 255, 256.
 Wolfe, Mettie, 255.
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, 407.
 Wood, Fox, gift of, 453.
 Wood, Mrs. Walter, "Charles Page," by 196-201.
 Wood County (Okla), Sand Dunes in, 218.
 Woods, F. M., Deputy Constable, 324.
 Woods, J. H., 399.
 Woodward (Okla.), 105, 222.
 Worcester Cemetery, in Cherokee Co., Okla., 443.
 World War I, in Belgium, 38, 39.
 World War II, in Belgium, 38n.
 Wright, Alfred, 13, 81.
 Wright, B. F., 344.
 Wright, Muriel H., 118, 119, 151, 217, 341; Book review by, 336; Gift of, 235.
 Wrightsman, Charles, 243.
 Wriglev, William, 47.
 Wyandot Indians, Historical Marker honoring, 214-216; Society of Friends among, 12.

— Y —

- Y M. C. A., in World War I, 423.
 Yelton Store, 213.
 Yoholo, Hopothle, 428n, 434n.
 York, W. R., 322.
 Young, Chapmond, 322.
 Youngblood, George G., 66, 68, 73.
 Younger, H. J., 317.

— Z —

- Zane, Lawrence (Wyandot chief), 214, 216.
 Zane, W., 322.
 Zepeda, Antonio, 360.

CONTENTS

Volume XXXVIII, 1960

No. 1

Will Rogers: Good Neighbor	2
By I. E. Cadenhead, Jr.	
Maria Tallchief in History	8
By Frank F. Finney, Sr.	
Joe Kagey: Indian Educator	12
By A. M. Gibson	
Memoirs of a Pioneer Teacher	20
By Harriet Patrick Gilstrap	
The Very Reverend Urban de Hasque	35
By Velma Nieberding	
Fred Wenner: Reporter	43
By Mary E. Newbern	
Big Jake's Crossing	50
By Bess Rogers	
We Came to Live in the Oklahoma Territory	55
By Fannie L. Eisele	
Music in Oklahoma by Billy McGinty's Cowboy Band	66
By Leslie A. McRill	
The Daugherty Ranch, Creek Nation	75
By Ella M. Robinson	
Note on Abolitionism in the Choctaw Nation	78
By James D. Morrison	
Negotiations for the Removal of the Choctaw	85
By Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr.	
Notes and Documents	101
Index to The Chronicles, 1959. Stories Relating to Oklahoma Territorial Courts and Law. Program: Oklahoma Historical Marker at the Line, 1889 and 1893.	
Book Review	110
Necrology	112
Eva Zerline Lewers — By Aileen Langston	
Lou Irion Clarke — By Florence Drake	
Minutes	115

No. 2

Charles Newton Gould: "Covered Wagon Geologist"	126
By Mildred Armor Frizzell	
Rock Mary Report	130
By the Committee	
Lieutenant Simpson's California Road Through Oklahoma	154
By Robert H. Dott	
The Battle of Chustenahlah	180
By Arthur Shoemaker	
Oklahoma's Missing Link	185
By Robert E. Cunningham	

(Continued on Page 22)

No. 2 (continued)

Perry's First Doctor	191
By Clarence Cullimore	
Charles Page	196
By Mrs. Walter Wood	
Notes and Documents	202
Sugar Loaf Mountain Resort	
Air Conditioning in the Oklahoma Historical Society	
Removal of the Great Seal from Guthrie to Oklahoma City	
In Memory of Acee Blue Eagle, Indian Artist	
Note from General Douglas MacArthur	
Oklahoma Historical Markers and Monuments	
Annual Tour 1960	
Book Review	224
Minutes	
Annual Meeting, 1960	226
Quarterly Meeting, April 26, 1960	229

No. 3

Redmond Selecman Cole	242
By Fannie Brownlee Misch	
Arthur Grant Evans	245
By Frank A. Balyeat	
The Story of Rock Cut	253
By Bernice Norman Crockett	
School Days at Emahaka Academy	265
By Robert E. Trevathan	
The Texas Indians and the Founding of Fort Cobb	274
By Raymond Estep	
Report of Survey, Inscriptions on Santa Fe Trail	310
By the Committee	
Notes and Documents	323
County Seat War in McIntosh County	
The Name "Lookeba" in Caddo County	
History Award to Mr. R. G. Miller	
Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission	
Book Review	334
Minutes	338

No. 4

Charles Radziminski	354
By Stanley F. Radzysinski	
Lieutenant William E. Burnet Letters	369
By Raymond Estep	
Tecumseh at the Turn of the Century	397
By Florence Drake	
Reminiscences of Two Corps Men, World War I	409
By Guy E. Moore	
The White Lieutenant of the Creek Nation	425
By Carolyn Thomas Foreman	
Notes and Documents	441
Report of Committee on Historic Sites	
Book Review	444
Minutes	450



976.6

C557

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 09586 8914